

THE NEW RAMBLER



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The New Rambler

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DR. JOHNSON AND DR. HAWKESWORTH:

A LITERARY FRIENDSHIP*

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Samuel Johnson was the subject of one of the world's greatest biographies and a skilled practitioner of the form himself. He praised its worth in Rambler No. 60 where he states, "I have often thought that there has rarely passed a life of which a judicious and faithful narrative would not be useful."¹ Twentieth-century students of the Age of Johnson have responded to the Johnsonian charge to pay close attention to biography, and in studying the lives of men who knew and associated with Johnson they are shedding light upon an age and the man whose name marks that age.

Johnson and Boswell have found twentieth-century biographers worthy to record and reinterpret their complex lives in the work of James L. Clifford and Frederick A. Pottle; the careers of Christopher Smart, Dr. Charles Burney, and William Strahan have been ably examined by Arthur Sherbo, Roger Lonsdale, and James Cōchrane; and students of the period await forthcoming biographical studies of Sir John Hawkins and Charlotte Lennox by Bertram Davis and Duncan Isles. For several years I have been investigating the life and work of Dr. John Hawkesworth who lived from 1720-1773. Students of the Age of Johnson cannot read long without encountering his name, though few know fully about his literary accomplishments. No scholar has studied carefully the relationship that existed between Dr. Johnson and Dr. Hawkesworth, a relationship that may be termed a literary friendship. Before commenting on the nature of this friendship, Hawkesworth's contributions to the Age of Johnson should be noted.

A poet, critic, essayist, playwright, translator, author of pamphlets and oratorios, biographer and editor of Swift and editor of Captain Cook's Voyages, John Hawkesworth had a varied and rich literary career.² In 1740 he contributed his first poem to the Gentleman's Magazine,

* A paper read to the Johnson Society of London on 21st November, 1970. Chairman: J. H. Leicester, M.A.

beginning a relationship with the periodical which lasted until his death in 1773. Hawkesworth is supposed to have succeeded Johnson as the compiler of the popular "Parliamentary Debates" in the Gentleman's Magazine,³ and it appears that by the late 1740's he had become one of the journal's major contributors. Throughout the 1750's and the 1760's, to his death in the fall of 1773, Hawkesworth wrote hundreds of book and play reviews; and a case can be made that Hawkesworth, like Johnson, helped formulate public taste and the intellectual atmosphere of his time through his work for the Gentleman's Magazine and also for the Monthly Review.

Hawkesworth's popular Adventurer periodical, published between 1752 and 1754 with the aid of Samuel Johnson, Joseph Warton, and others brought him fame, identity as a writer of merit, and the reputation as one of Johnson's most able imitators. As a result of his success with the Adventurer, Hawkesworth was awarded a Lambeth LL.D. degree by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1756. From periodical journalism in the Adventurer Hawkesworth turned to the theatre, probably at the urging of his friend David Garrick. From their correspondence it is evident that Garrick admired Hawkesworth both as a man and as a writer. At his request Hawkesworth altered Dryden's comedy of Amphitryon in 1756, and 1759 he adapted Thomas Southerne's Oroonoko for Garrick, both of which were successfully produced at Drury Lane as was his Edgar and Emmeline: A Fairy Tale in a Dramatic Entertainment in 1761.

Seizing, perhaps, upon the popularity of the genre Johnson helped establish with Rasselas in 1759, Hawkesworth published an oriental tale entitled Almorán and Hamet which was based on a drama Garrick once considered producing. In 1768 he published by subscription a translation of Fénelon's Adventures of Telemachus which was praised and remained the standard English version for a number of years. In addition to his extensive work for the Gentleman's Magazine and the Monthly Review, his success with his Adventurer periodical, his oriental tale, his brief theatrical career, and his much admired translation from the French, Hawkesworth turned his literary talents to editing. In 1755 he published an edition of Swift's works with a biography of Swift which Johnson later praised;⁴ and in 1766 he published an edition of Swift's letters, bringing to light for the first time those letters which constitute

the "Journal to Stella." Hawkesworth's biography of Swift is still an important document, particularly since it influenced Johnson's "Life of Swift"; and his edition of Swift, while faulty by modern standards, is interesting, especially his commentary on Gulliver's Travels.

Hawkesworth was connected with another famous, or, I should say, infamous edition - one about which commentary is most appropriate during the year when the Queen and Britain pay homage to the celebrated voyage of Captain James Cook to the South Seas. Even in an age when technology can raise vessels from the face of the earth to land on the moon, the voyage of Captain Cook to the South Seas from 1768-1771 retains an epic quality. Readers of all ages know about Captain Cook if only specialists know about John Hawkesworth. By 1771, however, their names were intimately linked, and one cannot appreciate the impact Cook made upon the English-speaking world without an understanding of the career of Dr. John Hawkesworth.

When Captain Cook returned to England in 1771, Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, sought an editor qualified to publish an official, government-sanctioned edition of his journals and those kept by the sea captains whose explorations had preceded Cook's by several years - Wallis, Byron, and Carteret. Through the influence of Dr. Charles Burney, a close friend of Hawkesworth, and perhaps the efforts of David Garrick, Hawkesworth was chosen to prepare an edition ultimately entitled, An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the order of his present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere.

The background of Hawkesworth's involvement with Cook's journals and their subsequent publication is complex. What promised to be a bonanza for Hawkesworth, however, the chance of a lifetime to gain financial security, turned into a disaster which possibly hastened his death in the fall of 1773. Published in the summer of 1773, Hawkesworth's Voyages, as they were called, and for which the booksellers paid him the huge sum of six thousand pounds, brought not the fame and fortune he expected, but public outrage and condemnation. Attacks on his edition came from diverse segments of the population - from sailors who criticised technical aspects of his work; from moralists who supposedly blushed at some of the franker passages describing South Sea mores and the conduct of English sailors who purchased

favours from Tahitian maidens for the price of a common nail; from would-be theologians and defenders of the faith who condemned Hawkesworth's deistically-coloured contention in his "Preface" to the Voyages that Providence did not intervene to save Cook and his crew in times of near disaster. The controversy over the Voyages raged in the papers during the summer of 1773, and the work that promised Hawkesworth fame brought oblivion instead.

Hawkesworth's life and literary career were varied, then, and to trace his movements during several decades of the eighteenth century is to encounter a number of illustrious figures - David Garrick; Sir Joshua Reynolds (who painted his portrait); Christopher Smart; William Strahan, John Payne, the Dodsleys and a host of men connected with the world of books and bookselling; Benjamin Franklin (a close friend for a number of years); Edward Cave of the Gentleman's Magazine and Ralph Griffiths of the Monthly Review; Lord Sandwich and the Admiralty circle; Dr. Charles Burney and his glittering company, as well as lesser figures of the nobility with whom Hawkesworth developed several contacts and one close friendship. Of considerable interest for students of the Age of Johnson, however, is Hawkesworth's relationship with Samuel Johnson.

William Shaw asserts in his Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late Dr. Samuel Johnson that Hawkesworth, along with Garrick, was a school-fellow and pupil of Johnson - a statement I have been unable to verify in my research.⁵ Writing many years after this supposed connection, Shaw may have confused the popular impression that Hawkesworth was one of the Johnsonian school, meaning an imitator of Johnson's style, with an actual pupil-teacher relationship. What Shaw does correctly suggest, however, is that Hawkesworth knew Johnson at an early date - many years before his celebrated biographer, James Boswell, appeared on the scene. Johnson, in fact, told Mrs. Piozzi when they were discussing his possible biographers, "After my coming to London to drive the world about a little, you must all go to Jack Hawkesworth for anecdotes."⁶

Johnson and Hawkesworth probably met in London during the late 1730's or early 1740's, and the place of their meeting might have been at St. John's Gate, the home of Edward Cave's Gentleman's Magazine. Indeed, the

earliest link I have found between the two men is an unpublished "Biographical Sketch" of Hawkesworth in the Osborn Collection at Yale University which states that Hawkesworth's "frequent visits to Mr. C [Cave] about the year 1740 gave him the inestimable advantage of shining in conjunction with that star of the first magnitude during the Hanoverian Era, [Johnson] which is now setting at last; and he generally attended the Rambler's weekly club, from which if any man departed without being wiser or better it certainly must have been his own fault."⁷

Hawkesworth's and Johnson's friendship evidently flourished during the 1740's, and there is one piece of evidence not used by Boswell that indicates they enjoyed a warm relationship. Hawkesworth published a poem entitled LIFE. An ODE in the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1747 (vol. 17, p.337), one of the many poems he contributed to the magazine. According to an account by William Cooke in his Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., Hawkesworth took this poem some time previous to publication to a friend's house in the country to retouch. Cooke writes that Dr. Johnson was there and as "Hawkesworth and the Doctor lived upon the most intimate terms, the former read it to him for his opinion." Hawkesworth also complied with Johnson's request for a second reading, after which "Dr. Johnson read it himself, approved of it very highly, and returned it." The following morning at breakfast Johnson commended the poem again but said he doubted its originality. Hawkesworth, profoundly disturbed by the charge, demanded proof, whereupon Johnson repeated the whole of the poem with the exception of a few lines. "What do you think now, Hawkey?" Johnson inquired. "Only this," Hawkesworth answered, "that I shall never repeat any thing I write before you again, for you have a memory that would convict any author of plagiarism in any court of literature in the world."⁸ The poem which Johnson nearly memorized in these few readings contains some sixty-eight lines!

Some two years later, in the winter of 1749, John Hawkesworth had the distinction of being among those who joined Johnson's first club, the Ivy Lane near St. Paul's which met every Tuesday evening at the King's Head, a well known beef-steak house. Joining Hawkesworth were Dr. Salter, John Ryland (his brother-in-law), John Payne, Samuel Dyer, Dr. William M'Ghie, Dr. Edmund Barker, Dr. Richard Bathurst, and Johnson's other biographer, the unclubbable knight, Sir John Hawkins. Hawkins writes

that Johnson constantly resorted to this club and "with a disposition to please and be pleased, would pass those hours in a free and unrestrained interchange of sentiments, which otherwise had been spent at home in painful reflection."⁹

The Ivy Lane club generated the work that helped establish Hawkesworth's reputation as a writer and moralist, his Adventurer periodical published from 1752-1754. Hawkesworth was helped by various club members, including John Payne who published both the Rambler and the Adventurer,¹⁰ Johnson himself who solicited the aid of the Reverend Dr. Joseph Warton and contributed a number of essays to the periodical, and perhaps Dr. Bathurst and Dr. M'Ghie. Though Hawkesworth claimed the Adventurer as his own and rightfully gained a large measure of credit for its success, his debt to his friend, Samuel Johnson, was obvious. Without his essays and his work behind the scenes the publication would not have prospered as it did.

The Adventurer also helped establish Hawkesworth's reputation as one of Johnson's leading imitators stylistically. Samuel Richardson, writing to Lady Bradshaigh on May 30, 1754 concerning the paper comments, "The Principal Author has been thought an Imitator of Mr. Johnson, the Author of the Rambler. They have an high opinion of each other. Mr. Hawkesworth has written some very good Things in Cave's Magazine, as Mr. Johnson used to do."¹¹ Johnson himself "owned that he thought Hawkesworth was one of his imitators, but he did not think Goldsmith was,"¹² and Boswell cites John Courtenay's statement in his Poetical Review of the Literary and Moral Character of Dr. Johnson, "Ingenious HAWKESWORTH to this school [Johnson's] we owe, / And scarce the pupil from the tutor know."¹³ Boswell testifies that Hawkesworth was Johnson's "warm admirer and a studious imitator of his style."¹⁴ Remarking upon the Adventurer essays he says that "Hawkesworth's imitations of Johnson are sometimes so happy, that it is extremely difficult to distinguish them, with certainty, from the compositions of his great archetype. Hawkesworth was his closest imitator, a circumstance of which that writer would once have been proud to be told; though when he had become elated by having risen into some degree of consequence, he, in a conversation with me, had the provoking effrontery to say he was not sensible of it."¹⁵ Perhaps since Boswell was asking Hawkesworth to confirm

the obvious, he chose to tease his questioner by refusing to do so.

One of the grave crises of Johnson's life, the death of his wife Tetty, provides important evidence about his friendship with Hawkesworth. Tetty died on March 17, 1752, O.S. and Boswell records somewhat matter of factly that Johnson "deposited the remains of Mrs. Johnson in the church of Bromley, in Kent, to which he was probably led by the residence of his friend Hawkesworth at that place."¹⁶ He also refers to an account by Francis Barber that Hawkesworth visited Johnson after his wife's death along with John Ryland, Dr. Bathurst, Edward Cave, and a number of others.¹⁷ Nothing that Boswell says about the episode is untrue or even inaccurate, but there are at least two accounts which may give a better picture of what took place.

