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*The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel*

THE CAMBRIDGE  
COMPANION TO THE  
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY  
NOVEL

EDITED BY  
JOHN RICHETTI  
University of Pennsylvania

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MARGARET ANNE DOODY

## Samuel Richardson: fiction and knowledge

In the study of nature, men at first all applied themselves, as if in concert, the satisfaction of the most pressing needs; but when they arrived at knowledge less absolutely necessary, they had to divide it up and each advanced in its course more or less at an equal pace. Thus several sciences have been, as it were, contemporaries; but in the historical ordering of the progress of mind one can embrace them only in succession.

It is not the same in the encyclopedic ordering of our knowledge. This latter consists in collecting forms of knowledge into the smallest space possible, and in placing, as it were, the philosopher above this vast labyrinth in a highly elevated point of view from which he can perceive at once the principal arts and sciences; see with one glance the objects of his speculations, and the operations which he can perform on those objects; distinguish the general branches of human knowledge, the points where they separate or where they unite; and even catch sight of the secret routes which connect them.

(Jean Le Ronde d'Alembert, *Discours préliminaire to Encyclopédie*, 1751)<sup>1</sup>

Samuel Richardson belonged to the age of the *Philosophes*, of the wits and men (and sometimes women) of letters who created or contributed to new projects of mind – the dictionaries, encyclopedias, grammars, histories that gave order and definition to the pursuit of knowledge. Such landmark guidebooks, among which the great French *Encyclopédie* figures most prominently, are not only containers (as it were) for what is known; they also make possible the creative work of thought. Such works tend to be lengthy, in order to be thorough, like the *Encyclopédie* itself, or the multivolume histories such as Charles Burney's *History of Music* or Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Every work of Enlightenment knowledge is conscious of standing at a crossroads of times and influences. The most exciting point at this crossroads is the temporal one; to arrange one's thought or knowledge is to stand between the old and the new, the past and the future. The encyclopedist, the knowledge bringer or enlightener, must look in various directions, seem

lines of influence coming towards the one point. The author who to assemble a great deal of thought must not be hasty, and need not. The Enlightenment certainly valued short works, such as *Candide*, gave serious place to multivolume attempts to come to terms with the and to make sense of the numerous phenomena that press upon us. Author can take his time. Burney's four-volume *History* appeared 1776 and 1789. Gibbon's monumental *Decline and Fall* filled six and appeared between 1776 and 1788.

Novelists like Henry Fielding and Samuel Richardson took to their works "histories" (the term "romance" having just fallen out of use), they gave themselves the same permission to extend in space and as the world accorded to modern historians, such as Edward Hyde, Clarendon, whose *History of the Great Rebellion* (three gigantic in folio) had appeared in 1702–4. For Fielding and Richardson, the is to be acknowledged as an inquiry into life, and as a mode of living. Samuel Richardson is sometimes accused of writing novels that so long. As Richardson's contemporary Henry Fielding shared with Richardson (despite other differences) the contemporary appreciation of design and amplitude of pattern, to set both *Tom Jones* and *Clarissa* (*Richardson*) in our current fourteen-week university course is well-nigh possible. If we want to understand the appearance of such generously works in the eighteenth century, we need to adjust our mind set to room for the encyclopedic concepts of the period. The pattern of fictionation on the road to completion is a common one. Pope adds a new book to the *Dunciad*. James Thomson starts off modestly with *Winter* in 1726, a mere 405 lines; by the mid 1740s he had *Seasons*, each *Season* enlarged, to a total of 5,423 lines. We take pleasure in moving in an organized way through a plenitude of represented material, enabling us to take in phenomena and their fictions. The giant organization does not serve to make the reader fresh; it is not authoritarian, but stimulative of surprise and debate, along fresh accesses of knowledge.

Samuel Richardson (1689–1760) was born in an age that was undergoing great change. Earlier in the century of his birth the English Civil War had not lapsed into violence. The accession of James II in 1685 had inspired a Protestant revolt, as objectors to the Catholic James proposed Charles II's son, the Duke of Monmouth, as the rightful (Protestant) heir. An attempt at revolution was put down in 1685, and the Duke of Monmouth was beheaded. Richardson refers to this episode in his one biographical writing of any length, his letter of 2 June 1753 to Johannes Wierstra, his Dutch translator. Richardson there says that his father was

involved with the Duke of Monmouth, whom he knew personally, and he "thought proper, on the Decollation of the unhappy Nobleman, to his London Business & to retire to Derbyshire; tho' to his great Detrim<sup>t</sup> & there I, & three other Children out of Nine, were born."<sup>2</sup> Richards<sup>t</sup> most recent biographers, T. C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, how<sup>e</sup> have discovered that the Richardsons' father had left London before behedding of Monmouth, but kept an address in the City of Lon<sup>d</sup> throughout his time in Derbyshire, at that time a rural county of Engl<sup>and</sup> well north of London.<sup>3</sup>

Richardson's father was a worker, belonging to the class of sk<sup>illed</sup> artisans; he was a "joiner," that is a carpenter skilled in woodwork domestic interiors. What the Richardsons lived on in the time of exile why they chose Derbyshire has yet to be satisfactorily revealed. Sam<sup>uel</sup> Richardson was born in the village of Mackworth, Derbyshire, where<sup>as</sup> was baptized on 19 August 1689. It is tempting to suppose that his act<sup>ual</sup> birthday is identical with the date of birth he gave to his heroine Claris<sup>s</sup> 24 July. The year in which Richardson was born was a monumental ye<sup>ar</sup> for England. In 1688 a new Protestant revolution had just succeeded wh<sup>ere</sup> the revolt of 1685 had failed. The Protestant Prince William of Orange w<sup>ith</sup> his wife Mary, daughter of James II, invaded England and King James left his army having dropped away. This "Glorious Revolution" or "Bloodl<sup>ess</sup> Revolution," as the victors liked to call it, is often seen by modern histor<sup>ians</sup> as marking the true end of feudalism in England and the rise of a mercantile middle class into real and dominant political power. Th<sup>is</sup> arrangement by which William took the crown (he refused to take it a<sup>s</sup> right of *conquest*) involved a degree of artifice on the part of Parliame<sup>nt</sup> which drew up the "Declaration of Right" declaring that William and M<sup>ary</sup> were the new king and queen. A certain amount of fudging went into assertions that the line of inheritance was not broken and that this was innovation. At the same time, the innovating committee made sure that succession was spelled out, and that it was made clear that no one oth<sup>er</sup> than a Protestant could ever sit on England's throne. Parliament was now effect superior to the monarch and could dictate the terms of kingly tenu<sup>re</sup>. William and Mary were crowned on 11 April 1689. A revolution h<sup>ad</sup> completed itself a few months before Samuel Richardson's birth.

Richardson was born when England was still reeling from the impact the last phase of its civil war. The world in which he came of age was to<sup>o</sup> very different, in many respects more prosperous and more stable, thou<sup>gh</sup> the prosperity and stability did not advantage all. The Richardsons the<sup>mselves</sup> lived in poor circumstances in areas of East London near the Tow<sup>n</sup> areas not noted for gentility. Richardson had some education at some poi<sup>nt</sup>

grammar school, probably in Derbyshire: he may have attended the  
great Merchant Taylors' school in London, if only for a very brief  
4

Samuel's father obviously appreciated his talents and his desire to read.  
Richardson tells Stinstra: "He [Richardson senior] designed me for the  
h. I was fond of this Choice. But while I was very young, some heavy  
ness having disabled him from supporting me as gently as he wished in  
Education proper for the Function, he left me to choose . . . a Business,  
I had been able to give me only common School-Learning."<sup>5</sup> In fact, in  
order to be ordained a clergyman in the Church of England, a man needed a  
university education, which meant attending Oxford or Cambridge. The  
Richardsons had some hopes of a patron for Samuel, the mysterious  
gentleman . . . greatly my superior in Degree," the "Master of ye  
"Scholarly Style" who wrote him letters describing his travels. This  
named person in Richardson's life has been identified since the late  
seventeenth century with a shadowy figure who appears in some early  
editions of the sequel to *Pamela*: Mr. B's friend, the "fine Gentleman . . .  
best with an ample Fortune, and extraordinary Qualities, but not free from  
faults as great as his Perfections."<sup>6</sup> This "fine Gentleman" is in love with  
a beautiful but diffident Maria, who is persuaded by her uncle, "the old  
"Pleasant Knight," to reject him. Spiteful Uncle George treats the gentleman  
"with great Indignity" when he tries to see Maria: "following him  
"Outrage to the Top of a Pair of Stairs, he twirled him from Top to  
"Bottom almost" (*Pamela*, III: 392). The young gentleman went off to the  
continent and married another lady, but unhappy Maria later followed  
him, and he lived a bigamous life united with both women. As country rake  
and good landlord, the "Gentleman" in volume 2 of *Pamela* resembles Mr.  
As ardent rake, versifier, and certainly as lover scorned by crude relations  
his lady, he resembles Lovelace. As the man caught between two women  
bears a close connection even to the faultless Sir Charles Grandison, long  
suspended between his Continental and his English lady. It is tempting to  
link, as Richardson's daughters thought, that the career of the real-life  
gentleman was repeatedly mined by the novelist. Whatever more immediate  
"expectation" young Richardson may have had of his superior friend was  
doomed to vanish. Yet in his correspondence during his apprenticeship,  
Richardson kept up the connection. If the daughters are right and the friend  
died in 1739, Richardson's career as a novelist may have blossomed right  
after this rake-friend's death. Perhaps now, with the death of his friend,  
Richardson felt free to explore the erotic and social content of the friend's  
e.

