

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF JOHN CLELAND

The first collected edition of John Cleland's correspondence, this volume provides a rare insight into a significant literary life and jobbing authorship in the eighteenth century. All known letters by and to Cleland are included in their entirety, alongside letter excerpts, diary entries, and documents in which he is discussed by friends, enemies, family members, and distant acquaintances. The volume also includes Cleland's christening record, a manuscript essay composed by Cleland in French on 'Litterateurs', and the will of Cleland's mother, Lucy, whose many codicils reveal her determination to prevent her profligate son from squandering her fortune. Interspersed throughout are telling remarks about Cleland from figures such as Alexander Pope, Samuel Foote, Claude-Pierre Patu, and, most revealing and intriguing of all, vignettes by the great biographer James Boswell. The volume makes several new attributions and demonstrates for the first time the extent of Cleland's participation in the European Enlightenment.

Peter Sabor, Canada Research Chair at McGill University, Montréal, is the co-general editor of *The Cambridge Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Samuel Richardson* (24 vols., 2011–), co-editor of *Samuel Richardson in Context* (Cambridge, 2017), and editor of the Oxford World's Classics edition of Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1985).

Richard Terry was Professor of Eighteenth-Century Literature at Northumbria University, Newcastle. He was the co-editor of the Broadview edition of Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (2018), with Helen Williams, and the author of *The Plagiarism Allegation in English Literature* (2010), *Mock-Heroic from Butler to Cowper* (2005), and *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past* (2001).

Helen Williams is Associate Professor of Eighteenth-Century Literature at Northumbria University, Newcastle, and a British Academy Innovation Fellow. She is the author of *Laurence Sterne and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge, 2021) and the co-editor, with Richard Terry, of the Broadview edition of Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (2018).

THE CAMBRIDGE
EDITION OF THE
CORRESPONDENCE
OF JOHN CLELAND



EDITED BY

Peter Sabor

McGill University

Richard Terry

Northumbria University

Helen Williams

Northumbria University



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We were a significant way through this project before we realised the extent to which it was a multilingual one. Dealing with the many pages of Cleland's writings in French has meant, for Helen, calling up long-neglected language skills. She is belatedly beholden to Mme Espinosa of St Joseph's Roman Catholic Sixth Form in Hebburn and hopes that this volume might atone in some way for the accidental disposal of 'Michel Thomas' when her parents' old tape deck was taken to the tip.

The move to bilingual editing has been one of the ways in which this has felt, for both Peter and Helen, like a project of two parts. The final, most affecting way in which this project has been divided across two phases occurred in the early days of the global pandemic, when we suddenly and tragically lost our collaborator, Richard. Helen and Richard had jointly come across Cleland's correspondence in Northumberland Archives when he was supervising her PhD thesis. Richard led this project from its inception as a British Academy-funded project under the small grants scheme, when it became an international collaboration with Peter. Richard was pioneering in reading financial documents against literature. He was

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awarded shortly before his death a Leverhulme Fellowship to pursue a project on literature and life insurance. Some of Richard's financial interests are evident here, from our studying of the ledgers held by Hoare's Bank, and our findings have appeared elsewhere in *Review of English Studies*, but some key evidence that has ultimately shaped our reading of Cleland's relationship with his mother and the straitened circumstances in which he lived in the 1750s appears here for the first time, having arisen only after Richard's painstaking research into the records of Coutts & Co. We were delighted on Richard's behalf when that material came through. The Cleland project, then, symbolises for its remaining team members ten years of collaboration, mentorship, and, most importantly, friendship. This volume is the last published work of a fine, generous scholar, a beautiful writer, and a fun and caring friend. We hope we have finalised it to a level somewhere approaching Richard's high and exacting standards.

A NOTE ON THE EDITION

This is the first collected edition of John Cleland's correspondence. It includes, in their entirety, all letters by and to Cleland known to us, as well as excerpts from letters, diary entries, and various other documents in which he is discussed by his contemporaries: friends, enemies, family members, and distant acquaintances alike. Although some of the letters and documents included here have been published in whole or in part in a variety of books and articles, the majority are printed for the first time.

