

THE NEW RAMBLER



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COMMEMORATIVE ADDRESS *

Dr. Johnson's Ecumenical Friendships

The Revd. F. M. Hodgess Roper

On this day when we pay our tribute to Dr. Johnson, I want us to think first of his friendships and in particular of a little group in whom I am especially interested. Dr. Johnson's friendships were remarkable not only for their number and variety but also for their length and the tenacity with which they were held. They stood up to the ordinary buffeting of life and to the strains imposed by the verbal buffetings which some of the friends received. Some of them are major figures in Boswell but we have to look elsewhere for our knowledge of those to whom Boswell makes only a brief reference. This is particularly true when we come to Dr. Johnson's last illness, when (as W. T. Cairns puts it) we are conscious of a stammer in Boswell's account:

It is (says Boswell) to the mutual credit of Johnson and divines of different communions, that although he was a steady Church-of-England man, there was nevertheless, much agreeable intercourse between him and them.

He goes on to name four men, saying about the last of them that

though Johnson loved a Presbyterian the least of all this did not prevent his having a long and uninterrupted social connection with the Reverend Dr. James Fordyce.

Boswell was too careful a writer to use phrases such as "much agreeable intercourse" and "a long and uninterrupted social connection" about passing acquaintances and so far as Dr. Fordyce is concerned we know from the one other mention of him that he was in the Johnson circle for some twenty years. It is significant that the reference to the four divines comes just before Boswell speaks of the "melancholy clouds which hung over the dying Johnson" for they were faithful and loyal friends, numbered with those who stood by the sick man during those trying weeks.

Who were these men? The first was the Reverend Benjamin la Trobe, a Moravian who was a leading figure in the

* Address delivered at the Annual Commemorative Service in Westminster Abbey on Saturday, 19 December, 1970; Conducted by the Archdeacon of Westminster, The Venerable E. F. Carpenter, M.A., B.D., Ph.D.

religious life of the time. He was friendly with John Newton and at Newton's request brought William Cowper's verses to Johnson; he was a member of a ministerial dining club called the Eclectic, the successor of which continues to meet to the present day.

The second was the Reverend James Hutton, another Moravian, responsible for the direction of much of the missionary work of their church. Hannah More says that he was among the people invited on occasion to breakfast with George III and tells of one conversation. "Hutton" said the king "is it true that you Moravians marry without any previous knowledge of each other?" "Yes, may it please your majesty" replied Hutton "our marriages are quite royal".

Dr. Thomas Hussey, the third on the list, was a Roman Catholic, chaplain to the Spanish ambassador.

The most eminent of the four was Dr. James Fordyce. He was born in Aberdeen and came to London in 1760 when he became the minister of the Church of Scotland in Monkswell Street and remained there until 1782. There are only four Fordyces in the DNB, three brothers (of whom James was one) and the son of one of them. We can understand the "agreeable intercourse" when we read the DNB comments on Dr. Fordyce's preaching: his topics were didactic but he freed them from dryness by his powers of imagination and the polish and pomp of his style he forsook generalities and dealt with the ethics of actual life.

Boswell mentions the volume which Fordyce published soon after Johnson's death and I quote from his tribute to Johnson:

His was the happy power of communicating truth with clearness, and inculcating virtue with energy; of clothing the gravest counsels in the attractive garb of entertainment, and adding dignity to the most obvious maxims of prudence. To him it was given to expose with just discrimination the follies of a frivolous age, and with honest zeal to reprobate its vices.

In his presence the infidel was awed, the profane stood corrected and the mouth of the swearer was stopped. In his discourse the majesty of genius impressed the attentive and unprejudiced with a reverence for wisdom; the virtuous and the pious were encouraged by the

approbation of superior discernment; and truths that had lost the allurements of novelty recovered their influence from the native but peculiar force with which they were proposed.

Of Johnson's last days:

Then it was that I heard him condemn with holy self abasement the pride of understanding by which he had often trespassed against the laws of courteous demeanour, and forgotten the fallible condition of nature. Then it was that I heard him with ingenuous freedom commend the views of forbearance and moderation in matters of belief, as more conformable to reason, and to the Gospel than he had long conceived.

References

Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. G. B. Hill, rev. L. F. Powell, iv 410/11.
Addresses to the Deity by James Fordyce, D.D. London, printed for T. Caddell, in the Strand 1785 pp.213/4 and 215.