Whatever the complexities of the relationship with the gentleman

"superior in Degree," Richardson had to rely on himself and his coworkers rather than on upper-class patronage. The business chosen for himself was that of a printer, as it was "what I thought gratify my Thirst after Reading." Richardson says this ironically, soon discovered that his master "grudged every Hour to me, that not to his Profit." The middle-aged Richardson still seems annoyed at master did not give him the time off that his more unruly comp extorted. Samuel's virtue went unrewarded; Richardson was too p break any rules: "I strolled from the Hours of Rest & Relaxation, my Times for Improvement of my Mind . . . even my Candle was of my purchasing."<sup>7</sup> The reading matter published by young Samuel's John Wilde, consisted largely of almanacs and other stuff that scarcely hold the attention of the mind. But as young Samuel Richard worked his way up through his apprenticeship to the status of journe and then of master printer, he was getting closer to what he desired. In 1715 he became a freeman of the Stationers' Company and a citizen of London. He worked as a proof-corrector and compositor, doing the lance work available to a journeyman during his twenties, a period cloudy to his biographers. He assisted the widowed Mrs. John Leake running her printing business. At her death he inherited a small legacy there was probably also some kind of family agreement that Richardson was to be allowed to buy out the business at an advantageous rate. He set up shop for himself, and married his first wife, the daughter of his former master, in 1721.

Robert Darnton in *The Great Cat Massacre* (1984) has reminded us of the difficulties of the life of apprentices and journeymen in the print houses of Europe in the mid-eighteenth century. Masters withdrew themselves from the physical labor of the printing press, apprentices were treated shabbily, and journeymen hired and fired very quickly. The growth of the printing trade in the eighteenth century had led to an industrial organization within what had once been a guild and family structure. Richardson was old enough to adhere to something of the older ideal of major compensation for the hardships of tackling the print trade was growing importance in his life of the Stationers' Company and what it stood for. Richardson became a member of a powerful and varied "family" that took a strong interest in the life of its members. At the very best, the print were themselves still inheritors of the Renaissance idealism and excitement that profoundly affected the print trade. As Elizabeth Eisenstein has shown, the printing press was an "agent of change" in early modern Europe, and the printers themselves had a consciousness of their role as agents of change. Those who worked the press (which still retained its novelty in

the sixteenth century) knew themselves to be the transmitters of ideas. As in points out, the very interests producing heated religious differences in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also nourished the development of an idea of toleration.

Historically enough, the same presses which fanned the flames of religious controversy also created a new vested interest in ecumenical concord and toleration; the same wholesale industry which fixed religious, dynastic, and national frontiers more permanently also operated most profitably by tapping metropolitan markets. Paradoxically also, the same firms made significant contributions to Christian learning by receiving infidel Jews and Arabs, Islamic Greeks and a vast variety of dissident foreigners into their shops and homes . . . such print shops represented miniature "international houses."<sup>9</sup>

sense of a certain internationalism, and a brotherhood beyond frontiers, emerged with a new religious sensibility even to the extent of creating in new sects, such as the "Family of Love" that grew up around the very printer Christopher Plantin. The early Familists were printers; their beliefs were the inception of Rosicrucianism. Richardson deliberately tries to recall this international heresy in the repeated phrase of *Sir Charles Sedley*: the Grandisons pronounce themselves "a family of love."<sup>10</sup> The phrase not only refers to the ideal of a loving family, growing out of anionate marriage rather than from arranged dynastic relations; it also refers to the internationalism that accepts other persons of other cultures as members of the same great "family." The printing fraternity was Richardson's most powerful immediate model of an international, diversified, and forward-looking "family."

Printing itself may be seen as the basis for Enlightenment. Before the Age of Industrialism set in, as Eisenstein observes, there was not the modern division between an intelligentsia, working in elegant retired seclusion, and noisy thudding of the machinery. Thinking, writing, and printing were performed on the same premises – not only by printers such as Samuel Richardson and Benjamin Franklin, but by writers who worked beside the press that was to send forth their words. "The 'secluded study' which now provides a setting for many sociologists of knowledge, should not be rejected too far back into the past. Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, at all events, intellectuals, mechanics and capitalists were out of touch."<sup>11</sup> The printing press as an agent of change was not thought of as monumental, but as flexible. The use of the press by people of the Renaissance through the early Enlightenment eras in many ways resembles modern use of the computer. Works are produced very rapidly. The word gets out – others respond, with questions, annotations, remarks.

A new version of the first work is quickly produced, as an answer to an original piece. Casual writers have access to the press: Boswell and friends later in the century write up and print in the course of a day criticisms of a current play. Certainly, a master printer like Richardson valued correctness and regularity in the printed product. But the press was a lively medium for exchange of knowledge and opinion.

Exchange of knowledge and opinion could receive severe checks by government interference. It is not often noted what a difficult period the 1720s were, the era when Richardson first set up his own shop. After the crash of the South Sea Company, the Whig government and the Hanoverian king were particularly vulnerable to criticism, and sensitive to signs of uprising. The government was most concerned that the crown would be peacefully to George II as successor to George I, who was visibly not so peaceably to George II (in fact he died in 1727). Jacobite plots undoubtedly existed to last too long (in fact he died in 1727). Jacobite plots undoubtedly existed and the government was paranoid about them. Francis Atterbury, friend of Pope and Swift, was arrested and tried for participation in an all-Jacobite plot in 1722; he was banished, while another man, Kelly, was imprisoned in the Tower. Richardson printed a book defending Atterbury and also printed an edition of Kelly's speech in his defense. Another printer secretly gave the Secretary of State, Lord Townshend, a list of disaffected printers, including the names of Richardson and his father-in-law, "Some of the High Flyers" (that is High Tories). Richardson was also a printer of Duke of Wharton's *True Briton*, a periodical that was extremely critical of the government. John Duncombe later said that Richardson wrote the paper of this periodical. The printer Thomas Payne put his name on the page, and he was the printer arrested twice, and fined and imprisoned, "seditions libel." Richardson was one of those who went bail for Payne both occasions of his arrest.<sup>12</sup> This was extremely brave, for the government was looking for printers to pounce on, and had they sent soldiers in to destroy Richardson's printing press he would have been without a livelihood and without resource.

Apparently he never forgot this lesson as to how those in power could treat dissent. The episode sharpened certain "Tory" perceptions in Richardson himself. The word "Tory" is now confusing, for many contemporary Tories (of the sort represented by the Thatcherite and Major administrations in Britain) are really Whigs, believing in the right to rule those who possess property, and in the evil of any interference with money-making – the very opposite of true Tory belief. Even though he himself was on a substantial business ownership and modest affluence, Richardson never forgot that the poor should have a voice, and that an unquestioned oligarchy of all-male (and all-male) is unlikely to produce the model society.