Tom Tyers in his "Biographical Sketch of Dr. SAMUEL JOHNSON" in the Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1784 (vol. 54, p.905) writes, "Hawkesworth, one of the Johnsonian school, upon being asked, whether Johnson was a happy man, by a gentleman who had been just introduced to him, and wanted to know every thing about him, confessed, that he looked upon him as a most miserable being. The moment of enquiry was probably about the time he lost his wife, and sent for Hawkesworth, in the most earnest manner, to come and give him consolation and his company."

Sir John Hawkins gives another version of the same event, stating that Johnson "intended also to have deposited her remains in the chapel in Tothill fields, Westminster, but, altering his mind, he committed the disposal of them to his friend Hawkesworth, who buried her in his own parish church of Bromley, in Kent, under a black marble stone, one which Johnson himself, a few months before his death caused the following to be inscribed."¹⁸ Just prior to this comment Hawkins says, "As, during her lifetime, he invited but few of his friends to his house, I never saw her, but I have been told by Mr. Garrick, Dr. Hawkesworth, and others, that there was somewhat crazy in the behaviour of them both; profound respect on his part, and the airs of an antiquated beauty on her's."¹⁹

Tyers may capture the emotion of the event better than Boswell, and Hawkins includes two details missing in

Boswell's Life - Johnson's change of mind concerning the burial site and the black marble headstone which, by the way, can still be seen in the Bromley church. It survived, unlike Hawkesworth's memorial, a World War II high explosive bomb.

Johnson's decision to bury Tetty at Bromley has elicited surprisingly little interest from students who otherwise have been fascinated by his marriage. One might ask why Tetty was buried in Bromley and not in London - whether, in fact, a burial outside the home parish would have been unusual enough at this time to raise questions about Johnson's motives. Given the logistical problems of transporting a body from London into the country, one might even inquire whether Tetty actually died at Bromley. Johnson's response to her death appears excessive even for a man of his sensitivities, and had it occurred during a separation it undoubtedly would have caused him great agony. Hawkesworth's role in the event must be assessed, for his presence at Bromley evidently prompted Johnson to commit the remains of his wife there. The answers to these questions are, finally, simple and undramatic, as the truth often is, but in responding to them one can understand more fully the circumstances behind Tetty's burial at Bromley.

Burial outside of a home parish, while unusual, would not, it seems, have been prohibited by the spirit or letter of church regulations at the time; and while the logical and convenient move for Johnson would have been to bury Tetty in London (he did consider it, Hawkins shows), her removal for burial outside of London was not without precedent.²⁰ There appears to be no basis for the intriguing hypothesis that Tetty may have died in Bromley. Johnson wrote to Charlotte Lennox on March 12, 1752, only days before Tetty's death, and concluded, "Poor Tetty Johnson's Illness[sic] will not suffer me to think of going any whither, out of her call. She is very ill, and I am very much dejected."²¹

Johnson's choice of Bromley was beyond any real doubt determined by his relationship with Hawkesworth. This was a time of considerable intimacy on the part of the two men as Hawkesworth's membership in the Ivy Lane club reveals and their mutual work on the Adventurer was soon to show. Johnson, then, turned to a friend at a moment of grief and probable confusion, a friend uniquely suited to

take care of the painful realities of a funeral. Tetty was buried at Bromley on March 26, 1752, a fact recorded both in the Bromley burial register and one kept by John Dunn, the local undertaker. Both sources record another interesting fact: on February 24, 1752, about a month before Tetty's funeral, a John Hawkesworth was buried, probably Dr. Hawkesworth's father. Johnson surely knew about this event, may have shared Hawkesworth's anguish shortly before he was to experience similar suffering, and his memory of the event would have been fresh in his mind when Tetty died. A close friend, then, having recently been involved in the arrangement of a funeral would be a logical person to turn to, and Hawkesworth probably attended to Tetty's funeral as he had to his father's a few weeks earlier. In addition, Bromley in the eighteenth century would have offered a site of rural tranquillity in contrast to congested London; and Johnson, who evidently visited the Hawkesworth home often (perhaps with Tetty herself), may have thought about this when he called for Hawkesworth.²²

The circumstances behind Tetty's death and burial at Bromley are not of great consequence in the full sweep of Johnson's biography, but they enable one to test Boswell's version with those of Hawkins and Tyers. Of the three Boswell's appears to be the least complete, and his comment that Johnson was "probably" led to Bromley "by the residence of his friend Hawkesworth at that place" suggests a minimal understanding of the friendship that caused Johnson to turn to Hawkesworth. Hawkins' account, by contrast, is sounder, rooted in facts Boswell doesn't supply, and unqualified by any hedging adverb.

Hawkins and Boswell give differing assessments of Johnson's relationship with Tetty - Boswell's somewhat idealized; Hawkins' more down to earth and, in our unsentimental age, more believable. Professor Clifford has come to accept Hawkins as the more reliable biographer in his depiction of Johnson's and Tetty's marriage,²³ a conclusion that may be sustained, at least indirectly, by the above information. If Hawkins presents a more accurate picture than Boswell of Hawkesworth's role in burying Tetty, then perhaps his version of the Johnson marriage is more to be trusted since the marriage and the friendship with Hawkesworth occurred at approximately the same time.

There are many sources of information about the

association of Johnson and Hawkesworth, one of which suggests that Hawkesworth may have considered himself a potential Johnsonian biographer. Princeton University library has a copy of the first edition of Boswell's Life of Johnson whose margins contain anecdotes and reminiscences concerning Johnson and his contemporaries. The probable author of these notations, Lady Phillipina Knight, comments at one point that "Hawkesworth had a retentive memory, and always took occasion to slip out of the room and write down Johnson's conversations."²⁴ No date for Hawkesworth's activity is given, but it may have been some years before Boswell appeared on the scene. One laments that Hawkesworth's notes have perished, for such a skilful imitator of Johnson's literary style might have been a superb recorder of his conversation.

After Tetty's death and the completion of the Adventurer, the relationship of Johnson and Hawkesworth becomes somewhat vague, and by 1756 their contacts at the Ivy Lane club must have ceased. Hawkins writes about its declining membership: "Death had taken from us M'Ghie; Barker went to settle as a practising physician at Trowbridge; Dyer went abroad; Hawkesworth was busied in forming new connections."²⁵ There is some evidence of a feud between Johnson and Hawkesworth, possibly caused by the latter winning a Lambeth LL.D. degree which not only made Hawkesworth a doctor before Johnson but also, according to some, puffed him up considerably. Hawkins asserts, "elated him too much, and betrayed him into a forgetfulness of his origin, and a neglect of his early acquaintance; and on this I have heard Johnson remark, in terms that sufficiently express a knowledge of his character, and a resentment of his behaviour. It is probable that he might use the same language to Hawkesworth himself, and also reproach him with the acceptance of an academical honour to which he could have no pretensions, and, which Johnson, conceiving to be irregular, as many yet do, held in great contempt; this much is certain, that soon after the attainment of it, the intimacy between them ceased."²⁶

Relations between the two men may have been strained even before Hawkesworth was awarded his doctorate in December, 1756. In a letter to his friend, Fulke Greville, dated March 14, 1756 Hawkesworth makes some scarcely flattering remarks about Johnson's criticisms of Greville's Maxims, Characters, and Reflections. He writes:

I enclose you Johnson's Letter it will cost you threepence but I dare say you will think it worth twice the Money. It is an original, and as I told you it would be expressed in general Terms without refering to particular passages as new, striking, delicate or recherché. You see in the first place that he has not read the Book through; he never reads any Book through: you see in the next place that he has had Ingenuity enough to find something to blame in what he allows to be fine Thoughts finely expressed, which perhaps you would have thought included every possible Excellence of literary composition; but he has found out that the Names of your Characters are ill formed or ill chosen, and that upon the whole it is too Gallick: Excellent indeed is that Book in which the Microscopic Eye of Johnson discovers no other blemishes than such Specks as these, take however his own Testimony in his own words, they are written indeed not in Letters but in pothooks, a kind of Character which will probably cost you some time to decypher, & perhaps at last you may not succeed.²⁷

A recollection of Miss Reynolds tends to corroborate Hawkins' statements concerning the cooling of the Hawkesworth-Johnson friendship which may be indicated by the tone of the above letter. She recounts that "As we were returning from the meadows that day, I remember we met Sir John Hawkins, whom Dr. Johnson seemed much rejoiced to see.... On his asking Johnson when he had seen Dr. Hawkesworth, he roared out with great vehemency, 'Hawkesworth is grown a coxcomb, and I have done with him'."²⁸

Although evidence of a feud between Johnson and Hawkesworth exists, contacts between them persisted, and it is doubtful whether any rupture of their friendship was severe or lasting. Sometime in 1761 Hawkesworth is said to have introduced the dramatist John Hoole to Johnson, and Hoole's friendship with Johnson was one of the important relationships of his life.²⁹ An anecdote in the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1782 (vol. 52, p.19) written by a correspondent signed "H" indicates that some warmth existed on Johnson's part for Hawkesworth, again around 1761. "H" comments, "When Dr. Hawkesworth, the great friend of Dr. J. published his *Almorán and Hamet*, Dr. J. being asked, if he had read the book? replied, as I have heard, 'No! I like the man too well to read his book'." "H" adds, "Far the greater part of

Dr. J's censures, however, are just; and if it be true, that men of genius are prone to censure each other, it is also inevitable, that it should be so; since they feel each other's defects with a sensibility much more poignant than that of other men."

There is in the John Rylands Library a letter from George Faulkner dated July 14, 1763 to Sir James Caldwell, an Irish Baronet and a friend of both Hawkesworth and Johnson in which Faulkner asks, "How are Dr. Hawkesworth and Mr. Johnson? I hope they are both well and that you will be pleased to make my best Wishes and Respects to them, and should be glad to know if the former got my present of Swift's works to him." In another letter, evidently written about the same time, Caldwell invites Hawkesworth and Johnson to stay with him in Ireland. Hawkesworth concludes his reply to Caldwell with the statement, "Johnson, who is with me, desires his Compliments but he has no thought of crossing the Channel." Finally, a letter dated February 12, 1767 from Johnson to Caldwell, begins with Johnson's comment, "Our friend Doctor Hawkesworth acquaints me that you are very desirous to see a Paper reciting a Conversation with which his Majesty was pleased to honour me last Tuesday in his Library."³⁰ In the first letter, then, Johnson and Hawkesworth are greeted together by Faulkner; in the second Johnson is with Hawkesworth; and in the third Hawkesworth is referred to by Johnson, writing to Sir James Caldwell, as "our friend" - all indications that the breach described by Miss Reynolds and Sir John Hawkins must have been temporary. Indeed, there is not only evidence of a persisting friendship between the two men but also the charge that they engaged in a literary cabal.

William Kenrick, a forgotten figure today, raises a number of accusations against Johnson and Hawkesworth in his Defense of Mr. Kenrick's Review of Dr. Johnson's Shakespeare published in 1766. He asks, "Whether the Drs. J. and H. have not been long in a secret and partial combination to applaud the writings, and enhance the literary reputation of each other," and "Whether the Gentleman's Magazine hath not, for many years past, been notoriously prostituted to this purpose," and finally Kenrick demands "Whether the Rambler and the Adventurer, in their journey to the temple of Fame, were not obliged, like travellers that had but one horse between them, to ride and tie, from month to month occasionally?"³¹ Although overstated, Kenrick's charges may have some substance. Hawkesworth contributed hundreds of literary reviews to the

Gentleman's Magazine beginning in the late 1740's and evidently assumed an official post as review editor in 1756. In his work for one of the most influential publications in England Hawkesworth helped further the literary career of his friend Samuel Johnson.

Hawkesworth, according to the "Autobiography of Sylvanus Urban" in the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1857 (N.S., vol. 2, p.287), was the author of the account of Johnson's Irene in the Gentleman's Magazine for February, 1749, an extensive review which concludes (vol. 19, p.79), "Such is the plot of Irene, wrought up within a space of time little more than that of the representation, with all the elegance of wit, and all the accuracy of judgment." According to the same account, Hawkesworth also reviewed Johnson's Dictionary in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1755. Hawkesworth writes (vol. 25, p.150):

It is evident that such a work will in many particulars admit improvement from a mind utterly unequal to the whole performance; but let not any of those, who by long poring over minute parts, have discovered what was necessarily overlooked by an eye that could comprehend the whole, assume an air of superiority, or hope to escape the indignation of genius and learning, which, in the language of Milton, can burn after them for ever, if in the malignity of their folly they depreciate, for trivial imperfections, a work, in which perfection was not possible to man; or attempt to withhold the honour which is due to him, who alone has effected in seven years, what the joint labour of forty academicians could not produce to a neighbouring nation in less than half a century.