COMMEMORATIVE ADDRESS 1971

The commemorative address for 1971 will be given by Dr. James B. Misenheimer, Jr., North Texas State University, Denton, at the Annual Commemoration in Westminster Abbey on Saturday 18th December. On the afternoon of the same day, Dr. Misenheimer will be reading a paper to the Johnson Society of London at the Meeting following the Christmas Luncheon at the White Hall Hotel, Bloomsbury Square.

From Puzzles to Portraits: Problems of a Literary Biographer by James L. Clifford. North Carolina University Press.
 London: Oxford University Press. U.K. Price £2.75 net.

In 1962 I concluded a review of James Clifford's Biography as an Art: Selected Criticism 1560-1960 by expressing regret that from the selection of practising biographers who had looked critically at their art the biographer of Hester Thrale and young Samuel Johnson was absent. From Puzzles to Portraits now admirably fills the gap.

The book examines the technical and ethical problems which confront the biographer and introduces the reader to the complexity and subtlety of the whole process of life-writing. The scope of the inquiry is indicated in a prefatory passage: "What exactly are the problems which face a literary biographer? In the first place there is the matter of finding all the relevant evidence. And once assembled, how does he use it? How does he combine the many pieces of his jig-saw puzzle into one finished portrait? What specifically are the choices he will have to make as to form and content? Are there any accepted rules which will tell him what to do? What kinds of pressures must he face? How many options of his own can he introduce into his work? How legitimate is it for him to psychoanalyze his subject?"

Part One, "Finding the Evidence", is predominantly autobiographical, deriving from the author's adventurous quests for material and the writing of the Thrall/Johnson biographies. With all the fascination of a well written detective story, it makes compelling reading as we watch the literary sleuth at work: for example, following an oblique clue in a vague footnote and running to earth twelve bound volumes of Mrs. Piozzi's unpublished letters and her "Children's Book or Rather Family Book". Clearly, the dedicated and enterprising literary biographer encounters more than retreating spiders in his search for material. We can enjoy vicariously the adventure of Bach-y-graig, where the author "with some uneasiness, being careful to keep a wary eye for any ambush" approached the Welsh farmhouse owned by a farmer noted for taking pot shots at any stranger who chanced to come on his land. What begins as a foray on a bicycle culminates in the discovery of Mrs. Piozzi's papers in the farmer's storeroom.

Part Two of the book, "Putting the Pieces Together", stimulates interest of a different order as the author looks at the tests for authenticity, discourses on the Types of Biography, discusses the Biographer's personal involvement in his work, and examines the conflicting obligations to contemporaries and posterity posed by the quantitative and ethical problems of "how much should a biographer tell?" If definitive solutions have yet to be formulated, the raising of the questions enlarges the area of inquiry of a genre which for too long has received too little critical analysis. For the would-be biographer or for the general reader, this book should be read for interest, instruction and inspiration.

J. H. Leicester.

GEORGE PSALMANAZAR*

The Revd. Canon A. R. Winnett, B.D., Ph.D.

On Saturday, April 18th, 1778, Boswell drank tea with Johnson who, after praising the late Mr. Duncombe of Canterbury as a "pleasing man", added: "He used to come to me. I did not seek much after him. Indeed I never sought much after anybody." "Lord Orrery?" suggested Boswell. "No, sir" said Johnson. "Richardson?" enquired Boswell, to which Johnson replied, "Yes, sir. But I sought after George Psalmanazar the most. I used to go and sit with him at an ale-house in the city." In his Prayers and Meditations Johnson refers to Psalmanazar as "one whose life was uniform." Mrs. Piozzi in her Anecdotes says of Psalmanazar: "His pious and patient endurance of a tedious illness confirmed the strong impression his merit made upon the mind of Mr. Johnson." Sir John Hawkins, in his edition of Johnson's Works, reports Johnson as saying that "he had never seen the close of the life of anyone that he wished so much his own to resemble, as that of Psalmanazar for its piety and devotion." When asked if he had ever contradicted him, Johnson replied, "I should as soon have thought of contradicting a bishop." And to quote Hawkins again, "Psalmanazar lived in Ironmonger Row, Old Street, in the neighbourhood whereof he was so well known and esteemed, that as Dr. Hawkesworth once told me, scarce any person, even children, passed him without showing him the usual signs of respect."