Richardson's sensitivity to censorship is acutely realized in his novels. In respects, these are a printer's novels. The characters are all *writers*. As quotes Job, "O . . . that mine adversary had written a book!" (22, vii: 46).<sup>13</sup> But the heroine herself is the one who makes the book together. Richardson's use of the epistolary mode of narration is most congenial to her interest in writing and expression. His heroines try to maintain their identity and perspective in times of great trial by setting thoughts and feelings down on paper. It is the mark of a villain or an unreformed hero in all of Richardson's novels that that person will try to interfere with writing itself or with the transmission of another's writing in some way. In Richardson's last novel, *Sir Charles Grandison*, Clementina's relatives contrive to take away her power of writing for a long period. Pamela and Clarissa fare better in that respect. But Pamela's master writes letters in place of hers, or to dictate what she must write (both of censorship). Pamela, like printers during the Civil War and on subsequent occasions, is reduced to hiding her writing materials and hiding that which has been written into hiding. Clarissa also has to secrete and ink when her relatives try to cut her off from written expression. How's correspondence with Clarissa, breaking secretly into Clarissa's belongings in order to have copies taken of her papers.

Howe's correspondence with Clarissa, breaking secretly into Clarissa's belongings in order to have copies taken of her papers, is the core of the Enlightenment vision of communication is an idea – a disturbing idea – that there is no absolute human authority, and that that is fully known to human beings. One view of learning – a view that is never dead – is that there is a precious body of lore which must be preserved and ingested by each generation. Any loss suffered by this body of lore is also any addition or alteration, constitutes a hideous adulteration; it is to go back to canonical purity. That idea of learning was sinking into the weight of the printing press, although dissent from that authority is an ideal of pure gold heritage certainly predated the Reformation and the press. Milton in the *Areopagitica* (1644) dynamically expresses the continuous search for Truth, which is never complete:

... sad friends of Truth . . . imitating the careful search that Isis made for the body of Osiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, ever shall doe [sic], till her Masters second coming [sic] . . . To be still reaching what we know not, by what we know, still closing up truth to truth we find it . . . this is the golden rule in *Theology* as well as in *Arithmetick*.<sup>14</sup>

any persons in the 1640s, the 1740s or the 1990s it is frustrating and

worrying to think of truth as something always to be sought rather than possessed. But printers must see the pursuit of truth as a process ending, still beginning. The work of printing and disseminating information in the first ages of print depended on an idea of knowledge as a process, in accretion and slow accumulation, knowledge reassessed, revised, new commentaries, corrections, and amplified editions. As Stein indicates, it was inevitable for the new print world to know each as partial and to think of knowledge as open-ended. "The closed single corpus, passed down from generation to generation, was replaced by an open-ended investigatory process pressing against ever advancing frontiers."<sup>15</sup>

Censorship of written material is an effort by a tenuous and tentative political power to stifle the advancement of knowledge. Authority always to assume that it is in control not only of the expression of ideas of the ideas themselves. Richardson in his novels recognizes no authority invested in any person to control the ideas of another. The authorities are always rising to put others down are going to be in some way overthrown in the course of each novel. But Richardson needed to do for his central images and plots material accommodating the concept of absence of absolutism. The ideal locus for working out these problems is female human being. Women in Richardson's culture (and elsewhere) not thought of as possessing absolute authority, or indeed absolute thing. Concepts of the contingent and relative may be better reflected in dealing with female than with male characters. The eighteenth century invested so much in the idea of the autonomous and commanding male that it became hard to organize contingency around a masculine center. Shakespearean tragedy had to supply that lack, or comic characters like those of *Tristram Shandy* who could be considered too eccentric and ludicrous to offer general comment on male human beings.

Richardson, it shall be remembered, turned to novel writing very late in life. He had been a successful printer, and being appointed printer to the House of Commons in 1733 had given him his first financial security. He printed the Debates of Parliament for that House, and thus had a very close idea about contemporary issues. Richardson had also tried to enter the Enlightenment dialogue of learning directly, with his own project. In 1731 he tried to raise money by subscription for the publication of *Negotiations of Sir Thomas Rowe. In his Embassy to the Ottoman Empire 1621 to 1628*. Richardson had come upon the letters of the seventeenth century English ambassador to Constantinople, and thought it would be an addition to knowledge to investigate the relations between the Ottoman Empire and England, as well as the reactions of one Englishman to

different culture. It is also probable Richardson had heard that Wortley Montagu had written a book created from her letters from Turkey to which Mary Astell had supplied a preface in 1724. Montagu's book remained unpublished, but Richardson may have thought that a new book evoking new interest in Turkey would stimulate interest in Rowe letters. There were too few subscribers, but eventually the House of Commons encouraged the publication of *Letters from the Encouragement of Learning* (for whom Richardson was the editor) offered to underwrite the cost, and Richardson acted as editor. *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Rowe*, published in 1740, represents Richardson's contribution to the world of learning. It is a piece of historical scholarship, the fulfillment of the duty to add more to the sum of human knowledge, like a doctoral dissertation. The work was certainly not original, but it makes its own contribution to the novels that follow. Richardson is here, too, working with letters, and the Rowe papers, like the parts of *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, describe the efforts of an individual to create with an arbitrary power.

Richardson turned to novel writing almost at first by accident. He had been asked by two booksellers (the eighteenth-century equivalent of publishers) to prepare a small book of sample letters, "in a common Style," to use to "Country Readers" who know little about writing.<sup>16</sup> While in the course of composing this book of model letters, using fictionalized characters, Richardson wrote two letters based, he said, on an anecdote from real life: evidently these are numbers 138 and 139, "A Father to a Daughter in Service, on hearing of her Master's attempting her Virtue," and "The Daughter's Answer."<sup>17</sup> Richardson temporarily dropped the "letter-er" he had been commissioned to produce, although that was later completed and published as *Letters Written to and for Particular Friends on Important Occasions* (1741).<sup>18</sup> (This book is usually referred to now by the title Brian W. Downs gave it, *Familiar Letters*.) On 10 November 1739 Richardson began writing a novel about the girl in service whose master had seduced her. He finished the first draft of *Pamela* on 10 January, as he told his friend the dramatist Aaron Hill.

The novel, then, was evidently written in a white heat. As far as we know, it was Richardson's first attempt at sustained fiction. He had told stories to entertain his schoolfellows when he was a boy. He had prepared works of fiction for the press. He may have written a number of prefaces to novels. *Pamela* is not at all like such routine work, and the pressure behind its production seems very different. Richardson had suffered an almost fatal series of personal losses in the 1730s. While his working life was riven by disease and death. All his children by



his first wife Martha were dead when Martha herself died in 1731. Children by his second wife Elizabeth fared somewhat better; four girls lived to grow up, but the last of his sons died, and his apprentice and nephew Thomas, a possible successor to Samuel in his business, also died. Samuel lost his father in a lingering and painful death, as well as two brothers and a friend. He himself became ill at this time, probably as an effect of continued stress and anxiety of grief and threatened grief. It has been suggested that his constant malady, "the Disemper that common curates would not subdue," was Parkinson's disease.<sup>20</sup> He was shaky, his hands shook, he had to walk with a stick. He must have felt as if his own life were nearing its end; he could not know that the grandest part of his career was about to begin.

At the very end of that crushing decade (the 1730s), when many hopes were disappearing along with health, and possibly life itself, Richardson found a new lease on life by throwing himself imaginatively into the experience, and indeed the persona of a lively fifteen-year-old girl. Pamela, a wellspring of liveliness. Richardson endows her with physical presence, energy, and an assurance that in the eyes of some contemporaries crosses the border of impudence. Pamela is a poor servant girl whose parents have come upon very hard times. She has been in service to a good lady, Mrs. Andrews, but when that good lady dies (as she does on the first page of the novel) Pamela is in danger of being left without a job. She is pleased when Mr. B. the master, the lady's son, assures her of employment: "For my Master said I will take care of you all, my Lasses; and for you, *Pamela*, (and took me the Hand; yes he took me by the Hand before them all) for my dear Mother's sake, I will be a Friend to you, and you shall take care of *Linen*" (25).<sup>21</sup> The reader catches the comic and ominous intimations expressed in the "Linen" (a general term for shirts, nightshirts and underclothing). Mr. B. takes to heart all too well his mother's dying plea: "Remember my poor Pamela!," although he does have the grace to wait some while after his mother's death before making his first pounce. Pamela angrily resists and resents his advances, and hopes that things will return the way they were. At length she realizes she must leave Mr. B.'s house, and he at last permits her to go. But instead of being driven home as she expected she is abducted to Mr. B.'s estate in Lincolnshire, and kept a prisoner in an old manor house and its grounds, guarded by the raddled housekeeper, Mrs. Jewkes, who is perfectly willing to help her employer accomplish her rakish purpose.