The edition also contains five appendices: Cleland's christening record; an unsigned note by Cleland in French; a manuscript essay composed by Cleland in French on 'Litterateurs'; the holograph will of Cleland's mother, Lucy Cleland, with its many codicils revealing her determination to prevent her profligate son from inheriting and squandering her fortune; and a cheque from Sir John Hussey Delaval to Cleland. The only significant exclusion from the volume concerns Cleland's printed letters in newspapers. Our reason for omitting these is that in many cases Cleland's authorship is uncertain – and as such letters were written specifically with publication in mind, they belong to a different genre from the other items reproduced in this edition. Also excluded is a letter by Thomas Pichon of 24 December 1758, sent to an unnamed correspondent, whose identity remains unknown. In his book on Pichon, John Clarence Webster names the correspondent as Cleland, but we believe that internal evidence rules out the possibility of him being the recipient.¹

The edition contains 136 letters and documents, arranged in chronological order. Each item is introduced with a brief headnote indicating the location of the manuscript, the names of the author and addressee, the appearance of any seals (where present), and the date and place of writing. Although many of the letters are undated or furnished only with headings such as 'Wednesday morning', the exact or approximate date has been established in almost all cases through external and internal evidence. Conjectural dates, locations, and, in a few instances, names of addressees are placed in square brackets. Conjectural dating is especially significant in the case of the twenty-four letters exchanged between Cleland,

¹ John Clarence Webster, *Thomas Pichon, 'The Spy of Beausejour': An Account of His Career in Europe and America* (Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1937), p. 62.

A NOTE ON THE EDITION

Lucy Cleland, Edward Dickinson, and Allan Auld between November 1752 and September 1762. We have established what we believe is an accurate chronology for this correspondence, differing considerably from that proposed by Hal Gladfelder in *Fanny Hill in Bombay* and by the catalogue of the Morgan Library in which the manuscripts are housed.²

All of the letters and documents are transcribed from the original manuscripts, or, in the very few cases where no manuscript exists, from the earliest printed sources. Texts are reproduced literally, for the most part, with retention of original paragraphing, punctuation, period spellings and misspellings, capitalisation, and raised letters. Cleland signed his name in different ways, as 'JCleland', 'JohnCleland', 'John Cleland', and occasionally 'Jean de Cleland': we have maintained these distinctions. Explanatory notes are provided when the sense is unclear; we have made no silent corrections. Underlinings are represented by italic type, double underlinings by underlined italics. The long 's' has been modernised throughout and the length of dashes has been regularised. Word fragments are omitted. Deletions and insertions are recorded in the notes. Conjectural readings, in cases of obliteration, blotting, uncertain legibility, or damage to the paper, are placed within angle brackets. Editorial ellipses are placed in square brackets, to distinguish them from authorial ellipses.

We have not attempted to reproduce the visual appearance of the original manuscripts in terms of layout. Datelines occurring at the head or the foot of the manuscripts are reproduced flush left (in the print version of this book), as are salutations and signatures. Postscripts are likewise reproduced flush left and at the end of letters, regardless of their position in the manuscripts. Paragraphs are given standard indentations, regardless of how they appear on the page. Several items are in French or in Portuguese. In these cases, we provide both transcriptions and English translations; our editorial notes are keyed to the original text.

The letters and documents in this edition fall, with a few exceptions, into several distinct groups. First, there are thirty-eight items recording Cleland's fractious career with the East India Company in Bombay, beginning with his appointment as attorney there in August 1730 and concluding with his report to the directors in London in August 1741. Next there are letters and documents from February 1742 and November 1748, one in French by Cleland and two in Portuguese by Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, revealing Cleland's ill-fated attempts to be associated with the Portuguese East India Company. This series overlaps with a group of sixteen letters and documents from February 1748 to November 1750, in which Cleland appears as the author of the novel that made him notorious, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, attempting to defend himself from the charges of obscenity brought against the work and also launching counterattacks in characteristically vitriolic fashion. The ten-year correspondence from 1752 to 1762

² Hal Gladfelder, *Fanny Hill in Bombay: The Making & Unmaking of John Cleland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 184–93.