In view of these tributes, we may learn with some surprise that George Psalmanazar was one of the most notorious literary impostors of all time, whose audacity makes even the fabrications of Chatterton and Macpherson seem tame and insignificant. The counterpart in more recent times to Psalmanazar is perhaps Louis de Rougemont, alias Henri Grin.

The name Psalmanazar first attracts our attention. It was, of course, an assumed name. His real name was unknown to his contemporaries and is unknown to us. In the Old Testament, II Kings 17, we read of Shalmaneser, the Emperor of Assyria, or as it appears in the Septuagint and Vulgate, Salmanasar. This name, with a slightly modified spelling, including an initial P, Psalmanazar adopted for himself. At first writing it with a double A in the two last

* A paper read to the Johnson Society of London on 17th October 1970. Chairman: The Very Revd. W. R. Matthews, C. H., K.C.V.O., D.Lit., D.D., S.T.D., F.R.S.L.

syllables - Psalmanaazaar - he later spelt it with the single A - Psalmanazar. Psalmanazar occurs in the Description of Formosa as the name of a Formosan prophet.

The date of Psalmanazar's birth is uncertain as his chronology is not entirely consistent. His will was dated 23rd April, 1752, in the seventy-third year of his age, but he tells us that he was "scarce twenty years old" when he wrote the Description of Formosa, that is in 1703 or 1704. We may take our choice between the years 1680 and 1684, the earlier date being the more probable. Psalmanazar's first appearance in England was in 1703 when he was introduced to the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, by Alexander Innes, an episcopalian clergyman serving as Chaplain to the Forces in the Low Countries. In recommending Psalmanazar to the bishop, Innes represented his protégé as a native of Formosa who had resisted the efforts of the Jesuits to convert him but who under the influence of Innes had embraced the Christian faith in its Anglican form. In London, Psalmanazar found himself the centre of wonder and attention. He presented the Bishop of London with a version of the Church Catechism in Formosan. He conversed in Latin with the Archbishop of Canterbury, not, it appears, very satisfactorily, for either the archbishop's Latin was rusty or he could not understand Psalmanazar's foreign pronunciation, and Innes had to interpret for him in English. A number of clergymen organised a fund for Psalmanazar's support. Scientific men, eager to learn about Formosa, were desirous of meeting him. The Earl of Pembroke took him under his patronage, and Sir Hans Sloane invited him to dine with the Royal Society. One sceptical voice, however, was raised - that of Father Fontenoy, a Jesuit and former missionary to the Far East, who charged Psalmanazar with an elementary blunder in supposing Formosa, which belonged to China, to be part of the empire of Japan. Psalmanazar's progress, however, remained unchecked, and on Compton's recommendation he was admitted to Christ Church, Oxford, where he spent six months, the bishop hoping that there he might teach the language of Formosa to possible missionaries to that country.

In the following year, 1704, Psalmanazar published his Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa, an Island subject to the Emperor of Japan. The work, originally written in Latin and translated into English by a Mr. Oswald, was dedicated in fulsome terms to the Bishop of London. Nearly half the book, however, is a purported account of Psalmanazar's

travels and of his conversion to the Christian religion. He tells how he was brought to Europe from Formosa at the age of nineteen by a crypto-Jesuit named de Rode, who offered himself first as his instructor in Latin and later as his travelling companion. Journeying by way of the Philippines, Goa and Gibraltar, tutor and pupil eventually reached Avignon in France. There the Jesuit revealed his true character and sought to convince his pupil of the truth of the Roman Catholic religion, but without success, for Psalmanazar was able to refute his tutor's arguments and in particular to demonstrate the absurdity of the dogma of Transubstantiation. The Jesuits of Avignon hoped that a visit to Rome might prove the means of his conversion, but what he saw of the spiritual and moral condition of Rome, so far from inducing him to embrace Christianity, prejudiced him the more strongly against it.

He goes on to tell us that his recalcitrance was reported to the authorities of the Inquisition, who gave him fifteen days in which to change his mind, failing which he would be put into prison. Although his movements were closely watched, he was able to escape from the city by bribing the sentry at one of the gates and finally to make his way to Germany. Here he was impressed into the army of the Elector of Cologne, whose officers and soldiers comprised Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists. Openly declaring himself a Formosan and a pagan, he practised and defended his native religion and argued against the distinctive doctrines of Catholics and protestants alike. The instrument of his conversion was, however, at hand, for at Sluys, whither his regiment had been sent, he met Dr. Innes, who was able to propose for his acceptance "the Christian religion in its purity without those monstrous doctrines of Transubstantiation, Consubstantiation and Absolute Predestination", with the result that he now exchanged his pagan religion for the faith of the Church of England.