Rasselas was reviewed in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1759, again probably by Hawkesworth who writes (vol. 29, p.186), "By what means Rasselas escaped from this luxurious prison, which art and nature seemed to have exhausted their powers to secure; how he obtained companions of his flight; the several adventures that befel them; and the general result of their enquiries; are told in the subsequent chapters, to which the reader is referred, and which abound with the most elegant and striking pictures of life and nature, the most acute disquisitions, and the happiest illustrations of the most important truths."³²

Hawkesworth appears to be the reviewer of Johnson's Shakespeare in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1765. Long excerpts from the work amounting to over seven columns are introduced by the statement (vol. 35, p.479), "Of this work all commendation is precluded by the just celebrity of the author, and the rapid sale of the impression which has already made a second necessary, though it has not been published a month." Johnson later received four columns of coverage in the November issue of the Gentleman's Magazine and four more in December's issue.

Hawkesworth again champions Johnson in his review of Kenrick's A Review of Dr Johnson's new edition of Shakespeare in the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1765. Rather acidly he writes (vol. 35, p.529), "This piece is written with a malignity for which it is very difficult to account, as the author declares that he is a stranger to Dr Johnson, and never received any offence from him. If his ill will arises from envy of the literary honour Dr Johnson has acquired, or the mark of distinction he has received from his sovereign, he is too much an object of pity to move any other passion in the breast of either Dr Johnson, or his friends." Finally, in the January, 1770 issue of the Gentleman's Magazine Hawkesworth defends Johnson's controversial False Alarm which is given more than an eight column coverage and Hawkesworth's highest praise (vol. 40, p.36): "As this article consists chiefly of extracts from the pamphlet itself, a character of it is unnecessary; the reader will see at once a strain of masculine eloquence in it, that has seldom been equalled, never exceeded, in our language."

Kenrick's attack, then, may have substance, for the above evidence indicates that Hawkesworth supported Johnson in the Gentleman's Magazine. From our point of view, however, Kenrick's criticism seems unjustified, for what appeared to him as literary backscratching looks to us no more than Hawkesworth's accurate evaluation of works whose worth has been proven by generations of readers and critics.

During the closing years of Hawkesworth's life there are few contacts between him and Johnson. They were not on close terms, and from 1771 Hawkesworth was deeply involved in his edition of Cook's Voyages and later in his work as a director of the East India Company. Yet their paths did cross on occasion. On April 29, 1769 Sir Joshua Reynolds entertained a group of friends which Thomas Percy says was "a Treat

occasioned by his being knighted." Besides Reynolds the party included Johnson, Edmund Burke, Sir Robert Chambers, Dr. Nugent, Mr. Jones, the linguist, Dr. Leland of Dublin and Hawkesworth.³³ Boswell, discussing "some instances of [Johnson's] more familiar life" around 1770 writes, "His general mode of life, during my acquaintance, seemed to be pretty uniform. About twelve o'clock I commonly visited him, and frequently found him in bed, or declaiming over his tea, which he drank very plentifully. He generally had a levee of morning visitors, chiefly men of letters; Hawkesworth, Goldsmith, Murphy, Langton, Steevens, Beauclerk, etc."³⁴

William Shaw mentions that Johnson and Hawkesworth, together with Goldsmith often visited Alexander Fordyce, the banker, before his unfortunate bankruptcy sometime prior to July 1772.³⁵ Later references in the Life are concerned with Johnson's response to Hawkesworth's edition of Captain Cook's Voyages. Johnson said to Boswell that "Hawkesworth can tell only what the voyagers have told him; and they have found very little, only one new animal, I think." Boswell responded, "But many insects, Sir." Johnson, however, retorted, "Why, Sir, as to insects, Ray reckons of British insects twenty thousand species. They might have staid at home and discovered enough in that way."³⁶

The last Johnsonian reference to Hawkesworth, however, was that of a friend; and no greater testimony to this friendship can be found than in his efforts, with John Ryland and Mary Hawkesworth, to prepare an edition of Hawkesworth's works a few years after his death. Though the edition never saw publication, Johnson worked earnestly on the project, and some measure of his admiration for Hawkesworth is revealed in a letter he wrote to John Ryland: "The poetry," Johnson comments, "I would have printed in order of time, which he seems to have intended by noting the dates I should like to preserve, they show the progress of [his] Mind, and of a very powerful Mind."³⁷

Evidence indicates, then, that a friendship existed between Samuel Johnson and John Hawkesworth of greater depth than has been hitherto reported by any student of the period, and a knowledge of this friendship has its uses. It shows Johnson's relationship with a literary luminary of his time, a secondary talent to be sure, but one of sufficient worth to act as a foil to reflect the great man's genius. Specifically, an understanding of Hawkesworth's career can

illuminate Johnson's involvement with the Adventurer and the composition of his "Life of Swift," and a knowledge of their friendship clarifies Johnson's reasons for burying Tetty at Bromley, Kent, at the same time it helps one evaluate Boswell's and Hawkins' treatment of this sad episode in Johnson's life. The evidence also casts doubt on the idea that Johnson and Hawkesworth were separated by a feud around 1756 and shows that meetings occurred after this date and Hawkesworth enhanced Johnson's literary reputation in the Gentleman's Magazine. Finally, an investigation of Johnson's and Hawkesworth's friendship suggests that Johnson's relationships in the fertile period of literary history that bears his name have yet to be fully described.

Documentation and Notes

1. The Yale Edition Of The Works Of Samuel Johnson, The Rambler, ed. Walter Jackson Bate and Albrecht B. Strauss (New Haven, 1969), III, 320.
2. For a brief survey of Hawkesworth's life and works see my "John Hawkesworth: Friend of Samuel Johnson and Editor of Captain Cook's Voyages and of the Gentleman's Magazine," Eighteenth-Century Studies, 3 (Spring, 1970), 339-350.
3. See Sir John Hawkins, The Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson (London, 1787), p.132. Hereafter cited as Hawkins.
4. Johnson writes of Hawkesworth's biography of Swift: "An Account of Dr. Swift has already been collected, with great diligence and acuteness, by Dr. Fawkesworth, according to a scheme which I laid before him in the intimacy of our friendship. I cannot, therefore, be expected to say much of a life concerning which I had long since communicated my thoughts to a man capable of dignifying his narration with so much elegance of language and force of sentiment." Lives of the English Poets, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1905), III, 1. Two recent studies discuss connections between Hawkesworth's and Johnson's lives of Swift: Wayne Warncke, "Samuel Johnson on Swift: the Life of Swift and Johnson's Predecessors in Swiftian Biography," The Journal of British Studies, VII (May, 1968), 56-64 and Paul Korshin, "Johnson and Swift: A Study in the Genesis of Literary Opinion," Philological Quarterly, XLVIII (October, 1969), 464-478. Professor Korshin argues convincingly that Hawkesworth's influence

- on Johnson's biography of Swift is greater than previously suspected.
5. (London, 1785), pp.12; 23-24. Hereafter cited as Shaw.
 6. Anecdotes of the Late Dr. Samuel Johnson (Cambridge, 1925), 23-24. She records Johnson as saying in the second part of his statement, "I live in great familiarity with him (though I think there was not much affection) from the year 1753 till the time Mr. Thrale and you took me up." There may be an error in the date since it could be argued that the period of "great familiarity" came before 1753 and not after.
 7. The "Rambler's weekly club" would have been Johnson's first, the Ivy Lane, mentioned below. I wish to thank The James M. and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection at Yale University for permission to quote from this sketch.
 8. (London, 1785), pp. 96-97. 9. Hawkins, pp. 219-220.
 10. Payne and Hawkesworth undoubtedly kept an eye on the Rambler's success. Hawkesworth and David Henry witnessed Johnson's agreement of April 1, 1751 which gave Rambler reprint rights to Edward Cave. See John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1814), VIII, 415-416.
 11. Quoted from The Yale Edition Of The Works Of Samuel Johnson, Idler and Adventurer (New Haven, 1963), II, 331-332.
 12. Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. G. B. Hill. rev. and enlarged by L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934-50), II, 216. Hereafter cited as Life.
 13. Life, I, 223.
 14. Life, I, 233-234.
 15. Life, I, 252-253.
 16. Life, I, 241.
 17. Life, I, 241-242.
 18. Hawkins, p.314-315. The inscription Hawkins mentions and prints in full can be seen in Boswell's Life, I, 241.
 19. Hawkins, p.314.
 20. I am indebted to Dr. Albert E. J. Hollaender, Keeper of Manuscripts at the Guildhall Library for his informed answer to this question. In a letter dated October 1, 1970 he writes, "Though it was, generally speaking, the custom that deceased persons of the Anglican faith were buried in or near their last parish of residence, at least until 1853 when interments within the metropolis were discontinued, there was no canonical enforcement or rule that this had to be so. A clause in a testator's will or a decision by the responsible relict(s) coupled with the consent of the incumbent of the out-parish to receive the body for interment was usually sufficient and over the centuries many residents of the metropolis

are known to have been buried outside of London, sometimes even at great distance from both the Cities of London and Westminster and deep in the country."

21. See Duncan E. Isles, "Unpublished Johnson Letters," Times Literary Supplement (Thursday, July 29, 1965), p.666. Professor James L. Clifford kindly called my attention to this crucial piece of evidence.
22. I wish to express my sincere thanks to two members of the Johnson Society of London, Dr. Harry MacLeod Currie and Dr. David D. Brown, both Bromley residents and members of the church in which Tetty is buried. Dr. Currie first called my attention to the problem of Tetty's burial at Bromley and in conversations and letters gave me a number of valuable leads to pursue. Dr. Brown gave great assistance and kindly transcribed information from the parish burial register and from that kept by the Dunn family. The latter records the small but interesting fact of the position of Tetty's grave: "In y^e Church (close by y^e Charyty Childrens Pue)."

Tetty's black marble headstone now stands upright in a passageway but originally lay flat on the floor, probably in the position indicated by the Dunn register. An illustration of the stone in this position can be seen in Boswell's Life of Johnson (London, 1851), IV, 236. I wish to thank Professor James Gray for alerting me to this illustration which may be unique. Johnson ordered Tetty's headstone in 1784, the year he died. He wrote on July 12, 1784 to the Reverend Thomas Bagshaw, Rector of Bromley, requesting permission to place a stone over Tetty's remains. See The Letters of Samuel Johnson, ed. R. W. Chapman (Oxford, 1952), III, 181; hereafter cited as Chapman. Why Johnson delayed so long in ordering the stone may seem strange to some, but The Reverend Canon A. R. Winnett, speaking with experience in such matters, told the Johnson Society that such delays are not unusual.

23. See "A Biographer Looks at Dr. Johnson" in New Light on Dr. Johnson, ed. F. W. Hilles (New Haven, 1959), pp.128-131.
24. Charles G. Osgood, "Lady Phillipina Knight and Her Boswell," The Princeton University Library Chronicle, IV (February - April, 1943), 44. There is another reference to Hawkesworth as a recorder of Johnsoniana. James L. Clifford in his Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale) (Oxford, 1941), p.261 writes: "Only a short time after Johnson's death the Morning Chronicle had announced that

there were in existence several voluminous records of Johnson's bons mots, formed in Thrale's house. According to this account Murphy, Goldsmith, and Hawkesworth had aided the brewer's family in filling the pages of their large blank book with anecdotes of the Doctor." Professor Clifford doubts the story, but if it has substance it would provide another link between Johnson and Hawkesworth.