Mr. B. raises a major theme with his promise "I will be a Friend to you." Richardson is fond of using words with ambiguous meaning; and ambiguity is indeed one of his devices throughout a narrative. He wants to be Pamela's

"Friend." This word has a sexual meaning that survives now in its like "boyfriend," "girlfriend" (likewise ambiguous). It is a euphemism in the eighteenth century and earlier, standing in for "sexual partner." Lingo's jeering description "or to be naked with her friend in bed / ... meaning any harm" (*Othello*, 5.1). But Pamela is justified in hearing her meaning, the ostensible meaning, now almost disappeared but in 1740s the dominant meaning. Mr. B. as master of the house, landowner, employer is entitled to speak of himself as Pamela's "Friend." Riding to this old usage, based on a feudal and hierarchical sense of honor and responsibilities, a person's natural "Friends" are the people in authority over that person or in a position to be benevolent to him or her. A man or girl's first "friends" (in this sense) are the parents, also grandparents, uncles, etc. The important "Friends" include great people like the man of the parish or the landowner for whom the parents work or from whom they rent. Such "friendship" survives only in the use of our word "friend," which never refers to friendship of equality. Clarissa commits the error of running away from her "Friends" in that sense. Her family are "friends" because they have *rightful power* over her. Friendship is thus paradoxically invested with authority, a paradox Richardson is always interested in exploring in his investigation of contemporary culture.

There is of course a third meaning of "Friend," the meaning towards which the entire novel points. A true "Friend" is an equal, a sympathizer, one to whom we speak frankly of our own concerns and feelings, and whom we hear sympathetically in return. A developing idea of marriage, an ideal in modern times, is that man and wife should be friends, and an ideal is emerging in the eighteenth century. But as Richardson's novel shows, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to arrive at that point, for social hierarchies (including that inherited in the Marriage Service) stand in the way. Mr. B. has, in terms of contemporary society, every reason to regard himself as superior to Pamela. He is twenty-five years old, and thus a member of the gentry, while she belongs to the working class. Mr. B. is a nobleman, but he belongs to the ranks of true gentry. As a real gentleman, he is entitled to appear at court to celebrate the King's birthday, to appear in a court dress in the drawing room of the nearest representative of the King. He dresses up in his gold lace suit while Pamela has to contrive to get some homespun clothes. Even if Pamela were made of age, her social power would be very slight. She belongs to the bottom of the social pyramid; Mr. B. and others refer to her father as "Goodman Jewkes," as he is not of the class entitled to be called "Mister." He is a man of nothing. Mr. B. orders, as a stroke of *politesse*, that the servants

Moll  
Flambers  
P. B. & M.  
quarrels



at the Lincolnshire estate refer to Pamela as "Madam," "Miss Pamela," "Mrs. Pamela," as if she were entitled by rank to claim dignity of a title. But she knows this is making a "May-game" of her (107). By birth she is mistress of nothing, and they are trying to make her "Madam" and a "Mistress" in the sense of "whore."

\* distinction -

Richardson makes us see the extent to which both hero and heroine of novel are forced into roles and moulds by social convention, most especially by conventions of hierarchy. Everywhere she looks, Pamela is reminded that hierarchy, often through the use of the very word "Friend." Mr. B. appearing to sympathize with the girl's parents, admits he has given "Concern to your honest Friends," but promises he will make amends. threatens Pamela with the fear that her parents will be "fatally touched with Grief" (108) unless she writes to them in the terms dictated by her. His phrase "honest Friends" tells Pamela first that her family is low on the social scale - not honorable, merely "honest." Mr. B. then reminds her that she is at the very bottom of the social heap. She still owes a duty to them, even if lowly, her parents are her superior "Friends." Later he threatens her in signing off another letter, "in a little time you shall find how much you have err'd in treating, as you have done, a Man, who was once your *affectionate and kind Friend*" (146). That is, he has withdrawn from her protection that a superior ought to give to an inferior to whom he is bound by legitimate ties, such as employment, which is identified as a form of patronage. Eventually they get to the point where Mr. B. can utter his greatest speech (after their wedding): "let us talk of nothing henceforth but Equality" (294). The pair have, however, much ado to get to that point. Their arrival is achieved only through Pamela's revolutionary resistance or, rather, the revolutionary voicing of her resistance. She writes the letter, she takes authorship upon herself and thus contrives an authority - she writes by birth is entitled to no such thing. Pamela's resistance is spirited, varied and indelible. She is by no means a model girl, and Mr. B. has some justification when he hurls at her all the unkind epithets for females he can think of: "Slut," "saucy Jade." She is saucy in her bounciness, and capable of aggressiveness that comes out in the language she uses. She finds childish relief in the animated spite with which she can describe her jailer Mrs. Jewkes: "a broad, squat, pousy, fat Thing, quite ugly, if any thing God made can be ugly... her Face is flat and broad; and as to Colour, looks like as if it had been pickled a Month in Salt-petre" (107). Pamela's language is almost throughout, entertainingly disconcerting. Richardson's novel is pervasively brilliant turn of decorum, holding Pamela's language in register the novel itself creates, so that we are convinced this is the tone and language of a girl raised in the country and truly coming from a lower-class

ground. Pamela sometimes speaks vulgarly ("like as if"). Her images from the kitchen and the kitchen garden. The range of literary reference available to her includes some snatches of Shakespeare, but her reference work is the Bible, with a few of Aesop's fables. Mr. B. sees the girl to her father of having her girlish head turned by reading romances, but it is Mr. B. who knows about romances and novels. Pamela herself seems quite ignorant of romances. She is not a reader, she is the case of a Don Quixote. Don Quixote has to contrive a self suitable to a modern critics have labeled "mediated desire" acquired through a notion of bookish ideas of the self. Pamela has to learn how to desire and be a constant self that is able to resist the pressure of the time, her social position, others' authority. Her lower-class resistance is revolutionary.

At the same time, she is engaged in the process of making a self. We can persuade that we see her growing. Richardson is a pioneer in modern man in finding ways of giving an impression that a character is developing and changing from within. When Pamela decides (sadly) that she really must leave B.'s household, she knows the villagers of her parents' parish will make fun of her. She makes herself, at considerable cost to her personal funds and with a good deal of labor, a country costume. She then it on, and looks at herself in the glass. Some critics have seen in this episode only an instance of Pamela's vanity and her desire to trap Mr. B. in her masquerading charms. But Pamela seems rather to be acting at herself, for herself. The person she seduces with her country garb is Pamela, so she can turn her back on the fine shoes and the French necklace. Pamela wants to love herself. Richardson presents this not as startling narcissism or reprehensible vanity, but as a natural response of the girl of her age. Morality does not exist in some prim, airtight box. We live our realities in our experience: our sense of right harmonizes with our sense of ourselves.

For all her courage, Pamela has moments when courage fails her. She is afraid of the bull that is said to be loose in the grounds of the house in Lincolnshire. When she tries to escape at one point, she hesitates between the house and garden, frightened back by the sight of the bull: "there stood a horrid Bull, staring me in the Face, with fiery Saucer Eyes, as I thought?" (105). It would cost an author no trouble to conjure up a legion of bulls, or an aggregation of fiercely slaving mastiffs. Instead, Richardson makes us see here that the obstacle to Pamela's escape resides within herself. It is climactically the fearful male bull, which even turns into two bulls in Pamela's terrified vision, turns out to be "only two poor Cows, a grazing in the ant Places, that my Fears had made all this Rout about" (137). It is her own fancy that connects the bull with Mr. B., and the two bulls with B. and

*Large w/ Pamela*

Mrs. Jewkes. Richardson really invites us to interpret this puzzling situation to see the depth of Pamela's psyche and the conflict within her of love, fear, sexual desire and sexual anxiety.

All of Richardson's personages are what the nineteenth century characters; they persuade us they have inner depths, and irrationalities the conscious level, Pamela later realizes that her emotions are altogether appropriate to the straightforward morality of her situation. "What is the Matter, with all his ill Usage of me, that I cannot hate him but sure, I am not like other People!" (157). She is in difficulties because she has to keep secret from herself her own growing sexual attraction to Mr. N. If she were to admit that, she would be lost, falling into the degenerate position that Mr. B. wants her to assume, and injuring herself deeply. Pamela's inner as well as outer conflict may awaken inquiry as to society dictates such conflicts.