So much for Psalmanazar's personal narrative with which the Description of Formosa opens, but we still have to make our way through a hundred pages of Christian evidences, argued with all the logical apparatus of Definitions, Postulates, Axioms and Propositions, before we reach the subject matter of the book as indicated by its title. Our patience is at length rewarded not only by the promised account of Formosa but also by an abundance of woodcuts, illustrating temples, palaces, houses, royalty and officials, the whole effect being one of such versimilitude as to deceive an unsuspecting reader.

Formosa, or in the native tongue Gandavia, is, according to Psalmanazar, "one of the most pleasant and excellent of all the Asiatic isles, whether we consider the convenient situation, the healthful air, the fruitful soil, or the curious springs and useful rivers, and rich mines of gold and silver wherewith it abounds." The island, once independent, became subject in turn to the Tartar Emperor and the usurping Japanese Emperor, Meryaandanou, who effected its capture by introducing wagons containing soldiers but with heads of oxen and rams at the windows to disarm suspicion. Under the Japanese the Formosans retained their king, who occupied the position of a deputy or vassal-prince. The religion of the Formosans was originally a form of nature-worship, being especially directed to the sun, moon and other heavenly bodies, but two teachers later arose claiming to bring knowledge of the one Supreme God and of the manner in which He should be worshipped. These teachers were rejected by the people, whereupon great plagues descended upon the island, causing them to repent of their disobedience and to promise that if they were spared they would carry out the demands of the Supreme God. A new prophet then appeared called Psalmanazar - meaning, we are told, Reconciler or Author of Peace - who laid down the form of cultus which the Deity required for His worship.

The central place of worship in Formosa is a temple containing an altar and a shrine in which the Deity is represented by the image of an ox. Sacrifices of birds are offered weekly, and of bulls and sheep monthly, but on the first day of each year 18,000 male children under the age of nine are sacrificed, their throats being cut and their hearts torn out and burnt on the altar. The priesthood consists of three orders: high priest, chief sacrificer and common sacrificer. Alongside the worship of the Supreme Deity lesser rituals are observed for the worship of the heavenly bodies.

The laws of Formosa resemble its religion in their bloodthirsty character. Murderers are suspended head downwards for a specified period and then killed by arrows. Robbery with murder is punished by crucifixion. A first offence of adultery incurs a fine, but a second offence is punished by beheading. One who strikes his parent has arms and legs cut off and then is drowned. A slanderer has his tongue bored through with a hot iron. Stern laws are in operation against Christians, who are sought out by special officials in all the cities and villages and put to death unless

they disavow their religion by trampling upon the crucifix. Polygamy is practised among the Formosans, but a man who takes more wives than he can support is beheaded.

Funerals are occasions of great ceremony, the corpse being carried on a litter drawn by elephants, and accompanied by priests, civil officials, musicians and mourners to the place of cremation. The Formosans believe in transmigration, the soul after death passing into a lower or higher form of life according to its deserts in this life. Sacrifices and prayers may help the progress of the soul, but according to Psalmanazar the Formosan priests were no more free from mercenary motives than their Roman Catholic counterparts: "They persuade the people that the souls under penance stand in need of money, which none know how to transmit to them but themselves, and besides they receive as much money for their prayers and sacrifices that are offered for these souls while they continue in a state of penance."

From the numerous woodcuts, we gather that the Formosans closely resemble Europeans - indeed Psalmanazar describes them as being "very white and fair" - and their dress is likewise European, while the illustrations of buildings depict a style of architecture suggestive of that of Germany or France.

A chapter on diseases in Formosa informs us that more of the inhabitants die of old age than of disease, and this Psalmanazar attributes to their temperate way of living. Unlike the English they do not drink alcoholic liquors but confine themselves to tea, "which if it does not any good, at least is no ways hurtful to health." Venereal disease is unknown, as polygamy is permitted and adultery forbidden.

There are tables of Formosan weights and measures, and illustrations of coinage. A folding chart sets out the Formosan alphabet with the signs, names, and phonetic values of its twenty letters, and translations are given of the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in the supposed Formosan language.