25. Hawkins, p.360.
26. Hawkins, p.312.
27. I wish to thank Mrs. Donald F. Hyde for permission to quote from this letter, the original of which is in the Hyde Collection, Somerville, New Jersey. It was printed in part in Letters of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., ed. George Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1892), I, 60-61. There is a sad lack of correspondence between Johnson and Hawkesworth, but this dearth does not indicate a want of frequent contact between them. Writing to Mrs. Desmoulins on Saturday, August 5, 1775 Johnson states, "You may tell him [Garrick] that Dr Hawkesworth and I never exchanged any letters worth publication; our notes were commonly to tell when we should be at home, and I believe were seldom kept on either side." Chapman, II, 81-82. In the letter Hawkesworth sends to Greville, written in March, 1756, Johnson concludes, "We cannot come to morrow, but I purpose to be with you on the Saturday following, to see the spring and Mrs. Hawkesworth." Chapman, I, 89. Finally, in a letter written on January 20 but with no year given Johnson begins, "You may by chance remember that I once mentioned in your grove the fitness of an epitome of Chambers Dictionary, which you said you would some time undertake." Chapman, III, 260. The "grove" must have been at Bromley - one more indication of Johnson's visits there. Hawkesworth is also on a list of those Johnson intended to visit, perhaps on his return from Oxford in 1754. See John Wilson Croker, The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. (London, 1876), I, 291. Johnson's contacts with Hawkesworth and his visits to Bromley before and after Tetty's death may have been frequent.
28. See Johnsonian Miscellanies, ed. George Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1897), II, 297-298.
29. See William Foster, The East India House: Its History and Associations (London, 1924), pp.157-158.
30. Quoted from F. Taylor, "Johnsoniana From the Bagshawe Muniments in the John Rylands Library: Sir James Caldwell, Dr. Hawkesworth, Dr. Johnson, and Boswell's Use of the 'Caldwell Minute'," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 35 (September, 1952), 224-225; 231.

31. (London, 1766), p.15.
32. Johnson reciprocated with equally kind words the same year in his review of Hawkesworth's adaptation of Thomas Southerne's Oroonoko in the Critical Review for December, 1759. Johnson comments at length about the difficulties a reviser faces and concludes (vol. VIII, p.486), "These are obstructions, by which the strongest genius must be shackled and retarded, and the writer who can equal Southern under such difficulties, may be expected to excel greater authors, when he shall exert his natural powers without impediment, by adapting his own sentiments to his own." David Erskine Baker attributed this review to Johnson in Biographia Dramatica (London, 1812), II, 104. For further comments on Johnson's review see Arthur Sherbo's "The Uses and Abuses of Internal Evidence" in Evidence for Authorship: Essays on Problems of Attribution, ed. David V. Erdman and Ephim G. Fogel (Ithaca, New York, 1966), p.13.
33. See Donald Cross Bryant, Edmund Burke And His Literary Friends, Washington University Studies (New Series, Language and Literature), No. 9 (St. Louis, 1939), p.61.
34. Life, II, 118.
35. Shaw, p.143. The Gentleman's Magazine for June, 1772 (vol. 42, p.296) records Fordyce's bankruptcy.
36. Life, II, 247-248.
37. Chapman, II, 169. One final undated contact between Johnson and Hawkesworth involves Johnson's correction of a tragedy by Hawkesworth, a play "laid in Spain and among Peruvian Connections" which R. Ryland, son of John Ryland, describes in a letter to William Hayley dated April 7, 1809. See J. D. Fleeman, A Preliminary Handlist of Documents & Manuscripts of Samuel Johnson (Oxford, 1967), p.39.

TETTY WAY

I wonder how many people visiting the Parish Church have noticed that the service road running behind Medhurst's shop has for the past four or five weeks been named "Tetty Way" and have in any way connected it with the church.

The connection is that "Tetty" was the pet name given by Samuel Johnson to his wife Henrietta who was buried in the church and whose stone is the half black one on the wall of the ambulatory, left hand side, with the inscription in Latin.

From "Crossway", magazine of Bromley Parish Church, October 1971.

JOHNSON, GOLDSMITH, AND THE TRAVELLER

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Shortly after the publication of The Traveller, or A Prospect of Society on 19 December 1764, there appeared in the Critical Review a brief notice praising the poem, congratulating the public "on a production to which, since the death of Pope, it will not be easy to find any thing equal."¹ Johnson is the author of this review; and he continues to hold The Traveller in high esteem, preferring it to The Deserted Village.² On another occasion Johnson says:

There is not one bad line in that poem.... the merit of The Traveller is so well established, that Mr. Fox's praise cannot augment it, nor censure diminish it.³

Such eulogy coming from so judicious a critic calls for an explanation; and the purpose of this essay is to explore the reasons - intellectual, moral, psychological - why Johnson thought so highly of The Traveller.

To begin with there is the problem of Johnson's role as editor and co-author of the poem. According to Boswell, Johnson contributed at least nine lines to the poem, including four of the last five couplets.⁴ By virtue of their terminal position, they hold an importance out of proportion to the rest of the poem. "To men remote from power but rarely known, / Leave reason, faith and conscience all our own." (ll. 437-38) This final couplet especially echoes the moral conclusion of The Vanity of Human Wishes. It was rumoured, moreover, that Johnson had possibly written the entire poem:⁵ at any rate Johnson contributed to the rumour by his dogmatic explication of the word slow in the first line: "Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow." Contradicting Goldsmith, he said, "No, Sir; you do not mean tardiness of locomotion; you mean, that sluggishness of mind which comes upon a man in solitude."⁶ Johnson was, as usual, one up on Goldsmith, although the latter probably meant no more than what he said. It is, of course, true that Johnson's influence

on the composition of The Traveller is not limited to the nine lines; for he not only encouraged Goldsmith to publish the manuscript, but also helped him to enlarge and revise it.⁷ With almost paternal care, he guided the poem to the printer's shop, and it is only natural that one should be fond of one's handiwork. On the other hand, Johnson also contributed the last four lines to The Deserted Village,⁸ which, however, he criticized for being too much the echo of The Traveller.⁹ We must therefore beware of jumping to the conclusion that the vanity of editorship or co-authorship is the main reason for Johnson's praise of the poem.

A second reason seems to be political. In the dedication to his brother, Goldsmith cites factionalism and partisan strife as the major cause of bad literary taste and proceeds to explain his didactic purpose:

Without espousing the cause of any party, I have attempted to moderate the rage of all. I have endeavoured to shew, that there may be equal happiness in states, that are differently governed from our own; that every state has a particular principle of happiness, and that this principle in each may be carried to a mischievous excess. (IV, 247)

The particular principle of happiness as regards the English is, of course, their constitutional liberty. It is also axiomatic (at least to the Tories) that excessive freedom leads to factionalism. Underlying Goldsmith's apparent disdain for partisan politics, then, is the Tory contention that England suffers from too much freedom, that liberty is being subverted by Whig attacks on the throne. No contemporary reader could miss the allusion to "patriots" such as Wilkes and Churchill in the traveller's decision to "fly from petty tyrants to the throne" (l.392).¹⁰ Moreover, this escape from too much freedom is based on the rationalization that individual liberty depends little on the form of government; for

In every government, though terrors reign,
Though tyrant kings, or tyrant laws restrain,
How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure.
(ll. 427-30)

As a matter of fact, the last couplet is not only written

by Johnson, but, in the words of Dobson, "is apparently a reminiscence of a passage in his own Rasselas, where the astronomer speaks of 'the task of a king ... who has the care only of a few millions, to whom he cannot do much good or harm.'" ¹¹ The affinity of Johnsonian Toryism and Goldsmith's ideas is undeniable. It is even probable, though not demonstrable, that Johnson's editorial hand helped to shape the political opinions of the younger writer. ¹² Yet Goldsmith, it should be remembered, had already expressed some of these views in his essays from The Citizen of the World and in The Vicar of Wakefield. ¹³ We would be underestimating Goldsmith's originality as well as Johnson's critical acumen if we were to attribute his appreciation of The Traveller to a mere Tory sympathy.

A more plausible explanation comes to light when we turn to the genre and the form of the poem. The Traveller, as its subtitle indicates, is a prospect or topographical poem, a genre going back to Denham's Cooper's Hill. Though Goldsmith's poem deals more with the interior landscape of the traveller's mind, its form remains that of the prospect poem. By the middle of the 18th century this kind of discursive-reflective verse centring around a geographic location is being challenged by new forms, or rather the revival of old forms. Thomson and Young, as well as Gray, Collins, and the Warton brothers have made blank verse and the Pindaric ode heralds of a new age. Goldsmith's friend and biographer, Thomas Percy, helps to revive the ballad in Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (1765), adding fuel to the "Ossian" controversy. Johnson's views on these developments are well known; they are best summarized by the "Lines Written in Ridicule of Thomas Warton's Poems":

Whereso'er I turn my view,
All is strange, yet nothing new;
Endless labour all along,
Endless labour to be wrong;
Phrase that time has flung away,
Uncouth words in disarray:
Trickt in antique ruff and bonnet,
Ode and elegy and sonnet. ¹⁴

Now Goldsmith, in the dedication to The Traveller, aligns himself with the conservatives:

What criticisms have we not heard of late in favour of blank verse, and Pindaric odes, choruses, anapests and iambics, alliterative care, and happy negligence. Every absurdity has now a champion to defend it, and as he is generally much in the wrong, so he has always much to say; for error is ever talkative. (IV, 246)

One would be tempted to say that Johnson had written the dedication; however, one could hardly ignore Goldsmith's earlier critical pronouncements. In his review of Burke's Philosophical Enquiry (Monthly Review, May, 1757), in his critique of Gray's Odes (Monthly Review, Sept., 1757), and in his Enquiry Into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe (chapter 11), Goldsmith holds consistent critical assumptions.¹⁵ His position may be similar to that of Johnson, but it is by no means a mere Johnsonian echo. In any case, the exact extent of Johnson's influence on Goldsmith's critical views cannot be measured. Suffice it to say that they find themselves thinking along similar lines and that this intellectual affinity has undoubtedly affected Johnson's appraisal of The Traveller.

This affinity may be even traced to the style of the poem.¹⁶ The opening lines, though not typical of the entire poem, reveal several characteristics that are maintained throughout:

Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow,
Or by the lazy Scheld, or wandering Po;
Or onward, where the rude Carinthian boor
Against the houseless stranger shuts the door;
Or where Campania's plain forsaken lies,
A weary waste expanding to the skies.
Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
My heart untravell'd fondly turns to thee;
Still to my brother turns, with ceaseless pain,
And drags at each remove a lengthening chain.

First, the regularity of the couplets. Though the ten lines form one rhetorical unit, the verse paragraph, there is a heavy pause at the end of each couplet; and except for the third line, there is a comma at the end of all the other lines. To be sure, the end-stopped line is the rule rather than the exception in the early Pope; on the whole, it is only in Johnson's verse that one would expect such regularity. To wit, the first ten lines of The Vanity

of Human Wishes:

Let observation with extensive view,
Survey mankind, from China to Peru;
Remark each anxious toil, each eager strife,
And watch the busy scenes of crowded life;
Then say how hope and fear, desire and hate,
O'erspread with snares the clouded maze of fate,
Where wav'ring man, betray'd by vent'rous pride,
To tread the dreary paths without a guide,
As treach'rous phantoms in the mist delude,
Shuns fancied ills, or chases airy good.

These lines are perfectly end-stopped; they form one rhetorical unit, but are actually a series of three co-ordinate sentences, separated by two semicolons. Goldsmith's couplets are also closed, rarely enjambed, and regularly punctuated. Whether we see the editorial hand or some subtle osmotic process at work, Goldsmith is syntactically much more the direct heir of Johnson than of Pope.

But he is no mere imitator of Johnson. The tone of The Traveller is much more subjective than the impersonal (though no less engaged) voice of The Vanity of Human Wishes. Moreover, Goldsmith's lines have a slow but graceful movement entirely different from Johnson's pedestrian dignity. "Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow," - punctuated by three caesuras, the line creeps along with a meandering motion, accentuated by the use of long vowels, and especially by the penultimate word melancholy, which provides, as it were, a further brake to the movement. In line ten the regular iambic pentameter contains, however, one trochaic variation in the fourth foot; and the result is that lengthening not only sounds long, but also decelerates the line before its final pause.

A more striking example of Johnsonian rhetoric is the predictable way in which Goldsmith uses balance and antithesis. An idea is stated in direct terms, the analysis follows an expected bifurcate course, and often the syntax reveals the duality of the statement. The antithesis is always obvious, if not monotonous.

Contrasted faults through all his manners reign,
Though poor, luxurious, though submissive, vain,
Though grave, yet trifling, zealous, yet untrue,
And even in penance planning sins anew. (II, 127-30)

In depicting the faults of the Italians, Goldsmith enumerates four pairs of adjectives, representing paradoxical mixture of vices. The passage, however, escapes monotony because the last line seems to capture the essential charm of the Latin character, without recourse to obvious words like though and yet. For the relationship of sin and penance is circular rather than antithetical, and therein lies the wit of Goldsmith's portrayal. Commenting on the Italian fondness for pageantry, the poet envisages "Processions form'd for piety and love, / A mistress or a saint in every grove" (II. 151-2). The balance of piety-saint and love-mistress seems obvious upon first sight - until one wonders whether in Italy there are saints who love and mistresses who are pious and whether they love one another, piously, to be sure.