The core of *Pamela*, and the reason why it so shocked and appealed to the men and women of the eighteenth century, is its revolutionary message. That message is directly uttered by Pamela in her argument with Mr. Jewkes:

And pray, said I, walking on, how came I to be his Property? What Right has he in me, but such as a Thief may plead to stolen Goods? — Why was ever the like heard, says she! — This is downright Rebellion, I protest! (116)

"How came I to be his Property?" This is the great question, and its echo raises the other questions. How can anybody be somebody else's property? Why do we have property analogies in so many human relationships, no mention actual property owning of people in the widespread eighteenth century institution of slavery? Is it not "stealing" to claim any property another? These are tremendous questions. When we have entered into these we have raised questions that even the abolition of slavery — still far away in Richardson's time — cannot satisfy. Why are women and children considered the property of somebody else? Any woman in the last 4,000 years might ask "How came I to be his property?" Women may still ask it, even in America, where certain groups apparently hold it to be self-evident that female bodies are a kind of public property, to be controlled and managed for the public good. Richardson's own novel in the end draws back, as she had to draw back in order to be acceptable enough to read, from such questions as these. It leaves them trembling on the air. After *Paradise Lost* this is the first great Enlightenment consideration of sexual relations. In all Enlightenment works, it is in itself a body of controversies. The controversies are never-ending. After all, the questions are asked by Pamela Richardson directly. And other people, not only Mr. B., Mrs. Jewkes

Lady Davers, have answers different from the heroine's and from each other. The last part of the novel shows the folding out of discussion and argument that the Enlightenment loved. Even when Mr. B., who cannot long be on the level of "Equality" but returns to the pleasant hierarchy of husband, thinks he has solved the question of the ideal marriage and its management in the harangue he makes to Pamela, Pamela can break up his discourse into "Rules" and then offer her own commentary. The novel is ended, deliberately open-ended. It runs right past the normal ending, *Pamella* ending, the marriage of hero and heroine, and on into their married life. We leave Pamela expecting a baby, still not born — so life goes onwards into the future that the Enlightenment loved to explore, in hopeful belief that the future is to be different from the past.

Richardson's greatest novel, *Clarissa*, picks up the hints and opportunities *Pamela* itself afforded. In first writing his own sequel to *Pamela*, related by the production of sequels by other authors, Richardson led without some of the conflicts that made the first part of *Pamela* so exciting. He does, however, include the debates and discussions about domestic life and childrearing that are to appeal immensely to readers like Rousseau. Richardson taught Rousseau that the novel can be philosophic. The influence of parts 1 and 2 of *Pamela*, as well as all of *Clarissa*, can be seen in Rousseau's *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761). In *Clarissa*, Richardson returns to the major conflicts of sex and class. *Pamela* had met the great acclaim, but also with derision, in parodies and rewritings, the most known of which is the *Shamela* (1741) attributed to Fielding. The parody of *Shamela* is certainly offended by the miscegenation seen in a marriage of a servant and a gentleman; he indicates that any girl who holds marriage must be a designing hussy and a whore. The more palatable version of this critique is the charge that *Pamela* should not have tried a man who had made such determined attacks on her, and that she had fared too much in the terms of worldly success.

*Clarissa*, no worldly success awaits the heroine. Neither is she a lowly servant girl, but a well-educated young woman of a family of great wealth, who offends her family because her grandfather made her heir to one estate, "Dairy-house." The Harlowes, who have risen in the world through accumulation of land, through mercantile trade with the East and through mines, represent the crossing of the new wealth and the old. They are ambitious family, still somewhat vulgar despite the marriage of James Harlowe senior to a woman of the aristocracy. In the first edition of *Clarissa* (1748), Richardson wanted to make clear that Clarissa is not quite a "lowly" as the aristocracy would accept the term. Yet although Lovelace is a aristocrat, Lord M. (his uncle) is happy to negotiate for the marriage

with the bourgeois Harlowes' daughter. Lovelace's family is anxious that her should marry and have children. If such a marriage is a condescension on their part, and will involve Clarissa's changing class and status, change is not so very great. In an overreaching piece of stupid cunning, Clarissa's Uncle Antony first introduces Lovelace to Clarissa's plain sister, Arabella, as if she were the lovely Miss Harlowe of whom the young man has heard so much. Lovelace cleverly gets out of this entanglement at the cost of the lasting enmity of Arabella; her brother James is like horrified at the prospect of little "Clary" taking some of the family money with her into her high marriage. James picks a fight with Lovelace, and him forbidden the house. He then induces his father to try to force Clarissa into marriage with the ugly, elderly miser Roger Solmes, on the understanding that the Harlowes will get Solmes's lands if he dies without issue of that marriage. Clarissa puts up a heroic resistance to that for marriage, while Lovelace, motivated partly by revenge, at last contrives to get her to run away from home. Once she is in his power, Lovelace hopes to induce her to live with him without marriage; if he makes her his mistress he will remain free, and triumph over the middle-class family who abhor him.

In *Clarissa* the Whig and the Tory in Richardson himself, as it were, fight it out. While having no confidence in the older Tory race of landowners (like stupid Lord M.) and their ideas of settled hierarchy, Richardson mercilessly exhibits the flaws of the rising middle class in the Harlowes' greedy and limited behavior. The Harlowes exhibit every negative attribute of Whiggism – contempt and envy of those above them, contempt and suspicion of the poor, a desire to hoard wealth and to use all human relationships as means to a material end. Clarissa utters a spiritual insight that others around her cannot hold: "The world is but one great Family. Originally it was so. What then is this narrow selfishness that reigns in us but relationship remembered against relationship forgot?" (1: 46). Clarissa, with her desire to act like the productive manorial lady of an older England and her concern for responsibilities to those around her that are outside the family, seems like a "natural Tory" born into a world of Whigs. At the same time, she transcends Tory doctrines in her own belief in the value of freedom and in the liberty that must be accorded herself. Such ideas are derived in part from Whig doctrine, although political Whiggism was extremely reluctant to extend to women the rights of men.

Lovelace also has his political aspects. In his cynical rakishness, his view of sexuality as the remaining arena of conquest and control, he is playing out (like the hero of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* slightly later) the dwindling of the aristocracy as a true force. The last bastion of aristocratic right is the

man. Lovelace is, however, both a hunter and a Whig in his present position to power: he visits Windsor, where he has hunted; he evidently has contacts in the administration; and his very name "Robert" connects him firmly with Robert Walpole, the "Great Man" who ruled and as prime minister (and some said near-dictator) from 1720 to Robert ("Bob") Lovelace also connects himself with Robin or Robert of Huntington, the legendary Robin Hood. He has a gang of three friends around him, he likes playing gang leader and devising (at least on paper) audacious schemes for the punishment of pompous persons and in his way.

Lovelace in its range of reference is encyclopedic. The structure of the novel is itself a mode of knowledge. Instead of the one dominant narrator of *Robinson Crusoe*, we have four narrators, two major (Clarissa and Lovelace) and two minor but vital: the best friends, respectively, of heroine and villain, Anna and Jack Belford. In their intercutting assertions, questions, comments and ripostes these four characters create a very rich pair of dialogues, in which the exchanges between Clarissa and Anna are held in tension and interpoint with those of Lovelace and Belford. The Enlightenment is embodied in dialogue and epistolary forms in works of argument and persuasion. The dialogue is an important vehicle of philosophy from the 18th century through Berkeley and Diderot. In addition, the letter form is used for personal observation that is temporary and may be subject to change. Richardson, in the systematic and complex multidialogic system of the novel *Clarissa*, includes – or creates – a picture of England as a culture in a deep structure.

Alamert was to say that encyclopedic order entails getting the philosopher to some raised point elevated above "this vast labyrinth."<sup>22</sup> Wells, on the other hand, work through plunging the readers into a labyrinth, making them undergo the labyrinthine experience. In *Clarissa* we are plunged into the labyrinth of experience and feeling, and at first do not see the grand design. Yet we are being given a view of the various classes and their relation, and of the struggles of English history. We see a British history of civil wars, including the old wars between Scotland and England, as well as the English Civil War. The conflict between James Junior and Lovelace even carries the remnants of the Wars of the Roses with it – James is a Yorkshire; Lovelace, Lancashire. The crossing lines of tradition, manners, history, and feeling are everywhere present. Cultural material is richly produced – with references to Virgil, Horrentos, Aesop, and to Julius Caesar, with play on Renaissance church monuments and samplers, smuggling, and soap selling. London is a vividly present man-made world of churches and sedan chairs, coach timetables and inns, alleys and open

spaces.<sup>23</sup> Yet Clarissa's London is also a vast illusion, where she is into living in the midst of a brothel without noticing it.