Psalmanazar's Description of Formosa is an undoubted example of imaginative genius, and it is not surprising that it was widely accepted as an authentic account of the Far-Eastern island. This acceptance was doubtless facilitated by Psalmanazar's religious professions, by the episcopal patronage

accorded to him, and also in some quarters by his animus against Roman Catholicism and the Jesuits in particular. Bishop Compton held strongly anti-Romanist convictions, which had led to his being suspended from his see under James II. The myth of the "noble savage" may also, as Chevally has suggested, have played a part in securing an admiring reception for Psalmanazar and his work.

A second edition of the Description of Formosa appeared a year after publication, and translations were made into German and French. As late as 1808 the Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages contained a summary of the book as a serious contribution to geographical knowledge. But there were also those who received it with scepticism, among them the Fr. Fontenoy already mentioned. Some called attention to inherent improbabilities such as the number of male children sacrificed annually: so vast a slaughter, it was pointed out, would soon lead to the depopulation of the island. A peer who had extended his patronage to Psalmanazar was compelled by his statement that Greek was taught in the academies of Formosa to regard him as an impostor. Others questioned how one who had left Formosa at the age of nineteen could have so full a knowledge of its constitution and customs. Others again detected plagiarism from authors such as Candidius and Varenius. The opinion gained ground that Psalmanazar's work was an audacious imposture, and the author even became an object of ridicule on the stage. In 1711 an advertisement in the Spectator announced a new opera, The Cruelty of Atreus, in which the scene where Thyestis eats his own children would be performed by "the famous Mr. Psalmanazar, lately arrived from Formosa."

Psalmanazar's credibility had slumped; moreover the encourager on whom he had relied for support, Innes, had left for an appointment in Portugal. Thus abandoned Psalmanazar retired into obscurity, earning his living by turns as tutor, clerk, fan-painter, hack-writer, and even as the unsuccessful marketeer of an enamel called Formosan White. On his own confession he fell at this period into debt, folly and indiscretion.

A turning-point in Psalmanazar's life was in 1728, when during an illness he took to reading devotional books, among them Law's Serious Call, the book which profoundly influenced the young John Wesley, and which proved "quite an overmatch" for young Samuel Johnson at Oxford and was "the

first occasion of his thinking in earnest of religion." Thanks to William Law, Psalmanazar the impostor now became Psalmanazar the penitent, and his penitence found expression in the writing of his Memoirs, in which he made a full confession of his imposture and set out to tell the true story of his early life. These Memoirs, however, were to be published only after his death, and it was not until 1747, in an article which he wrote for Barnes's Complete System of Geography, that Psalmanazar openly acknowledged the fictitious character of his Description of Formosa.

The last thirty years of Psalmanazar's life were years of poverty, arduous study and literary drudgery, in which he sought to atone for his years of imposture. They were nevertheless brightened and enlivened by the friendship which he enjoyed with several eminent men, among them Johnson. They were also relieved by daily doses of laudanum, to which he attributed (in his own words) "that good share of health I have enjoyed, and my having been able, for so many years, to go through the fatigues and applications of study from seven in the morning till seven at night, preserving still a good appetite and digestion, a clear head and tolerable flow of spirits." Relaxation he found in the "ale-house in the city", the Old Street club where he and Johnson used to meet and of which Hooke, the "metaphysical tailor", was a regular attender.

Psalmanazar wrote essays on historical and geographical subjects for a number of publications, and also a History of Printing, but his major literary work was his contribution to the Universal History, a compilation of some sixty volumes for which he wrote the sections on Jewish History, the Celts and Scythians, Ancient Greece, the empires of Nicaea and Trebizond, and Spain, Gaul and Germany. He agreed to write the section on the Jews only on condition that he could vindicate the historical trustworthiness of the Pentateuch, which it appears had been impugned by the writers of an earlier volume. The Old Testament was a special interest of Psalmanazar. He became a competent Hebrew scholar and deplored the lack of a knowledge of Hebrew among the clergy, pointing out that "it is impossible to come at a true knowledge, not only of the Old, but I will be bold to say of the New, Testament without a sufficient knowledge of the Hebrew." He wrote, though failed to secure its publication, a treatise on the metres of the Hebrew Psalter. Incidentally it may be pointed out that Psalmanazar's Memoirs throw much valuable light on printing and publishing in the eighteenth century.