A more complex pattern emerges when we look at Goldsmith's use of repetition. Speaking of the French:

They please, are pleas'd, they give to get esteem,
Till, seeming blest, they grow to what they seem.
(II. 265-66)

The repetition has a ricochet effect: the active verb please is followed by its passive counterpart, while the subject remains unchanged; in the second line, appearance becomes reality while the deceiver becomes self-deceived. At the risk of labouring an obvious point, let us look at two more examples:

Each wanton judge new penal statutes draw,
Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the law;
The wealth of climes, where savage nations roam,
Pillag'd from slaves, to purchase slaves at home.
(II. 385-88)

In the first couplet, law(s) is used, nominatively and objectively, in two senses. In the second, the act of acquisition is yoked to the act of pillaging, and slavery becomes both the cause and consequence of commerce. Epigrammatic though they be, these are straightforward and clear statements.

Granting the balance, antithesis, and repetition, the question arises: does rhetorical affinity any more than political or critical convictions affect Johnson's appreciation

of The Traveller? It has already been suggested that Goldsmith's disdain of blank verse puts him in the literary camp of Johnson who takes a paternal interest in guiding him along the correct paths of poetry. It follows that the use of balanced rhetoric should further entrench Goldsmith on the side of the conservatives. Beyond that, however, it is impossible and futile to try to gauge the extent of Johnson's influence over Goldsmith's composition and his consequent high esteem for it. Ultimately we must turn our inquiry to the general nature of the poem.

The Traveller was generally well received by the public, though some reviewers disputed Goldsmith's political assumptions. John Langhorne, writing for the Monthly Review, praised it for being "at once obvious to the mind, and, at the same time, possessing native dignity...."¹⁷ Sir Joshua Reynolds, however, went to the heart of the poem:

There is a general commanding air of grandeur that pervades the whole, that never sinks into languor. The general and popular character of each nation is strongly marked.¹⁸

The key words are general and popular. The Traveller is a didactic poem that succeeds because of its ability to convey general and popular truths in pleasing and graceful terms. Some of these "truths" about the various ethnic groups of Europe would seem rather naive to a modern anthropologist; but to Goldsmith's contemporaries they represent what any intelligent observer returning from his grand tour may report. The poem, then, seems to exemplify Pope's definition of true wit: "Nature to Advantage drest, / What oft was Thought, but ne'er so well Exprest."

In his review Johnson says that The Traveller depicts "not merely their [the peoples'] situation or policy, but those social and domestic manners which, after a very few deductions, make the sum total of human life."¹⁹ Fifteen years have passed since Johnson made his own survey of mankind from China to Peru. In the meantime, the battle against what may be called subjective-expressive poetry was becoming a rearguard action. And now Goldsmith, in his very first bid for poetic fame, seems prepared to enhance the cause of traditional poetry. Not merely

editorial vanity, or Tory sympathy, or even the vanity of seeing one's own "theory" of poetry in practice, explains Johnson's deep love for The Traveller. But beneath all these lies the moral and psychological satisfaction of seeing a young friend and disciple successfully representing the sum total of human life.

In The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides Boswell records the following entry for Saturday, 23 October, 1773:

After a good night's rest, we breakfasted at our leisure. We talked of Goldsmith's Traveller, of which Dr. Johnson spoke highly; and, while I was helping him on with his great coat, he repeated from it the character of the British nation, which he did with such energy, that the tear started into his eye.²⁰

In the light of our inquiry, we may discount the possibility that Johnson was merely acting the homesick chauvinist among the rocks of Scotland. He was probably too polite and too much at home in the company of Boswell to do so anyway. His emotional response, because it was genuine, was based on what he believed to be the general truth of Goldsmith's description. Here are the lines:

Stern o'er each bosom reason holds her state.
With daring aims, irregularly great,
Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
I see the lords of human kind pass by
Intent on high designs, a thoughtful band,
By forms unfashion'd, fresh from Nature's hand;
Fierce in their native hardness of soul,
True to imagin'd right above controul,
While even the peasant boasts these rights to scan,
And learns to venerate himself as man.

(II, 325-34)

Documentation

1. Critical Review, XVIII, 458-62 (1764), p.462. References to Goldsmith follow Arthur Friedman's edition of the Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith (5 vols., Oxford, 1966), and will be cited in the text.
2. G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell, Boswell's Life of Johnson (6 vols., Oxford, 1934-50), II, 236. Hereafter cited as Life.

3. Life, III, 252.
4. Life, II, 6.
5. Sir Joshua Reynolds, Portraits, ed. by F. W. Hilles (New York, 1952), p.86.
6. Life, III, 252-3.
7. William Cooke, European Magazine, XXIV, 93; cited in Friedman's Introduction to The Traveller (IV, 235).
8. Life, II, 7.
9. Life, II, 236.
10. No. 45 of the North Briton was still the talk of the town. Friedman cites one reviewer in the St. James Chronicle who took Goldsmith to task for his uncharitable allusion to Churchill in the Dedication (IV, 247); the latter having died on 4 November 1764.
11. Austin Dobson, ed., The Complete Poetical Works of Oliver Goldsmith (London, 1906), p.176.
12. Ricardo Quintana in Oliver Goldsmith: A Georgian Study (New York, 1967), pp. 128-9, calls attention to Johnson's remark in 1763 that Goldsmith had been loose in his principles, but was coming right (Life, I, 408), and suggests the possibility of Johnson moulding Goldsmith's political opinions.
13. In Letter LVI of Citizen Goldsmith surveys various European forms of government; in chapter 19 of the Vicar there is a discussion of liberty and tyranny. Both anticipate his views in The Traveller.
14. Poems, ed. by E. L. McAdam, Jr. with George Milne (Yale, 1964), VI, 288.
15. For a discussion of Goldsmith as critic, see Quintana, pp. 117-26.
16. For a detailed analysis of the rhetoric of the poem, see Robert H. Hopkins' The True Genius of Oliver Goldsmith (Baltimore, 1969), pp. 66-95. Hopkins shows the centripetal action of Goldsmith's argument and supports Johnson's critical approval of the poem.
17. January 1765 (XXXII, 47-55), p.48.
18. Portraits, p.58.
19. Critical Review, XVIII (1764), pp. 458-59.
20. Life, V, 344.

JOHNSON'S USE OF ENGLISH NAMES
IN THE PERIODICAL ESSAYS

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Johnson's use of names in his periodical essays, especially his use of English names, deserves more attention than it has received. Having studied the names derived from Latin and Greek, Edward Bloom decided that "the obvious English names ... are such common property that exegesis would fail to profit Johnson...."¹ That Johnson himself, however, must have taken equal pains in selecting all the names is evident from his own remarks. In Rambler 20 he censures a "common practice among my correspondents, of writing under characters which they cannot support, which are of no use to the explanation ... of that which they describe or recommend...."² One of his criticisms of Watts in Lives of the Poets was that he was "particularly unhappy in coining names expressive of characters."³ When Boswell asked Johnson about Imlac's name, he replied that he had tried to make the name seem as un-English as possible.⁴ Beginning with the premise that anything considered worthy of attention by Johnson is worthy of study by students of his work, I shall examine in this paper Johnson's use of English names in the Rambler, Adventurer, and Idler essays.

Johnson's full artistry is often not apparent if one lacks the eighteenth-century connotations of the words. These connotations in general, along with Johnson's personal refinements of them, are, of course, available in the Dictionary, which, as Mr. Wimsatt reminds us, was the chief labour of Johnson at the time the Rambler and the Adventurer were being written.⁵ A check with the Dictionary meaning of a word used as a name in the essays often reveals a subtle irony, an unexpected colouring, a clue to a moral judgment. Often, too, what is revealed is what Mr. Wimsatt calls "smiles upon the face of seriousness";⁶ and, as A. T. Elder has pointed out, the "longstanding tendency to stress the gravity of the Rambler ... suggests the need for a thorough examination of the lighter aspects of the periodical."⁷ An analysis of Johnson's use of English

names, then, is essential for a complete understanding of his versatility as an artist.

From the beginning one is struck by Johnson's enormous inventiveness. Of the more than ninety English names used in the essays, only nine are used more than once (Frisk, Gentle, Gripe, Quick, Simper, Sneaker, Snug, Sprightly, Sturdy). In nearly every case the earlier usage of the name is merely a citation with little or no development, while the succeeding use shows deliberate exploitation of the meaning of the word. For example, the first use of Frisk (R 109) merely refers to a Lady Frisk who has a squirrel; the name gives a happy transference of the squirrel's characteristics to its owner, but there is no other expansion. The second occurrence of Frisk is the name of a fickle suitor (A 74)⁸ who "had writ verses to one lady and then forsaken her only because she could not read them" (p.399). The Dictionary definition of frisk, "a fit of wanton gaiety,"⁹ perhaps gives us Johnson's opinion of the verses or their author. The name Sneaker (R 197) is first applied to merely "a warm man" (III, 413-414) in a letter from Captator, the legacy-hunter. Its second occurrence, though, makes obvious use of the Dictionary nuances of meanness, servility, slyness, and truckling, when it is given to a "hearty adherent" to the Whig Party (I 10, p.35).

The Dictionary also aids in our understanding of two other recurrent names, Snug(g) (A 53, I 78) and Sturdy (A 74, I 83). The essays present Snug as a secretive type in both occurrences, the first a man determined to hide the fact that he had inherited less money than expected, the second, one who "never immerses himself in the stream of conversation, but lies to catch his companions in the eddy, ... breaking narratives and confounding eloquence" (p.244). The Dictionary definition adds the idea of insidiousness to the description. Sturdy (A 74) is first a young lady's suitor whose conversation is so "gross" that she can't endure him (p.399), and second a "most formidable disputant [who] ... without troubling himself to search for reasons ... tires his opponent with repeated affirmations" (I 83, p.260). Johnson's opinion of both types is clear from the Dictionary definition: "It is always used of men, with some disagreeable idea of coarseness of rudeness."

Perhaps most interesting as examples of the light the Dictionary can throw on an essay name are the recurring Gentle (I 83, I 86, I 100) and the unique Mushroom (I 28).

At first, in both occurrences of Gentle that are developed, the name seems to be merely descriptive. Phil Gentle (I 83) is "an enemy to the rudeness of contradiction and the turbulence of debate" (pp.260-261). Miss Gentle (I 100), as her unhappy husband writes, is "a good sort of woman" whose "great principle is, that the orders of a family must not be broken" (p.307). She talks only in general terms, is incapable of discriminating character, and "smiles not by sensation but by practice" (p.307). At this point to recall one of the Dictionary meanings of gentle - "A particular kind of worm" - clarifies Johnson's implicit judgment of the two characters. The definition also adds a fillip to the rest of the description of Phil Gentle. He "has no notions of his own, and therefore willingly catches from the last speaker such as he shall drop" (p.261). The "flexibility of ignorance" (p.261) Johnson finally attributes to him is irresistibly worm-like.

Mushroom, used for the writer of a letter protesting the publicity given to "vulgar marriages" (p.87), is impossible to appreciate without its eighteenth-century connotation. The second meaning given for the word in the Dictionary is "An upstart; a wretch risen from the dunghill" It would be hard to find a more appropriate name for an "eminent oilman in Sea-Coal Lane" (p.87), whose bride and mother-in-law are pushing him into the role of social-climber.

Equally resistant to exegesis without the Dictionary are the names Heartless (I 86) and Minim (I 60). Peggy Heartless, a bride, writes the Idler that she can't find suitable lodgings to please all the new acquaintances her marriage has brought her. The twentieth-century connotation of callous cruelty here makes the name seem unworthy of Johnson in its singular inappropriateness. The Dictionary, however, supplies the clue: heartless to the compiler meant "Without courage, spiritless" - an exact description of Peggy's situation in her new circle. To the famous portrait of the self-styled critic, Dick Minim, who "after the common course of puerile studies, in which he was no great proficient ... resolved to be a man of wit and humour" (p.185), the Dictionary adds Johnson's implicit judgment. Minim in the lexicon means "a dwarf." And dwarfish, according to Johnson, means "low; small; little; petty; despicable." Here is, no doubt, an accurate idea of the way in which Johnson would dismiss Minim's plan for an academy of criticism to "authoritatively

direct the theatres" (p.190).