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between Cleland, his mother, and her lawyer friend reveals the acrimonious nature of the mother–son relationship and Edward Dickinson’s valiant efforts in acting as an intermediary between the two. A series of letters in French between Cleland and the French adventurer and spy Thomas Pichon and Pichon’s companion, the writer Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont, written between 1757 and 1766, provides new insights into his continental travels and editorial work in this period. Between 1760 and his death in 1786, Cleland’s English correspondence was primarily with the great actor-manager David Garrick, whose rejection of his tragedy *Titus Vespasian* Cleland bitterly resented, and with the Delaval family and the Marquess of Rockingham, from whom he hoped in vain for political patronage.

Interspersed among these letters are telling remarks about Cleland from figures such as Alexander Pope, Samuel Foote, Claude-Pierre Patu, Syllas Neville, Josiah Beckwith, John Nichol, and, most revealing and intriguing of all, vignettes by the great biographer James Boswell. As well as a letter from Cleland to Boswell (item no. 129), the edition includes four passages from Boswell’s journals (items no. 119, 128, 131, and 136) in which the elderly Cleland, that ‘fine sly malcontent’, with his ‘black and piercing eyes’, springs to life on the page, retaining, as Boswell remarks, ‘something *genteel* in his manner amidst this oddity’.

CHRONOLOGY OF CLELAND'S LIFE AND WORKS

The chronology includes several publications newly attributed to Cleland on the basis of the correspondence in this volume.

- 1710 Born probably in late summer in Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey, the first child of William Cleland, a former army officer and civil servant, and Lucy DuPass.
- 1721–23 Spends two years at Westminster School before leaving for reasons that remain unexplained.
- 1728 Arrives in Bombay on 28 August to pursue a career, initially as a soldier and then as a civil servant, with the East India Company.
- 1730 Appointed as attorney for the East India Company on 26 August. According to a later statement, begins writing *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* as a joint venture with his friend Charles Carmichael.
- 1731 Appointed as a writer for the East India Company on 9 February.
- 1734 On 27 November, presents a bill of complaint on behalf of his client Lollaboy Soncurr Ballanot Vassentroy against Henry Lowther, chief of the East India Company's Custom House at Surat, regarding an unpaid loan. Cleland's aggressive pursuit of the case leads to an acrimonious legal dispute with Lowther.
- 1735 On 10 September a 'Complaint' against Cleland by William Boag is received by the Mayor's Court of Bombay. The dispute concerns a complaint of rape against Boag made by his 'Servant or Slave' Marthalina and her subsequent residence in Cleland's house.
- 1736 Cleland's sister Charlotte Lucy (or Louisa) arrives in Bombay.
- 1737 Appointed supervisor of Mahim Custom House in February. Appointed secretary for Portuguese affairs on 3 June. Presents to Alexander Pope, who in turn presents to the Bodleian Library, a volume of 178 portraits of Indian rajahs.
- 1738 Made secretary of the Bombay Council on 20 October.
- 1740 Having heard of his father's illness, he requests permission on 5 September to return to England.
- 1741 Notifies the directors of the East India Company of his arrival home on 26 August. Death of William Cleland on 21 September.