Psalmanazar died in Ironmonger Lane on 3rd May, 1763, and in his will made eleven years before his death he directed that his body should be buried in the cheapest manner in the common burying-ground. He named as his executor his "worthy and pious friend, Sarah Rewalling", to whom he bequeathed his few possessions. Once more he declared his Description of Formosa to be "a mere forgery of my own devising, and a scandalous imposition on the public", for writing which he begs forgiveness of God and man.

For the true story of Psalmanazar's early life, or the nearest we can get to it, we turn to the Memoirs, but even here much is left in mystery. His chronology, as already pointed out, is not always consistent, and his topography is vague. He does not tell us his real name nor the place of his birth, though from several indications this would appear to have been in Southern France. His parents, we are informed, were Roman Catholics and strongly biassed against all Protestants. When he was five years old his father was obliged to move five hundred miles away - for what reason we are not told - and the mother was left to bring up her son on her small fortune. At the age of six he was sent to a free-school run by Franciscan monks, where he manifested a remarkable facility for learning languages and rose to be head-monitor and marshal of the school.

He next attended a Jesuit College "in an archiepiscopal city" where he was placed in a class higher than his attainments warranted, but so great was his desire to excel that he was able to hold his own with boys older than himself. Being disappointed with the teaching he received from the Jesuits he removed himself to a Dominican convent close to his native town in order to study philosophy. Here he found little to interest him in Aristotelian and Thomist metaphysics, but commended himself sufficiently to his teachers for them to send him to a university for the study of theology. Again Psalmanazar's vagueness about places shows itself, for we are not told which university but only that "the city was a noble, great one, full of gentry and nobility, of coaches and all kind of grandeur." Psalmanazar's stay at the university was not a success. He kept irregular hours, sauntered about the city instead of attending lectures, and minded little but his own pleasures, though these, he adds, were "of the innocent kind."

Leaving the university, he acted as tutor in various

families before embarking on a wandering life. He furnished himself with a passport certifying that he was a student of theology from Ireland, which country he had left for the sake of religion, and set out on a pilgrimage to Rome. Changing his mind he made for Germany where he sought out his father, and found him living in great poverty. His father advised him to obtain employment in one of the nearby university cities, but this was thwarted by the fact that the pronunciation of Latin in Germany was so different from that in France that he could neither understand it nor make himself understood. He tells us that at this time he was "hardly full sixteen years old", but he may well be understating his age.

Continuing his wanderings he adopted a new guise. He forged a new passport, attaching to it the seal of the old, and now represented himself as a native of Japan converted to Christianity, a role which he hoped to sustain by his facility of invention as well as by the knowledge of Japan which he had gained from his Jesuit teachers. At Landau he was imprisoned as a spy, but was later allowed to leave the city and, after serving as a waiter at a coffee-house in Aachen, entered the army of the Elector of Cologne, only to be dismissed from it owing to ill-health. He then re-enlisted in the army of the Duke of Mecklenburg, which at this time was engaged on the side of the English and Dutch against the French. He now changed his story once again and became a Japanese who adhered to his pagan religion, performing his devotions to the sun and chanting what purported to be hymns and prayers in Japanese. His diet was herbs, roots and raw meat. It was at this time that he adopted the name Psalmanazar. At Sluys there took place the fateful meeting between Psalmanazar and Innes. General Lauder appointed Isaac Amalvi, a minister of the Walloon Reformed Church, and Innes to confer with Psalmanazar, but Innes succeeded in annexing so unusual a potential convert to himself, spending much time with him and inviting him to his lodgings, judging that to be the means of his conversion would redound to his personal advancement. Innes suspected Psalmanazar of being an impostor, and proved it by making him translate in writing a passage from Cicero into his pretended native language, and a short while later asking him to repeat the exercise: when compared the two versions were seen to have little in common. Psalmanazar was thrown into confusion, but Innes explained how the imposture might be turned to their mutual advantage. His story was to undergo a yet further change, and Psalmanazar was now to be a native not of Japan but of Formosa, whence he was abducted by

the Jesuits to Europe, and refusing conversion to Roman Catholicism narrowly escaped from the clutches of the Inquisition, to be eventually converted to the pure Anglican faith by Innes. To seal his supposed conversion from paganism to Anglicanism, Psalmanazar hurriedly underwent a ceremony of baptism at the hands of Innes. It was in the character of a Formosan convert to the Church of England, a rara avis indeed, that Innes represented Psalmanazar to the Bishop of London. The advancement which Innes hoped for as the reward for his feat of personal evangelism came with his appointment as Chaplain-in-Chief to the Forces in Portugal.