It is not necessary to refer to the Dictionary in order to savour the name Madam Prune for a grocer's widow (R 182), but the characteristic comment Johnson adds to his definition of prune deepens the lines of ridicule with which he has sketched her. Besides giving the expected meanings: to lop, to prink, a dried plum, Johnson adds, "A ludicrous word." Madam Prune, the wealthy object of a desperate fortune hunter, is coarse and vulgar- and aptly ludicrous when she chooses her second husband, "a young journeyman ... of whom she had become enamoured at her window" (III, 354).

Since Boswell tells us over and over of Johnson's "great contempt" for and "general aversion" to puns,¹⁰ Mr. Bloom has carefully avoided the word in his discussion of names in the essays, using instead the term "metaphorical names."¹¹ Yet surely the names that convey "two ideas for one" (Bloom's phrase, p.334) might with propriety be called puns. Johnson apparently approved a pun if it was well done, as Boswell notes that he "deigned to allow there was one good pun in Menagiana ...";¹² and occasionally even made one himself.¹³ Thus, I have already mentioned the double meanings of the names Gentle and Mushroom. Another notable pun appears in the name of Miss Maypole, one of the best examples of the richness Johnson's English names yield upon analysis. Parthenia Maypole's letter concerns her widowed mother's unease at her daughter's growing up because it gives the lie to her attempts to appear young. Still dressed like a child by her mother, who has "never seen any body shoot up so much at my age" (R 55, II, 266), Parthenia relays her mother's taunts at her height and appearance, and concludes that she is "unhappily a woman before my mother can willingly cease to be a girl" (p.267). Johnson's choice of the name Maypole describes the young girl's height (her mother calls her "Madam Steeple," p.266), but more than that conveys the impression of virginity, as is plain from the Dictionary definition of May: "the early or gay part of life," which is illustrated by a passage from Shakespeare: "Maids are May when they are maids." This reinforces the first name given the young girl, Parthenia, which Johnson takes from the Greek for virgin.

Another punning name lets Johnson imply a moral judgment. Bellaria (R 191) in an account of her busy life as a fashionable young lady writes that Mr. Shuffle, "a grave

gentleman who has daughters older than myself," lets her win at cards, and "yet he is so fond of play, that he says, he will one day take me to his house in the country that we may try by ourselves who can conquer" (III, 391). Besides the definition for shuffle connected with cards in the Dictionary, Johnson cites several unsavory meanings: "To play mean tricks; to practice fraud; to evade fair questions."

One oddity turns up in comparing the names with their Dictionary definitions. Although in the essays Johnson uses the name Trip (R 191) clearly because of its meaning of dance, this meaning is not given in the Dictionary. Bellaria writes of her suitor, Mr. Trip, that "his very walk is a dance" (III, 389). And Tom Trippit (A 34) "declared that he would dance a minuet with any man in the three kingdoms" (p.343). But the closest the Dictionary comes to this meaning of trip is "to run lightly."

Most of the English names Johnson uses do not depend on the Dictionary for exegesis. Some of the most delightful need be read only in context of the essay in which they appear. Cycle and Starlight (R 107), for instance, are the names of two gentlemen trying to explain calendar reform to a young girl. The names are apt nutshell epitomes of two very different approaches to the question. The romantic aura of Mr. Starlight's name prepares us for his assertion that "we should never be right without a year of confusion" (III, 7), the prospect of which delights young Properantia when she thinks of a solid year of balls, cards, and masquerades. The opposite point of view is propounded by Mr. Cycle, whose systematic methodical name is symbolic of his assurance "that all the perplexity may be avoided by leaping over eleven days in the reckoning" (III, 8).

One of the most obvious groups of names Johnson uses pertains to the occupations or interests of the people named: Bob Cornice (A 53), "whose life has been spent in fitting up a house" (p.368); Tom Distich and Jack Tulip (I 48) become angry at being kept from a play and a florists' banquet, respectively; Sukey Modish (I 54) must have a fashionable coach; Miss Comfit (I 16) is the daughter of a confectioner; Miss Juniper (I 12) has a distiller for a father. Curiously, nearly all of the names descriptive of tradesmen are taken from kinds of cloth: Bombasine (R 12), Bückram (I 12), Druggett (I 16), Gingham (I 28), Mohair (I 28), Tape (I 46), Taffaty (I 46), Serge (A 53).

Most striking about many of the descriptive names is the vivid verbs from which they are taken, with the resulting emphasis on action: Lady Cackle (I 53), Flirtilla (R 10), Lady Flutter (R 195), Lady Fondle (I 13), Dick Linger (I 21), Will Marvel (I 49), Edmund Scamper (A 53), a rider of racing horses; Mr. Squeeze (A 41), a tight-fisted usurer; and Jack Whirler (I 16), "that great philosopher ... whose business keeps him in perpetual motion" and who nicely exemplifies the Idler's observation that many people pass their days between active and contemplative ways of life, "in bustle without business and in negligence without quiet" (p.60).

Many of the names contain an overt moral judgment. Ned Smuggle (I 92) "believes himself watched by observation and malignity on every side; and rejoices in the dexterity by which he has escaped snares that never were laid" (p.286). The name Johnson selects for the Temple student who "is of opinion that intense application dulls the faculties" (p.220) is the only indication of his opinion of him: Dick Shifter (I 71). Johnson's choosing Tom Toy (I 39) as the name of the man who plans to make a fortune by expanding the fashion of wearing bracelets to men (p.123) sufficiently conveys his judgment of trivial folly.

Since, according to Mrs. Thrale, the character in Idler 31 is Johnson himself (p.97, n.), the name chosen for the character, Sober, has a special interest. Checking with the Dictionary definition reveals the qualities Johnson associated with the word: temperate, not drunken, not mad, right in the understanding, free from inordinate passion, serious, solemn, and grave. In the essay Sober is drawn as a man whose desires are neutralized by indolence, so that he seldom is impelled to any difficult action. This severely acute self-awareness is combined with characteristic self-deprecation in another poignant passage: "there is one time at night when he must go home, that his friends may sleep; and another time in the morning, when all the world agrees to shut out interruption. These are the moments of which poor Sober trembles at the thought" (p.97). The overall effect, somehow, is of a kind of sombre heroism, noble despite its unpretentiousness.

No discussion of Johnson's use of names would be complete without some consideration of his often overlooked funny names. As A. T. Elder remarks, Johnson's "humour

and irony" are not so rarefied as to be "detected only by the analytic reader."¹⁴ Inducing often a mere flicker of amusement, at times a rueful smile of self-recognition, and at times an irrepressible laugh of delight, Johnson's humorous names reveal his keen eye for the limitless spectrum of the ridiculous. The "sole delight" of Dick Wormwood (I 83) is "to find everything wrong" (p.260). The widow Trapland (A 74) advises a young girl to make outrageous demands of settlement before her marriage. The forte of Dick Misty (I 73) is "his power of explaining the difficult, and displaying the abstruse" (p.245). Miss Gripe (A 41) traps a young man for a debtors' prison. A "maiden niece of my husband's father" surely could be called only Miss Biddy Trifle (I 86, p.267). In the character of Frolick (R 61) humour comes with the pointed description, "a tall boy, with lank hair, remarkable for stealing eggs, and sucking them" (II, 292), the repetition of the k in the key words "Frolick," "lank," "remarkable," and "sucking," making the whole portrait unforgettably ludicrous. Perhaps Johnson's happiest combination of appellation and epithet characterizes the "lethargick virgin of seventy-six, Lady Biddy Porpoise" (I 53, p.166), especially appropriate in light of the eighteenth-century connotations of porpoise as listed in the Dictionary: a seahog, "swell'd" and "bloated."

One can only speculate about the reasons why Johnson used English names in certain essays, Greek or Latin names in others. Both choices spring from the same impulse, Johnson's fundamental delight in playing with words. Mr. Bloom notes that the classical names were used for the "relatively high intellectual level of readers" of the Rambler and the Adventurer, and that "the more humble learning" of the Idler's readers governed the use of English names.¹⁵ Yet in the Rambler essays over thirty English names appear, including some of the most effective: Miss Maypole, Madam Prune, Mr. Starlight.

Otto Jespersen in his classic study of the English language observed that when two synonyms survive in the language, one native, the other imported, the "former is always nearer the nation's heart than the latter; it has the strongest associations with everything primitive, fundamental, popular ... [and a stronger] hold on the emotional side of life."¹⁶ Whether some such subconscious motive is at work here or not, Johnson's English names have a certain flavour of ironic pungency, at least for the modern

reader, that the classical ones lack. As Boswell shows us in the anecdote about the English inscription on the monument of Sir James Macdonald in the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, Johnson felt that Latin should be used whenever anything was "intended to be universal and permanent."¹⁷ Ironically, however, the functions of the two languages have been reversed since the eighteenth century, and the English names now have the quality of universality which Johnson perhaps would have expected only for the Latin. Serving as a kind of shorthand, readily understood by all his readers, Johnson's English names give an economical and unforgettable précis of his extensive survey of mankind.

To study Johnson's deftly skilful manipulation of English names in the essays is to realize that his artistry here has been underestimated because of its apparent ease; the deceptive simplicity and unobtrusive correctness of all the names conceal the thoughtful precision that governed each choice. The careful reader is left with a fresh appreciation of Johnson's imaginative ingenuity and of his very real appeal to a broad group of readers. Johnson, the classicist, the user of "philosophic words," was also Johnson, the compassionate but sharp-eyed ironist, who could apply familiar words to type characters in such a way that both appear in a new light and provide yet another insight into universal truth.

Documentation

1. Edward A. Bloom, "Symbolic Names in Johnson's Periodical Essays," MLQ, XIII (1952), 352.
2. All references to the Rambler in my paper are to The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., Oxford English Classics, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1825), hereafter referred to in my text as R; here II, 99.
3. Works, VIII, 387.
4. Boswell's Life of Johnson ..., ed. George Birkbeck Hill, D. C. L., rev. ed. by L. F. Powell, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1934-1950), IV, 31.
5. W. K. Wimsatt, Jr., Philosophic Words: A Study of Style and Meaning in the "Rambler" and "Dictionary" of Samuel Johnson (New Haven, Conn., 1948), pp.70-71.
6. Wimsatt, p.116.
7. A. T. Elder, "Irony and Humour in the Rambler," University of Toronto Quarterly, XXX (1960), 57.

8. All references to the Adventurer and the Idler in my paper are to Samuel Johnson, The Idler and the Adventurer, ed. W. J. Bate, John M. Bullitt, L. F. Powell, The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson, Vol. II (New Haven, Conn., 1963), hereafter referred to in my text as A and I.
9. All references to Johnson's Dictionary in my paper are to Samuel Johnson, A.M., A Dictionary of the English Language . . . , 2 vols. (London, 1755).
10. Boswell, Life, II, 241; IV, 316.
11. Bloom, p.334.
12. Boswell, Life, II, 241.
13. Boswell, Life, IV, 81, n. 14. Elder, p.62.
15. Bloom, p.335.
16. Otto Jespersen, Growth and Structure of the English Language, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1912), p.91.
17. Boswell's Journal of a Tour To the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D., 1773, ed. Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett, The Yale Editions of The Private Papers of James Boswell (New York, 1961), p.118.

BREWING AND LICHFIELD

We are all acquainted with Johnson's remarks to Boswell at St. Andrews when he observed, in Boswell's words, "that our drinking less than our ancestors was owing to the change from ale to wine." Boswell then quotes the Doctor: "I remember when all the decent people in Lichfield got drunk every night, and were not the worse thought of. Ale was cheap, so you pressed strongly. When a man must bring a bottle of wine, he is not in such haste."

The Town Clerk of Lichfield informs me that "unfortunately, there are no longer any breweries in the City, but I understand that at one time, there were several." The first he lists is the Lichfield Brewery Ltd., founded in 1869, which had maltings in Birmingham Road, Lichfield. In 1930 the firm was sold to Samuel Allsopp & Sons Ltd., of Burton-on-Trent. This has now been gobbled up in the Ind Coope/Allied Breweries giant. There used also to be the City Brewery Co. (Lichfield) Ltd., established in 1860 and reconstituted in 1899. The buildings were destroyed by fire in 1920. The Town Clerk believes there were three more breweries at one time: the Beacon Street Brewery; the Trent Valley Brewery (Lichfield) Ltd.; the Old Brewery, later taken over by Davenports (C.B.) Ltd., which firm still owns

Continued on p.47.