Paradoxically, this most encyclopedic of novels is the novel that **least** of Enlightenment optimism. The outlook from *Clarissa* is very even though the novel itself (as one reads it) is not only engrossing spirited, often very funny, very witty. The novel circles about a dark the rape of Clarissa. In *Pamela*, Mr. B.'s threats of rape really ca nothing, for he did not wish to carry through the act once Pamela d join in playing the part he wanted in his scenario. Lovelace a repudiates rape. He also holds the comforting traditional male view reinforced by Rousseau in *Emile* that there is really no such thing, a woman always consents.<sup>24</sup> Lovelace maintains that his power of sed will be superior to any need to rape. In excusing his deceiving of Claris gives himself credit for merely performing an experiment, in putting h the *test*. A gentleman, in the world's opinion, owes it to himself to ma perfectly chaste bride. The woman who could "fall," even to a Lovel persuasions, is unchaste and then not a fit bride for him. Richardson m sure we see this double standard in all its hideous absurdity. But Lovel "test" is not one that he intends to allow Clarissa to win. If she remains of his attempts at seduction, then he is *not* all-conquering and she does love him – concepts that are unbearable. Clarissa does remain superior his attempts at seduction, and begins to see through the tower of lies he built around her. In a bold stroke, involving even the hiring of well-p prostitutes to act as his own relations, Lovelace brings off the rape that he thinks, make Clarissa his forever.

Some readers, like Elizabeth Carter, Richardson's contemporary, thought that Lovelace (if witty and attractive) is too villainous to be natural. Richardson's novel seems designed to make us see in Lovelace not a realistic "villain" but rather the embodiment of his society's dictates about sex) Lovelace's attitude to women reflects very faithfully the attitude of own society. In *Clarissa* the rape act once performed exhibits the hideousness of beliefs that can be made to sound playful, rational, or natural. The rape denaturalizes a power structure. As Richardson was doubtless aware from the time of *Pamela*, in which there is an early reference to the "Rape Lucretia" (42), a rape story told is a revolutionary story. The "Rape Lucretia" (according to legend) brought about the fall of the Roman monarchy. On Lucretia's rape republicanism is built. Whig writers rather than Tory tend to allude to the "Rape of Lucretia," and it is useful dramatists such as Nathaniel Lee in his *Lucius Junius Brutus* (1681), a play which was to appeal to the sentiments of 1688–89. To tell a "rape story" is a political act. A strong rape story is a story about the necessity for

ion. In *Clarissa*, the "revolution" pointed towards is not a further ment in the Whig or Tory direction so much as the movement for the tion of woman. So many people feel that they own Clarissa: her her family, Lovelace. Lovelace merely utters a commonplace when names that once he has penetrated Clarissa he must own her, and at the east she will be only too glad to marry him. Clarissa after the rape the revolutionary statement: "The man who has been the villain you been shall never make me his wife."

end of the story involves Clarissa's death as well as the death of ace. Since the novel first appeared there have been objections to the ce. Early readers, including Fielding, begged Richardson before he shed the last volumes to let Clarissa live. Lady Echlin rewrote the rope and the ending, sparing Clarissa the rape as well as the death. argued that Richardson was too fond of making the woman suffer; nals of the period of the French Revolution, like Holcroft, rewriting ssar's plot in *Anna St. Ives* (1792), implicitly argue that there is no need ither party to die, but only for reform. But it is hard to see how arnson could have ended his novel. He suggests other endings: Clarissa g a life of good works on her grandfather's estate; Clarissa marrying her gentleman who offers to wed her knowing the circumstances; even issa emigrating to Pennsylvania (which is what her family wishes her to But all these possible endings would weaken the heroine's cause. It has e shown also that Clarissa has none of the guilt attributed to Pamela, is accused of looking out for worldly ends.

Richardson claimed to Aaron Hill that his novel was of "the Tragic d," and argued against the narrow application of "Poetic Justice" to rks of imagination.<sup>25</sup> The Aristotelian idea of poetic justice as sketched by the Académie Française had taken hold in an era that was nervous of effects of both drama and published fiction on a mass audience; horities wished nothing to appear that was not of an improving nature. ← refining his narrative method of "writing to the moment," Richardson ites the reader into the temporal world of process, where all is change- e, nothing is assured; yet at the same time the reader who looks upon this b of correspondence sees "at a glance," like readers of the *Encyclopédie*, relations of part to part, the connection of coal mines to Indian trades, higher to lord, of Oliver Cromwell to marriage contracts, of brothel to ntry house. Nothing is successive, no history is superseded, and nothing ranscended on a secular plane. All connections on this mighty grid are ants of anxiety and distress.

Clarissa is deeply moral, but startlingly pessimistic. Its deep pessimism ises from its encyclopedic analyses of modern English and Western

The pessimism of the encyclopedic

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culture, which is found to be deeply flawed at its very heart. The enslavement of women poisons familial and social life. All our structures, built on the model of the family, are based on a distorted analogy. Richardson in his way makes us see what d'Alembert wanted *Encyclopédie* to make us see: the hidden connections between one phenomenon and another. Cultural life and the life of knowledge alike feel in a just (because large) system, then the hidden connections, the corridors between one thing and another, leap to the eye.

Elizabeth Eisenstein has noted that "The figure of Minerva, of conjunction with Mercury . . . and other special symbols, occurs repeatedly in frontispieces of works favored by freethinkers of a certain kind" (1971). It is noteworthy that Richardson does include, if not a pictorial figure of Minerva, a decided reference to her; Clarissa, listening at night to a distant whooping of the Bird of Minerva, sets to music the "Ode to Wisdom" by Elizabeth Carter, a poem addressed to "PALLAS! Queen of every Art" (II: 50-54). The novel here keeps opening out its wide reference, including Minerva, female poetry, and a woman's music - giving us an extra gift in the shape of Clarissa's music as a pullout sheet of our own harpsichords. Richardson was a devout Anglican, not an atheistic freethinker, but a certain degree of "freethinking" is involved in the installation of a feminine deity addressed by a woman who values learning and solitude. The "freethinking" appealed to here would lead to a justification not only of women's right to education but of their right to themselves.

The novel is also rich in pictorial emblems: Richardson uses in the edition the figure of Europa as a printer's ornament for the endpapers of post-rape volumes 5 and 6, not only signifying her rape by Jove but playing with the other meanings of Europa on her divine bull - the foundation of new lands, and the opening out of new territories. Other emblems include the horn of plenty, the holy dove, and angels or cupids with a bow between them. Clarissa herself turns designer, designing the ornament of her own coffin as the *ourberos*, the endless serpent of eternity and wisdom. The use of such figures and emblems prods us towards asking what everything might mean, and moves us on from the simplicity of reading a love story or just a story about a family. Phenomena are organized in significance and connection.

In *Sir Charles Grandison*, Richardson writes another encyclopedic novel that attempts partially to rescind or at least to modify the starkness of vision of *Clarissa*. One form this modification takes is the presentation of a man **who is both powerful and good**. Richardson in this ultra-Enlightenment **novel offers a central character who is an Enlightener**. Clarissa may have

med so because she is "most brilliant," "most famous" and "most clear" but although she should be "most clear" she cannot clarify in the taking away the darkness that surrounds us; she shows us that shadows. Her light makes clear some very distressing truths. Sir Charles as male Enlightener, has no distress to unveil. He too is "most shining" and "most shining" - very like the sun, in short. Sir Charles is referred to in terms of the sun. The heroine Harriet says "here the sun darting into all the crooked and obscure corners of my heart, shrink from his dazzling eye; and, compared to Him . . . appear to such a Nothing" (*The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, III: 132).

Charles is a kind of political model of the wise ruler, an example of Bonnie Prince Charlie, the last Stuart hope, should have been but Sir Charles invades England without bloodshed, in his return as Sir Charles challenged by outrageous persons who make some wrongful land or to women whom he protects, he never loses his calm and reason. Sir Hargrave Pollexfen abducts Harriet Byron from a masquerade; Sir Charles comes to the rescue of the strange woman who appeals to him for help, and magnificently throws Sir Hargrave under the carriage. Later in the debate with Sir Hargrave, who wishes to fight a duel to avenge his lost honor, Sir Charles resists the angry Sir Hargrave and the poet's shady friends by his show of superior reason. Richardson makes Charles consciously encyclopedic as he gathers together all the arguments against dueling in a harangue beginning with a historical survey:

was natural for me to look into history, for the rise and progress of custom much and so justly my aversion, so contrary to all love divine and human, and particularly to that true heroism which Christianity enjoins, when it commands meekness, moderation, and humility, as the glory of the human nature. But I am running into length.