CHRONOLOGY OF CLELAND'S LIFE AND WORKS

- 1742 Writes a memorandum to King João V of Portugal in February, advising on the establishment of a Portuguese trading company in the East Indies to rival the East India Company.
- 1743 In Lisbon to promote the establishment of a Portuguese East India Company. Meets the king's senior ministers, Cardinal da Mota and Marco António de Azevedo Coutinho, in May, but the scheme ends in failure.
- 1748 Arrested on 23 February for a debt of £800 owed to Thomas Cannon and imprisoned in the Fleet Prison.
 The first volume of *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* is published on 21 November.
- 1749 The second and final volume of *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* is published on 14 February.
 On 6 March Cleland gains release from prison, but on 8 November he is detained along with the book's printer and publisher on a charge of obscenity; he renounces the writing of the *Memoirs* in a letter (13 November) to Lovel Stanhope, law clerk to the secretary of state. No evidence exists that the three associates are prosecuted.
The Case of the Unfortunate Bosavern Penlez is published on 7 November, attacking the evil of enforced prostitution.
- 1749–74
 1750 Contributes at least thirty review articles to the *Monthly Review*.
 Travels to South Carolina and Jamaica.
 Cleland's expurgated abridgement of *Woman of Pleasure* appears in March as *Memoirs of Fanny Hill* and immediately incites legal reprisal. Cleland, his printer, and his publisher are again detained and examined but seemingly, once again, not prosecuted.
The Oeconomy of a Winter's Day appears in December.
- 1751 *An Historical and Physical Dissertation on the Case of Catherine Vizzani*, a prurient medical treatise on a notable lesbian cross-dresser, translated by Cleland from the Italian, with a commentary, appears in March.
Memoirs of a Coxcomb is published in September.
 A translation of Charles Pinot Duclos's fictional *Memoirs Illustrating the Manners of the Present Age*, vol. 2, is published in May.
- 1752 Finds himself in want of necessaries and petitions a family friend for relief, prompting a series of strained letters with his mother mediated through Edward Dickinson, a lawyer and close friend of Lucy Cleland.
- 1753 Accepts an allowance from his mother in January 1753 after having bitterly contested the restrictive nature of its terms.
 First evidence, in a letter from Samuel Foote to Francis Blake Delaval, of Cleland's association with the Delaval family based in

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- Northumberland. The Delavals provide patronage to Cleland for the remainder of his life.
The Dictionary of Love, adapted from Jean François Dreux du Radier's *Dictionnaire d'amour*.
- 1755 *Titus Vespasian: A Tragedy* and *The Ladies Subscription: A Dramatic Performance* are published together in one volume.
- c. 1756 *Le véritable observateur ou Lettre d'un anglois à un patriote hollandois*, a political pamphlet.
- 1757 John Henry Grose's *A Voyage to the East-Indies*. Cleland composed this work from his own and Grose's notes.
 Begins writing political articles in the form of letters to the *Public Advertiser* under the pseudonyms 'A Briton', 'A Parliamentarian', and 'Modestus'.
 Establishes a friendship with Thomas Pichon, also known as Tyrrell, a French spy, which lasts until Cleland repays a debt in 1766.
- 1758 Death in March of Lucy Cleland's sister, Viscountess Allen, an event that causes Cleland 'infinite concern'.
An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets Savage Nations, Now Dependent on the Government of Cape-Breton. From an Original French Manuscript—Letter, Never Published, Written by a French Abbot [Pierre Maillard] (1758), an edited letter, is published in March.
 On 12 June, sends Jeanne-Marie Leprince de Beaumont suggestions for including portraits of Northumbrian women in her *Anecdotes du quatorzième siècle, pour servir à l'histoire des femmes illustres de ce tems* (c. 1758); she does not do so.
Tombo-Chiqui: or, the American Savage, a comedy, is published. It met the fate of his other plays in never being staged.
 Cleland translates and edits two works by Anne-Marie Fauques de Vacluse: *The Inauguration of Frederic the Great, in the Temple of Immortality; or the Triumph of Glory*, published in March, and the first two volumes of *The History of the Marchioness de Pompadour*, published in October.
- 1759 *The Times! An Epistle to Flavian*, a satiric poem, is published in September.
- 1760 *The Times. A Second Epistle to Flavian* is published in April.
The Romance of a Day, a novella, is published in September.
 Publishes a continuation volume (a third and final one) to Fauques de Vacluse's *The History of the Marchioness de Pompadour*.
- 1760–66 Cleland writes, and Pichon subsequently edits, a manuscript essay on the tradition of 'Lecteurs' and 'Litterateurs'.
- 1761 Medical and dietary treatise *The Institutes of Health* is published.