THE CRITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RAMBLER 4

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Ian Watt refers to Rambler 4 as strong evidence for Dr. Johnson's disapproval of Fielding's morality.¹ We cannot quarrel with Professor Watt's assumptions about Johnson's primary intentions in Rambler 4 - the essay is generally interpreted partly as an implicit moral denunciation of Tom Jones² - but we should caution against reading it simply as a moralistic reaction against Fielding's popular novel. The Rambler essay is, I believe, a complex statement in which Johnson brings into play some of his basic concerns about imaginative literature. He is, of course, interested in how proper moral effects are created in fiction, but this concern is related to other interests such as the vagaries of reader response, the techniques of characterization, and the difficulties of portraying accurately the human heart and mind. It is useful therefore to read the essay not only as a covert attack on Fielding, but as a sophisticated argument about the nature of novelistic fiction.

In Rambler 4 Johnson begins by showing his preference for the new realistic fiction over the fantastic romances of past ages. The virtue of the newly developed novel is that it exhibits "life in its true state, diversified only by accidents that daily happen in the world, and influenced by passions and qualities which are really to be found in conversing with mankind" (p.19). But his enthusiasm for the new fiction is checked by the consideration that young or inexperienced readers constitute the main audience for such works: "They are the entertainment of minds unfurnished with ideas, and therefore easily susceptible of impressions; not fixed by principles, and therefore easily following the current of fancy; not informed by experience, and consequently open to every false suggestion and partial account" (p.21). Johnson's anxiety for the unsophisticated reader is based on the commonsense notion that a realistic work is likely to make a more powerful impression on such a reader than a romance. For the most part, Johnson is probably correct; and we cannot emphasize too much that his

dissatisfaction with a work like Tom Jones seems to be based partly on his belief that it is potentially a powerful and impressively seductive novel, one that raises serious issues which the uncultivated mind cannot deal with adequately. Thus Johnson's belief that art must imitate nature, or give an accurate account of human experience, is qualified by his concern for morality: this means that the novelist, if he is sensitive to the limitations and needs of his readers, must be selective in his fictional representation. Fiction can never be an end in itself; it must be subordinate to the larger claims of moral purpose. The writer should certainly try to imitate nature, but he should always be aware that "it is necessary to distinguish those parts of nature, which are most proper for imitation" (p.22).

Precisely how a writer selects his materials is discussed by Johnson primarily in terms of the techniques of characterization. Apparently with Fielding in mind, Johnson argues that characters portrayed with a subtle blend of good and bad qualities create problems for the reader, because, "as we accompany them through their adventures with delight, and are led by degrees to interest ourselves in their favour, we lose the abhorrence of their faults, because they do not hinder our pleasure, or, perhaps, regard them with some kindness for being united with so much merit" (p.23). The modern reader may suspect that Johnson has no understanding of the nature of Fielding's comic novel, for it is obvious that it would fail in its comic effect if the reader were unable to see that Tom's imprudences are more than balanced by his virtues. Johnson, however, does seem quite aware of the novel's comic power; he simply refuses to admit that it is consonant with the larger moral aims of fiction.

There is nothing to be gained by obscuring the fact that in some respects Johnson's views of the popular novel of his day are conservative, to say the least. Admitting this, however, we should also claim that Johnson's anxiety about the moral effects of popular fiction is based on a sensible awareness of how readers actually respond to fictional characters. To illustrate this point, we should compare one of Fielding's critical pronouncements in Tom Jones with Johnson's position. Fielding questions the moral effectiveness of representing either extreme virtue or extreme depravity in a novel. He believes a moral purpose can be served best by showing characters with a mixture of good and bad qualities: "The foibles and vices of men, in

whom there is great mixture of good, become more glaring objects from the virtues which contrast them and show their deformity; and, when we find such vices attended with their evil consequence to our favourite characters, we are not only taught to shun them for our own sake, but to hate them for the mischiefs they have already brought on those we love" (Bk. X, Ch. 1). Fielding believes, then, that if we admire a character like Tom Jones, we are shocked at his faults and detest them for the evil consequences they bring to him; Johnson, on the other hand, warns that we tend to excuse rather than condemn the shortcomings of characters we admire. Fielding's statement may help to explain his own art of comic characterization, but Johnson's position focuses more accurately on the psychology of the reader. When the novelist explores, at least tentatively, the mystery and complexity of human personality, he works with a form that is likely to elicit understanding and forgiveness from the reader. As Lionel Trilling points out, it is the nature of a novel to make the reader perceive and appreciate the wide range of human variety. The novel has traditionally been "the literary form to which the emotions of understanding and forgiveness were indigenous, as if by the definition of the form itself."³

Johnson's interest in psychological truth relates of course to his persistent claim that Fielding provides only a superficial view of the human heart and mind. Johnson argues that "there is all the difference in the world between characters of nature and characters of manners; and there is the difference between the characters of Fielding and those of Richardson. Characters of manners are very entertaining; but they are to be understood, by a more superficial observer, than characters of nature, where a man must dive into the recesses of the human heart."⁴ Commentators have long known that Johnson could find fault with both Fielding's morality and his apparent psychological superficiality, but what has not been adequately shown is how Johnson links the two interests. For Johnson, Fielding fails morally because he fails to render adequately the psychological dimensions of his characters. To see how Johnson can make this connection, we need to examine again one of his central arguments in Rambler 4.

In the Rambler essay Johnson contends that the balancing of good and bad qualities in a character is not perhaps based on a viable conception of human nature.

Though Johnson has enough sense to know that men are often torn by contrary impulses, he is not prepared to accept the mechanistic assumption that "certain virtues have their correspondent faults, and therefore that to exhibit either apart is to deviate from probability" (p.23). He has little patience with the glib view of man's nature as it is represented by this aphorism: men are "'grateful in the same degree as they are resentful'" (p.23). Such a view of human nature is objectionable to Johnson for several reasons. First, it assumes that man is determined to act entirely according to the dictates of his contrary passions without freedom to choose which ones he will subdue and which ones he will encourage. As Johnson remarks, though "gratitude and resentment arise from the same constitution of the passions, it follows not that they will be equally indulged when reason is consulted" (p.23). Secondly, contrary passions in man do not necessarily maintain a balance or equilibrium because one inclination is likely to subdue its opposite tendency. In other words, a man cannot be grateful in the degree that he is resentful because "pride, which produces quickness of resentment, will obstruct gratitude by unwillingness to admit that inferiority which obligation implies; and it is very unlikely, that he who cannot think he receives a favour will acknowledge or repay it" (p.24).

But how does such abstract theorizing relate specifically to Tom Jones? It is likely that Johnson is impatient with Fielding's hero not simply because of his sexual activity but because such behaviour is accompanied by virtues which mitigate our censure of him. Tom's scandalous affair with Lady Bellaston, for example, is brilliantly ambiguous and defies any simple-minded interpretation. Tom looks bad when he becomes a kept man who is "raised to a state of affluence beyond what he had ever known"; and what is worse, perhaps, is that he uses the sordid attachment primarily as a means to a selfish end - access to the lovely Sophia. On the other hand, Tom seems less culpable when we see that Lady Bellaston first makes love to him when he is penniless, that he accepts her invitation from a sense of misguided honour, and that he continues the liaison partly from a feeling of gratitude. What are we to make of such a hero? He is motivated partly by self-interest, but more by a generous concern for others. It is not surprising when some critics find that Tom's goodness, or his ability to respond sympathetically to others, can be measured partly by

his numerous sexual affairs.⁵ Fielding may invite moral judgment on Tom's sexual behaviour, but such judgment is always accompanied with forgiveness.

Johnson seems partial to a fictional technique that enables the reader to discern clearly the distinction between right and wrong, good and evil. As Johnson once remarked, "it was in the power of Richardson alone to teach us at once esteem and detestation; to make virtuous resentment overpower all the benevolence which wit, elegance, and courage naturally excite, and to lose at last the hero in the villain."⁶ Johnson obviously prefers Richardson's psychological exploration of man's inner darkness; his method seems to allow for a penetrating view of human nature in such a way that proper moral evaluations of the characters can be clearly made. The trouble with Fielding, Johnson implies, is that narrative technique plays on the surface of human experience without investigating the hidden and ugly inner reality of his characters. Perhaps Johnson believes that if Fielding had devoted himself to a more thoroughgoing psychological realism he would have created a Tom Jones more guilt-ridden, more selfish and a bit more despicable, particularly in his degrading attachment with Lady Bellaston.

This is not to suggest that Johnson believes every man has a heart of darkness, and that Fielding's good-natured, amiable hero is necessarily a falsification of life. We can look, for example, at Johnson's analysis of Collins which is remarkable because it could be used as a defence of Tom Jones' character: "That this man, wise and virtuous as he was, passed always unentangled through the snares of life, it would be prejudice and temerity to affirm; but it may be said that at least he preserved the source of action unpolluted, that his principles were never shaken, that his distinctions of right and wrong were never confounded, and that his faults had nothing of malignity or design, but proceeded from some unexpected pressure, or casual temptation."⁷ Some people are, like Collins, basically decent human beings; yet even Collins would not qualify as the principal character in a work of fiction if the writer either failed to distinguish his faults from his virtues, or made his good qualities an excuse for his shortcomings. Pope may argue in An Essay on Man that the various passions join together mysteriously in such a way that one often cannot distinguish "Where ends the Virtue, or begins the Vice,"⁸ but Johnson contends that the writer of fiction is obligated to do more than display

deceiving appearances. He must represent the colours of right and wrong so clearly that the common mind can discern their boundaries. Fielding's art, however, creates more ambiguities than Johnson is willing to tolerate in popular fiction.

If a writer of fiction were to meet such requirements, he would apparently be forced to present only characters who are extremely virtuous or uncommonly wicked. In theory this is what Johnson seems to require:

In narratives, where historical veracity has no place, I cannot discover why there should not be exhibited the most perfect idea of virtue; of virtue not angelical, nor above probability, for what we cannot credit we shall never imitate, but the highest and purest that humanity can reach, which exercised in such trials as the various revolutions of things shall bring upon it, may, by conquering some calamities, and enduring others, teach us what we may hope, and what we can perform. Vice, for vice is necessary to be shewn, should always disgust; nor should the graces of gaiety, or the dignity of courage, be so united with it, as to reconcile it to the mind. Wherever it appears, it should raise hatred by the malignity of its practices, and contempt by the meanness of its stratagems; for while it is supported by either parts or spirit, it will be seldom heartily abhorred (p.24).

Johnson's theoretical pronouncement may seem hopelessly restrictive; and we are tempted to conclude that only a Richardson could ever please him. But this is not the case, for Fielding's Amelia meets Johnson's standards so completely that we have good reason to suspect that Fielding was directly influenced by the Rambler essay. Johnson admitted he read the novel straight through and found Amelia - "the most pleasing heroine of all the romances" - superior to Clarissa.⁹ Amelia's virtue is certainly the highest and purest that a woman can reach; yet, she is not so perfect that she exceeds all probability. She faints and breaks into tears rather too often; she refuses to heed her husband's warnings about the lecherous lord; and most significant, she falls into fits of pessimism and despair against which she must struggle with the aid of Dr. Harrison. Further, the appearance of vice in the novel is never attractive, so much so, that some readers complain that

Fielding's comic powers deserted him when he wrote his last novel. Even Booth, who is a better man than some critics are willing to admit, has faults which are rendered in such a way that many readers find him ultimately an unattractive character. We may laugh at Tom's imprudences - much to Johnson's displeasure - but we cannot easily laugh at Booth's mistakes. The narrator's general seriousness, the operation of Booth's conscience, and the pathetic picture of Amelia and her family faced with poverty combine to convince us that Booth's imprudences are never quite as funny as Tom's. In short, in Amelia Fielding takes a harder and generally more realistic view of human shortcomings and social ills than he did in Tom Jones.

It would seem, then, that Johnson's endorsement of Amelia in light of his comments in Rambler 4 indicates that his views of the novel are not as reactionary as we might at first suspect. With its complex interplay of personal relationships and its forceful social criticism, Amelia, in subject and tone, anticipates later nineteenth century novels, especially the mature works of Dickens and Eliot. Johnson has no quarrels with realistic fiction if the writer can control his mimetic representation with a sharp moral focus, that is determined largely by truth to human nature and the limitations of the audience. Johnson's hostility toward Fielding is unfortunate, but his perception of the difficulties posed by certain kinds of novels can hardly be dismissed.