Again Sir Charles took out his watch. They were clamorous for him to proceed. (II: 263)

may find it hard to believe that the other men were not also looking at watches, and difficult to entertain the notion that they would have "moved" for three pages of antidual discourse. But Sir Charles is an enlightened enlightener, who has his knowledge at his fingertips. He discovered he says, "that this unchristian custom owed its rise to the barbarous northern nations"; he can clear the Romans of complicity in setting it up, going into the Horatii and the Curatii, and glancing over later history, in a glimpse of modern Turkey as well as modern France. Sir Charles is a sort of man who gets informed by encyclopedias. But he himself has no need for any need to learn, for he now knows everything.

It is the men in the novel who still have much to learn – and much they cannot omit to notice. Sir Charles could draw a veil over his father's faults (Sir Thomas sent him off to the Continent early with orders to direct). The daughters who had to live with that father cannot avert their eyes from that father's defects, which directly affected their lives. *Clara* gazes towards hierarchy and piety are undermined within the self, which ultimately persists, despite its own best intentions, in love and deeper spaces than those Sir Charles can "penetrate" with demanding sunshine. In the last part of *Sir Charles Grandison* the narrator accompanies the newly married heroine Harriet to Grandison Hall. Charles owns property, he is the landowner, the center of authority. The he leads, that of the virtuous, independent, and wealthy owner of an estate reflects the great (masculine) dream of eighteenth-century England. Charles fulfills a deep cultural fantasy or desire – that the man of property the estate owner, should be the man of moral excellence. Sir Charles' home is surrounded by the accoutrements of mercantilism and colonial possession. Here is the home to which encyclopedias come, the "Study of a Grandison":

The glass-cases are neat, and . . . stored with well-chosen books in all sciences. Mr. Deane praised the globes, the orrery, and the instruments of all sorts, for geographical, astronomical, and other scientific observations. It is ornamented with pictures, some . . . of the best masters of the Italian and Flemish schools, statues, bustoes, bronzes. And there also, placed in a distinguished manner, were the two rich cabinets of medals, gems, and other curiosities, presented to him by Lady Olivia. (III: 27)

Here is the collection, everything appropriately stored in a manner to please a d'Alembert. No base confusion here, although there is *profusion*, science and the arts in close proximity. Here is property – intellectual property.

Harriet Byron seems like a visitor in this grand home, of which she will be "Mistress" but of which she can never be owner. Truly she is no more *owner* than her former rival, Clementina, the young Italian woman who was in love with Sir Charles and went mad upon being forbidden to thimble him because of their religious difference. The ardent Roman Catholic Clementina receives full use of her intellects and a reunion with her father as what we are made to feel is the healthful air of Grandison Hall. The house is open to visitors from abroad. It is a true international center, a kind of international house, like the printing shop, where the "family of love" – *most friends* and relations from Scotland, Wales, or Italy. It can act as a center of benevolent tolerance because its own values are certain, and *it is under very tight control*. It is inalienable and orderly.

option of the grounds echoes that of Milton's Paradise, with the same of the theatrical. Milton's Eden is set amidst circling rows of trees:

and as the ranks ascend  
Shade above shade, a woody Theatre  
Of stateliest view.

(IV: 140-42)

is Sir Charles' Eden:

orchard . . . is planted in a natural slope; the higher fruit-trees, as pears, in semicircular row, first; apples at further distances next; cherries, plumbs, standard apricots, &c all which in the season of blossoming, one row gradually lower than another, must make a charming variety of blooming objects to the eye, from the top of the rustic villa, which commands the whole. (III: 273)

Grandison has picked up hints from Milton, and expanded on the suggestions. The Grandisons have been encyclopedic gardeners, working their trees not only into ranks but into categories, separating pears from apples. The encyclopedic order is an expression of obedience to the *land* that might emanate from the rustic villa which "commands the garden." The eye of command is everywhere in Sir Charles's garden. "The eye of command is everywhere in Sir Charles's garden. . . . Milton's observations in *Surveillier et Punit* on the eighteenth century's art in "surveillance" are richly borne out in this and other parts of *Grandison*, with their emphasis on the penetrating and commanding eye. Nothing is to master a point of view: "alcoves, little temples, seats, are laid at different points of view."

The labyrinth becomes the ordered and mastered garden, and the crossings of difficulty are sublimed into the "little temple" to be "erected" and dedicated to the "triple friendship" of Clementina, Harriet, Sir Charles (455). Meeting places of difficulty, desire, and ambiguity are to be viewed by structures. Sir Charles proclaims "Friendship . . . will make at once a safe bridge over the narrow seas: it will cut an easy passage thro' and mountains" (III: 455). Friendship is an engineer, energetically for structure and for assured connections.

In his last novel, Richardson has brought the encyclopedic connections categorizing out into the open – they lie at the surface of his novel, and in the deep structure. With this overt pattern of connections comes a assurance that nothing is ambiguous or difficult. Such an assurance counter to the deepest insights of *Clarissa*. There, desire really does desire, and one knowledge runs counter to another. There is no master of the whole, and we truly descend into the labyrinth. Although



*Grandison* is very rich in many things that matter – not least in especially in the views and comments of Sir Charles's witty sister C – we may miss the sunless shades and its more painful intersecting blind alleys.

The accommodation with the world of mercantilist and progressive values achieved in *Grandison* is not exactly (one cannot help but favorably to women. Harriet will always be a guest in her husband's the approved conduit for the heir, the wife who cannot disturb her mother-in-law's furnishings. In *Pamela*, the manor house in Lincoln although it is Pamela's "prison," became for a while in some sense territory. Pamela the prisoner performed Lockean activities on the (fishing, planting cucumbers), so that we sense she has a certain claim place. Charissa's well-defined claim to land, which she improved, "the Grove" into "the Dairy-house," is a source of her misfortune grandfather's bequest of this small estate to her turns many in her against her. Woman's lack of any claim to an abode or to any space is felt as problematic. In *Grandison* the patriarchy provides, and we should claim that there is any problem with property. Neither is the problem with desire, for the regulated heart. In these sunny uplands the well planned scheme of things, we may ungracefully sigh for intricacies of the labyrinth, and the more troubling crossroads and places of the farmyard and the brotchel. There, at least, we knew that was known. In *Grandison*, at last Richardson, like the eighteenth-century favorite image of Hercules at the Crossroads,<sup>28</sup> chose Virtue over Pleasure that is, the virtue of civic order and smiling male responsibility.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Dans l'étude de la nature, les hommes se sont d'abord appliqués tous, comme de coutume, à satisfaire les besoins les plus pressants; mais quand ils en sont venus aux connaissances moins absolument nécessaires, ils ont du se les partager, et y avancer chacun de son peu près d'un pas égal. Ainsi plusieurs sciences ont été, pour ainsi dire, contemporelles dans l'ordre historique des progrès de l'esprit, on ne peut les embrasser successivement.

Il n'en est pas de même de l'ordre encyclopédique de nos connaissances. Ce qui consiste à les rassembler dans le plus petit espace possible, et à placer, pour ainsi dire, le philosophe au-dessus de ce vaste labyrinthe dans un point de vue fort élevé d'où il peut apercevoir à la fois les sciences et les arts principaux; voir d'un coup d'oeil les objets de spéculations, et les opérations qu'il peut faire sur ces objets; distinguer les branches générales des connaissances humaines, les points qui les séparent ou qui les unissent; et entre même quelquefois les routes secrètes qui les rapprochent.

Jean Le Ronde d'Alenbert, *Discours Préliminaire, Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers (articles choisis)*, ed. Alain Pons, 2 vols. (Paris: Flammarion, 1968), I: 114.

Richardson, letter to Johannes Stinstra, 2 June 1753, reprinted in John Holl, ed., *Selected Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 228–29.

<sup>2</sup> C. Duncan Eaves and Ben D. Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson: a Biography* (Oxford: University Press, 1971), 5.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Richardson entered the second form of the Merchant Taylors' School in 1701, advanced to the third form, and left the school in 1702. This could well have been the novelist." (Eaves and Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson*, 9.) Boswell was that Richardson was "brought up" in Christ's Hospital, but the novelist's father denied this (*ibid.*, 10).