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- 1762 *The Romance of a Night*, a novella, is published in September. Cleland's finances are frozen by the bank on 18 September when he is suspected dead.
- 1762–63 Period in office of John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, as prime minister. One of Cleland's bitterest resentments was his belief that he had been promised a role as a government propagandist for the Bute administration only for the offer to be withdrawn.
- 1763 Death in May of his mother, Lucy Cleland, from whom he had been largely estranged since the early 1750s. Although left a regulated annuity in his mother's will, Cleland did not inherit the residual estate despite being the only surviving child.
- 1764 *The Surprises of Love* is published on 10 December, though bearing a 1765 publication date. A collection of four novellas, it contains two new items, *The Romance of a Morning, or The Chance of a Sport* and *The Romance of an Evening, or Who would have thought it?*, together with *The Romance of a Day* and *The Romance of a Night*.
- 1765 *Physiological Reveries*, a medical treatise.
 Contributes 'Mémoires de la vie de M. David Garrick' to the *Journal encyclopédique*.
The Life of the Marchioness de Pompadour is published, a revised and enlarged (fourth) edition of *The History of the Marchioness de Pompadour*.
 Contributes an unidentified essay to the *Gazette britannique; ou, journal littéraire et amusant de Londres*.
- 1766 *The Way to Things by Words and to Words by Things*, a linguistic treatise.
 Travels to Paris, Delft, and the Hague.
- 1768 *The Woman of Honor*, his last major fictional undertaking.
Specimen of an Etimological Vocabulary, a linguistic study.
- 1769 *Additional Articles to the Specimen of an Etimological Vocabulary*.
- 1772 Contributes a piece to the *Morning Chronicle*.
 Proposes a new project, *The Celtic Retrieved, by the Analytical Method or Reduction to Radicals*, which does not get off the ground.
- 1778 James Boswell visits Cleland in his lodgings in the Savoy district, recording in his journal the older man's eccentricity and antiquated manner of living.
- 1782 Moves to Petty France, Westminster, where he resides until his death.
- 1783 Death of Susanna, Lady Delaval, on 1 October.
- 1789 Dies at his house in Petty France on 23 January, aged seventy-eight. His grave plot has never been identified.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Complete Works</i>	William Shakespeare. <i>The Complete Works</i> , edited by Stanley W. Wells <i>et al.</i> , 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
‘Delavals’	Richard Terry and Helen Williams. ‘John Cleland and the Delavals’, <i>Review of English Studies</i> 64 (2013), 795–818.
<i>Dictionary</i>	Samuel Johnson. <i>Dictionary of the English Language</i> , 2 vols. London: Strahan, 1755.
ESTC	<i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> , available at www.estc.bl.uk .
<i>Europe’s India</i>	Sanjay Subrahmanyam. <i>Europe’s India: Words, People, Empires, 1500–1800</i> . Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017.
<i>Fanny Hill in Bombay</i>	Hal Gladfelder. <i>Fanny Hill in Bombay: The Making & Unmaking of John Cleland</i> . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.
HPO	<i>History of Parliament Online</i> , available at www.historyofparliamentonline.org .
<i>John Cleland</i>	William Epstein. <i>John Cleland: Images of a Life</i> . New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.
<i>Libertine Literature</i>	David Foxon. <i>Libertine Literature in England 1660–1745</i> . New York: University Books, 1965.
<i>Lumières clandestines</i>	Geneviève Artigas-Menant. <i>Lumières clandestines: Les papiers de Thomas Pichon</i> . Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001.
<i>Memoirs</i>	John Cleland. <i>Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure</i> , edited by Richard Terry and Helen Williams. Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2018.
Nangle	Benjamin Christie Nangle. <i>The Monthly Review: First Series 1749–1789: Indexes of Contributors and Articles</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934.
‘New Attributions’	Roger Lonsdale. ‘New Attributions to John Cleland’, <i>Review of English Studies</i> NS 30.119 (1979), 268–90.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ODNB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004 (online edition).
<i>OED</i>	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992 (online edition).
<i>Private Correspondence</i>	<i>The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the most Celebrated Persons of his Time</i> , edited by James Boaden, 2 vols. London: Colburn, 1831.
<i>Spy of Beausejour</i>	John Clarence Webster. <i>Thomas Pichon, 'The Spy of Beausejour': An Account of His Career in Europe and America</i> . Sackville, NB: Tribune Press, 1937.
'Wages of Sin'	James Basker. "'The Wages of Sin': The Later Career of John Cleland', <i>Études anglaises</i> 40.2 (1987), 178–94.
<i>Yale Walpole</i>	<i>The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence</i> , edited by W. S. Lewis <i>et al.</i> , 48 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937–83.