Documentation

1. The Rise of the Novel (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1957), p.280. The reasons for Johnson's hostility toward Fielding have been often discussed. See Boswell's comments in his Life of Johnson, ed. Hill-Powell, II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934-50), 49. For some modern opinions see Wilbur L. Cross, The History of Henry Fielding (1918; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), III, 157-60; Robert Etheridge Moore, "Dr. Johnson on Fielding and Richardson," PMLA, LXVI (1951), 162-181; and Robert Alter, Fielding and the Nature of the Novel (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 7-11. In all the commentary on this subject I have yet to find adequate attention given to Johnson's critical assumptions in Rambler 4.
2. The Yale Edition of The Rambler, ed. W. J. Bate and Albrecht B. Strauss (New Haven and London: Yale Univ.

- Press, 1969), III, 19, offers the commonly held view of Johnson's intentions in Rambler 4: "According to Murphy, this paper was occasioned by the popularity of Roderick Random (1748) and Tom Jones (1749)," and Johnson "was implicitly contrasting them unfavourably with the novels of Richardson." All references to The Rambler are from this volume of the Yale Edition.
3. "Manners, Morals, and the Novel," in The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society (1950; rpt. New York: Doubleday, 1957), p.215.
 4. Life of Johnson, II, 48-49. On another occasion Johnson contends that "there is more knowledge of the heart in one letter of Richardson's, than in all of Tom Jones" (Life, II, 174). Johnson also observes that "Richardson had picked the kernel of life ... while Fielding was contented with the husk" (Johnsonian Miscellanies, ed. G. B. Hill [New York: Harper, 1897], I, 282).
 5. See William Empson, "Tom Jones," The Kenyon Review, XX (Spring, 1958), rpt. in Ronald Paulson, ed., Fielding: A Collection of Critical Essays, Twentieth Century Views (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), pp.128-29; and Robert Alter, Fielding and the Nature of the Novel, p.16.
 6. Lives of the English Poets, ed. G. B. Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), II, 67.
 7. Lives, III, 338.
 8. Twickenham, ed., Vol. III, i, ed. Maynard Mack (London, 1950), 81.
 9. Johnsonian Miscellanies, I, 297.

(Continued from p.39)

premises in Lichfield, although they do not brew there.

Now as little if any national distribution of beer was performed in the Doctor's century and a local brewery served its own territory, it would seem most probable that Lichfield had its own brewery, an establishment now lost sight of. The location would be well suited to brewing: as the Doctor said to Boswell the local inhabitants drank ale heavily, and we all recall Johnson's reports to the Thrales on the state of the barley harvest in view of Thrale's brewing needs. It is a matter to be pursued, and perhaps Johnsonians at Lichfield could assist our enquiries. Mary Alden Hopkins makes no mention of a brewery there in her Doctor Johnson's Lichfield.

Ross Wilson.

TO JOHNSONISE THE LAND

From time to time, readers enquire about the date and origin of our Society and its Journal. Founded in June 1928, the Society set out its original aims as follows:

This Society was formed in accordance with the general desire of many lovers of Dr. Samuel Johnson, in London. Its purpose is to further the knowledge of Johnson ("to Johnsonise the land") and to form a union between his admirers. Papers and talks on his life, times, and influence will be arranged for the Members, and visits will be paid to former haunts and habitations.

The Johnson Society of London will not confine its activities to the study of the Life and Work of Dr. Johnson himself - the social, religious, political, dramatic and artistic history of the period will be drawn upon as illustrative material.

The Rector of St. Clement Danes, Strand, (Dr. Johnson's Church) has kindly consented to our using the St. Clement Danes Parish House, Portugal Street, Kingsway, W.C.2, as Head Quarters for the time being. Meetings for discussion will be arranged there and elsewhere, from time to time.

(From Objects and Rules of the Johnson Society of London)

The Rector referred to was, of course, the Reverend W. Pennington-Bickford, M.A. A Postscript to the first issue of The New Rambler tells of his connection with St. Clement Danes for nearly 50 years: "In 1895 he began as a voluntary organist to the then Rector, the Rev. J. J. H. S. Pennington. In 1905 he was ordained to the curacy, and became also Churchwarden. In 1907 he married the Rector's daughter and in 1910, when the living fell vacant, he was appointed Rector. Our Members have realized through Boswell the close connection of Dr. Johnson with the Church. It was through the influence of his friend, Miss Elizabeth Carter, and her nephew that the connection arose, and it is remarkable how the Penningtons have been associated with this Church for so many years." And again: "Johnsonians in London owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Pennington-Bickford for great help and

encouragement in the formation of the Society, and by placing at its disposal the Parish House for meetings and also for instituting at Dr. Johnson's place of worship the annual commemorative Service to his memory."

The annual services continued at Johnson's church until it was destroyed by enemy action. Since that time the annual commemoration has been held in Westminster Abbey.

In more recent years, Meetings of the Society have been held at The Alpine Club, the Mary Ward Settlement, the Kenilworth Hotel, Swedenborg Hall, and currently at the White Hall Hotel, Bloomsbury Square.

Readers may be interested in the list of personalities printed with the "Objects and Rules" and an early Programme which indicates the vigour with which the young Society set out "to Johnsonise the land".

The Johnson Society of London ITS OBJECTS, RULES, AND PROGRAMME.

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The Johnson Society of London PROGRAMME OF SESSION 1929-1930.

1929.

July 27 Visit to Dr. Johnson's House, 17, Gough Square, by kind permission of Cecil Harmsworth, Esq., followed by Tea.—*Mr. A. Esdaile, one of the Vice-Presidents, will be present.*

Aug. No Meeting.

Sept. 14 Johnson Society Celebration at Lichfield of 220th Anniversary of the birth of Dr. Johnson. Address at the Guildhall by *Mr. S. C. Roberts, of Cambridge.* Visit of the London Society.

Sept. 15 Service at Lichfield Cathedral.

Oct. 24 *Mr. E. S. Roscoe, Registrar of the Court of Admiralty,* will give "A talk on Dr. Johnson."

Nov. 14 Readings from Johnson and Boswell.

Dec. 13 Visit to the tomb of Dr. Johnson in Westminster Abbey, followed by a Service at St. Clement Danes at 4.30 p.m., when an Address will be delivered.

1930.

Jan. 21 First Dinner of the Johnson Society of London, at Hotel Cecil, presided over by *Mr. G. K. Chesterton, the President.*

Feb. 13 Readings from Johnson and Boswell.

Mar. 22 Edward Cave's connection with the "Gentleman's Magazine," and Dr. Johnson's work, will be commemorated by a visit to St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, and the Priory Church.

April 25 Dr. Johnson and Southwark—Visit to Barclay's Brewery, Associations with Shakespeare and Dr. Johnson.

May. Visit to Pembroke College, Oxford. Tea to the Members by the kind invitation of the Master.

June. The Annual General Meeting.

The New Rambler was first published in July 1941. As a tribute to the author, a frequent contributor to the early issues, and as an evocation of war-time London in the year in which The New Rambler was born, we reproduce the following from Issue No. 1:

TRIVIA, 1941

by Oliver D. Savage
(with acknowledgments to John Gay)

In this our day, when times are out of joint,
And many gaieties have lost their point,
Some men there be, who in the general gloom
Will mope self-pitying in the sitting-room,
Blaming the car-tax and the petrol-dole,
Or scheming how to fill the bin with coal.
To these I sing - or would sing if I could,
But that my vocal chords are none too good.
So come, kind Muse, inspire me with the art
To play a rousing, stimulating part.
In classic couplets let me write my theme.
(Thine is the power, though mine the credit seem.)

You citizens of London on the Thames,
Pay heed to these my rhyming apothegms!
Renounce the blues, mix with your fellowmen,
(Should humans emulate the broody hen!)
Forsake the fire, vacate the warm settee,
Ignore the pontifical B.B.C.,
Reach for your shoes and seize a trusty staff,
To show you will not do the thing by half;
Or if the weather seems to threaten damp,
Provide yourself with somebody's old gamp.
A walk to see the sights I recommend:
Choose you the suburbs, City, or West-End.
The world of London lies before you spread,
Where millions live and earn their daily bread.
Survey its endless, multifarious views,
Which interest, astonish and amuse.

If cheerful daylight dominates the scene
Walk under trees and tread the springy green.
Visit Hyde Park, going from gate to gate,
Where nursemaids air the off-spring of the Great.
Then take an easy walk along the Mall,
And peacefully perambulate Whitehall.
There's many a statue worth a second peep;
Though others, doubtless, would make angels weep!
Stand and reflect in broad Trafalgar Square:
Notable scenes have been enacted there.

Go further, to the departmental stores,
 With rank and fashion passing thro' their doors.
 See Leicester Square, where "all the world's a stage"
 And actors play their parts from youth to age.

Traverse the Strand, and take that narrow path
 Which leads you to the ancient Roman Bath.
 Walk on to Fleet Street: hear St. Dunstan's chimes;
 And think of Dr. Johnson and his times.
 Old Staple Inn you surely must not miss:
 Shakespeare himself has often gazed on this.
 Proceed from there to famous Doughty Street,
 Its pavements worn by Dickens-pilgrims' feet.

"Oliver Twist" was written on this spot:
 The site is marked, the world has not forgot.
 Then Eastward turn your steps, gaze on St. Paul's,
 Or seek out fragments of the Roman Walls.
 Regard the other churches built by Wren,
 One of our nation's celebrated men.
 Go far enough to see the hoary Tower,
 Grim relic of past statecraft and its power.
 And ever and anon lift up your eyes
 To see the silver captives of the skies.
 They serve in the defence of this great city
 We cannot do without them - more's the pity!
 In care and resolution do not weaken:
 Be sure you cross at a Belisha Beacon:
 Ignore this rule, and quickly you may be
 No more a walker, but a casualty!

And if at night you walk on public ground
 Then mask your torch, with tissue fastened round.
 And use it well, pointing a downward ray
 To lighten and illuminate your way,
 Lest speedy cars, emerging from the gloom,
 Precipitate you headlong to the tomb.
 The aerial raider searches for a clue:
 Be sure he owes not anything to you.

Then, when 'tis late, no longer you should roam,
 Direct your steps toward your peaceful home.
 And, when you've reached it, and hung up your hat,
 And wiped your shoes on the domestic mat
 Quote this pronouncement to your waiting wife
 "The man who's tired of London's tired of life".*

* Dr. Johnson.



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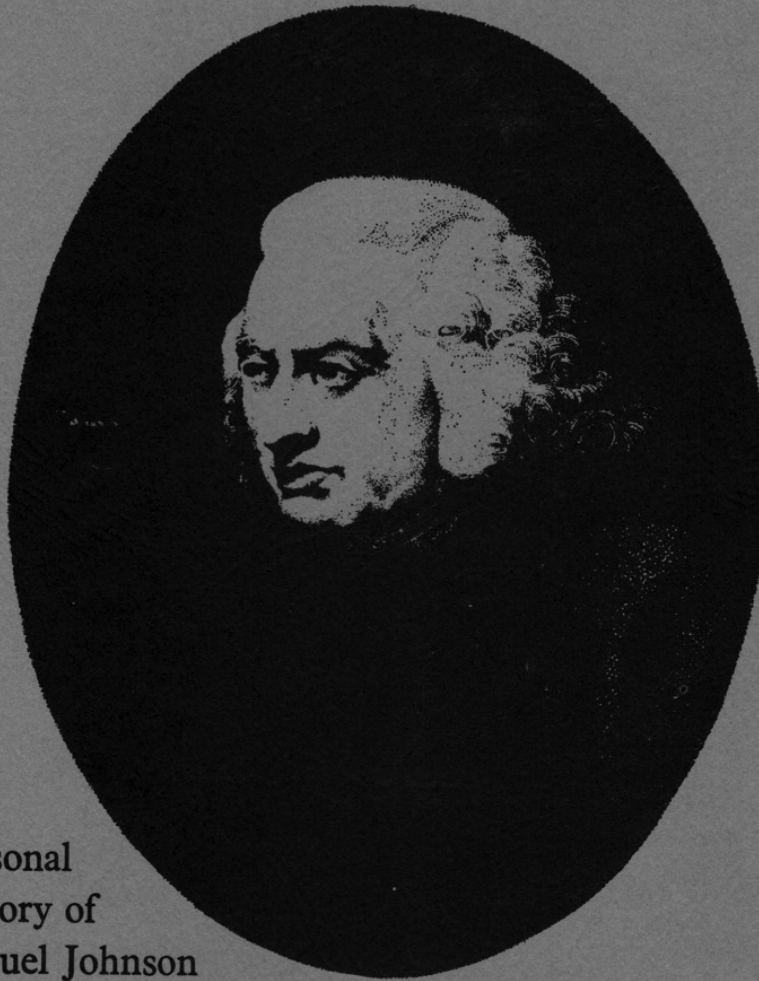
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