<sup>4</sup> Richardson, letter to Johann Stinstra, 2 June 1753, Carroll, ed., *Selected Letters*, iii: 391. It is in his autobiographical letter to Stinstra that Richardson writes on his "Correspondence with a Gentleman greatly my superior in Degree who, had he lived, intended high things for me." Perhaps the Richardsons expected this gentleman to support Samuel in an education for the Anglican ministry, and some such hope may be behind the delay in his undertaking an apprenticeship. Richardson emphasizes, however, that the correspondence went on while he was a printer's apprentice: "Multitudes of Letters passed between this Gentleman & me. He wrote well . . . Our Subjects were various." (Carroll, *Selected Letters*, 229). Richardson's daughters, Anne Richardson and Martha Bridgen, in their correspondence of 1784 narrate their recollections of the story of Richardson's highborn acquaintance, the generous libertine and gentleman who died in 1739. The daughter of the bigamist is supposed to have given permission in 1741 for the narrative to be printed in the second volume of *Pamela*. The daughters' story is a reconstruction with a lot of speculation mixed in, and they too were relying on the third volume of *Pamela* as well as on hints from their father and fragments of correspondence. Quotations, here from the gentleman's story as told in *Pamela*, have been taken from the third volume of the third edition of *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*. (London: S. Richardson, 4 vols., 1742). All further references to *Pamela* in the text are to the third edition.

<sup>5</sup> A. D. McKillop, *Samuel Richardson: Printer and Novelist* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), 108–18; and Eaves and Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson*, 12–13.

<sup>6</sup> Richardson, letter to Stinstra, 2 June 1753, Carroll, ed., *Selected Letters*, 229.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 75–104.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, vol. II, 1979), 139.

<sup>9</sup> The phrase is sufficiently closely associated with Richardson's novel for Jane Austen to seize upon it in parody of *Grandison* in one of her early works: "The Johnsons were a family of Love, and though a little addicted to the Bottle and the Dice, had many good Qualities." See "Jack and Alice," in Margaret Anne Doody and Douglas Murray, eds., *Catharine and Other Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 12. Jocelyn Harris, in *Jane Austen's Art of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), defines and develops echoes of Richardson in Austen.

<sup>10</sup> Eisenstein, *The Printing Press*, 155.



- 12 For Richardson's part in the Opposition cause during this dangerous time, see Eaves and Kimpel, *Samuel Richardson*, 19-36.
- 13 All quotations from *Clarissa* are taken from the eight-volume third edition reprinted with an introduction by Florian Stuber (New York: AMS Press, 1966). *Milton, Areopagitica*, reprinted in Douglas Bush et al., *The Prose Works of Milton* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 8 vols., 1953-82), II: 549-51.
- 14 Eisenstein, *The Printing Press*, 687.
- 15 For Richardson's account of this assignment, see his letter to Aaron Hill, February 1741 and his letter to Stinstra, 2 June 1753 (Carroll, ed., *Selected Letters*, 40-41, 332-33).
- 16 See Brian W. Downs, ed., *Familiar Letters on Important Occasions* (London: Routledge, 1928), nos. 138-39.
- 17 The full title of Richardson's "letter writer" is *Letters Written to and Particular Friends. On the Most Important Occasions. Directing Not Only the Right Style and Forms to Be Observed in Writing Familiar Letters; But to Think and Act Justly and Prudently in the Common Concerns of Human Life*.
- 18 Wolfgang Zach, "Mrs. Aubin and Richardson's Earliest Literary Mani- (1739)," *English Studies*, 62 (1981): 271-85.
- 20 The first commentator to suggest that Richardson's malady was Parkinsonian was Elizabeth Bergen Brophy, in an appendix to her book *Samuel Richardson the Triumph of Craft* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974). Richardson gives some glimpse of his state of health in his self-descriptive letter to Lady Bradshaigh, when she was to meet him for the first time, explaining that she does not go to public places, "not even to church, a benefit . . . I have as been deprived of by my nervous malady, which will not let me appear in a crowd of people." He walks a good deal, but carries a cane "which he leans upon under the skirts of his coat usually, that it may imperceptibly serve him as a support when attacked by sudden tremors or startings, and dizziness, which frequently attack him, but, thank God, not so often as formerly" (Letter to Lady Bradshaigh, late 1749, Carroll, ed., *Selected Letters*, 134-35). Richardson associated the onset of the malady with a period of great stress and grief from repeated bereavements: "No less than Eleven concerning Deaths attacked me two Years. My Nerves were so affected with these repeated Blows, that I have been for seven Years past forced, after repeated labouring thro the whole Medical Process by Direction of eminent Physicians, to go into a Regiment, no Cure to be expected, but merely as a Palliative" (Letter to Lady Bradshaigh, December 1748, Carroll, ed., *Selected Letters*, 110). He abstained from wine, meat, and fish, and tried many remedies including exercise and taking the water at Bath and Tunbridge.
- 21 All quotations from *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* are taken from the Riverside edition, entitled *Pamela*, the first edition edited by T. C. Duncan Eaves and B. D. Kimpel (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971).
- 22 Jean Le Ronde d'Alembert, *Discours Preliminaires to Encyclopédie*, 112.
- 23 See my essay "The Man-Made World of Clarissa Harlowe and Robert Lovelace," in *Samuel Richardson: Passion and Prudence*, ed. Valerie Grosvenor Mylton (London: Vision, 1986), 52-77.
- 24 Le plus libre et le plus doux de tous les actes n'admet point de violence réelle, la nature la raison s'y opposent: la nature, en ce qu'elle a pourvu le plus faible d'autant de force

Il en faut pour résister quant il lui plait; la raison, en ce qu'une violence réelle est non seulement le plus brutal de tous les actes, mais le plus contraire à sa fin.

The most generous and sweetest of all actions admits of no real violence, nature and reason are opposed to it: nature, in that she has provided the feeblest woman with sufficient force to resist when she wants to; reason, in that real violence is not only the most brutal of all actions, but the most contrary to its object.]

an-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile, ou de l'éducation* [1762] (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1966), 468.

seau, who knew *Clarissa* well and is influenced by it, quite definitely refuses to admit its major premise. Indeed Richardson has to be quite bold to set out his theory of rape in opposition to a general cultural belief that rape does not really concern, that any sexual congress, even if it looks like violence, involves the man's real desire and inner consent. Lovelace expresses this view in the novel, thus see why Richardson had to have *Clarissa* drugged and unconscious during the rape sequence. He has to exhibit that rape does take place. Had *Clarissa* been conscious, Lovelace and many readers would have agreed that she had really consented, and that any bodily and vocal resistance was just play.

Carroll, ed., *Selected Letters*, 95, and "Postscript . . . In Which Several objections that have been made, as well to the Catastrophe as to different Parts of the preceding History, are briefly considered" (*Clarissa*, VIII: 277-99).

Richardson has to take on not only the sensibilities of readers, but proponents of the traditional neoclassical view that "Poetical Justice" is aesthetically necessary in a work of fiction. Richardson sinned against "Poetical Justice" in dramatic and other works can most readily be found in cultural circumstances involving authoritarian ideas and controls - like the France of Louis XIV, where a politically supervised Académie Française emphasized such propriety. Punishing the bad characters and rewarding the good not only reminds the audience readers that they are being instructed, but also posits a morality already known and a system of social rewards worth having. Insistence of Poetic Justice is most always supports a politically authoritarian system. The killing off of *Clarissa* by Richardson has been objected to on feminist grounds from its own day, with objections voiced by Lady Bradshaigh and Lady Echlin, as well as by Berry Castle and other modern critics. But in discussing the ending of Richardson's novel we should take into account the political implications of averting Poetic Justice and thus implicitly condemning current society.

Eisenstein, *The Printing Press*, 143.

or a discussion of *Clarissa's* coffin designs, see Allan Wacht, "Clarissa's Coffin," *Philological Quarterly*, 39 (1960): 481-95, and Rita Goldberg, *Sex and Allegement in Richardson and Diderot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Goldberg reads the emblems on *Clarissa's* coffin as sexual symbols. There are numerous emblems and examples of *ekphrasis* scattered through *Clarissa*.

*Characteristics of Man. Manners. Opinions. Times of Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury*, contains an essay on the "Historical Draught or Lablature of the Judgment of Hercules" with an engraving of the image, but it is Hercules. This is just one of the many appearances of the image, but it is certainly an important one. It also should be noted that Shaftesbury's book carries an image (by Gribelin) of both sun and *ourberos* combined in a device on the title page of the first volume. Richardson must have known this very well-

known book. The development of eighteenth-century ideas of the nature of man, and our innate pleasure in social virtues, can be attributed to Shaftesbury's essays; *Grandison* is the most Shaftesburian of Richardson's works.

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