Innes appears in Psalmanazar's narrative in an odious light, as the accomplice of his imposture who would even profane the sacrament of baptism to further his designs. Psalmanazar goes still further and depicts Innes as an immoral character addicted to drink and debauchery. Allowance must be made for exaggeration and for a natural reaction following upon Psalmanazar's repentance, but it is plain that Innes was an unscrupulous rascal and a disgrace to his cloth. In 1728, when he was assistant-preacher at St. Margaret's, Westminster, he published An Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue, with a dedication to Lord Chancellor King. In recognition of this work he was appointed to the Lord Chancellor's living of Wrabness in Essex, but in the following year the treatise in question was revealed to have been written by a friend of his, Dr. Archibald Campbell, of St. Andrew's, who incautiously had allowed Innes to borrow his manuscript. Campbell was justly enraged at this gross deceit on the part of a friend, but contented himself with an advertisement declaring that the work was his, but for certain reasons had appeared under the name of Innes.

It remains to enquire what were the motives which led Psalmanazar to perpetrate his imposture. Many of us will have encountered impostors in the form of persons claiming fictitious distinctions - they may be social or academic or professional - and we shall have found in almost every case two qualities present in such impostors. One is vanity or the desire to make a name; the other is a certain measure of ability, insufficient to obtain the coveted distinction through merit or achievement, but sufficient to give prima facie credibility to the imposture in the minds of some people at least. There are cases in which a third element is present - an inability to distinguish fantasy from reality: this is a pathological condition, of which there is

no indication in Psalmanazar. All the available evidence points to his basic sanity. He knew his impostures for what they were, and at times at least felt a guilty conscience concerning them. Psalmanazar's Memoirs are a revealing psychological study. He freely acknowledges that vanity lay at the root of his deceptions, a vanity which had its origin in his youthful precocity and the praise and favouritism which he received from his first schoolmasters so that (in his own words) he "could not brook any superiority or preference" or endure to be other than first in his form and in his master's affections. The lack of paternal understanding and guidance from an early age may also have had its effect upon his development. His facility for learning languages was not matched by the capacity for sustained application to less congenial subjects, as he himself confesses: "Though I was naturally quick enough and assiduous at whatever I could gain the mastery of, and applause for so doing, yet whenever the case proved otherwise, no youth could be more naturally lazy and supine than I." Finally indolence combined with vanity launched him on his career of imposture, which, aided and abetted by Innes, culminated in his spurious conversion and the publication of his Description of Formosa.

If we are obliged to condemn impostures, our condemnation may often be qualified by a certain admiration for the impostor. If some of us find it hard to feel such a measure of admiration for Psalmanazar it is because of his prostitution of religion in the execution of his impostures. One is frankly nauseated when at the end of the preface to the Description of Formosa he gives thanks to "the omnipotent and all-wise God who by the assistance of His Holy Spirit has brought him to the knowledge of that religion in which only salvation is to be found." We are scarcely less repelled by the abject confessions of unworthiness and self-aborrence in the Memoirs coupled with the smug protestations of his avoidance of unbelief and the grosser sins. He did not allow himself to be beguiled, he tells us, by the conversation of Freethinkers or by the writings of Hobbes and other impugnors of divine revelation, and although he was acquainted with many women, some of them "persons of fortune, character and learning ... hardly any man who might have enjoyed so great a variety ever indulged himself in so few instances of the unlawful kind as I have done."

Nevertheless the penitent Psalmanazar of later years enjoyed the admiration and friendship of Samuel Johnson, and

there must have been in him that which both deserved and evoked the affectionate respect of so great a man. Whatever be our judgment of this strange character whose life and works form a fascinating byway in eighteenth-century literature, let our last words concerning him, as eloquent as they are simple, be these: He was Johnson's friend.

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J. H. L.

SAMUEL JOHNSON'S LIFE OF SAVAGE:A SURVEY

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Almost thirty-five years before Samuel Johnson agreed to write The Lives of the Poets for a group of London book-sellers, he wrote the Life of Savage, one of the first, as it is one of the best, lives of a man having little claim to great merit. Richard Savage had claimed to be the illegitimate son of Anne Mason, Countess of Macclesfield, and the fourth Earl Rivers, and had been one of Johnson's most intimate friends during the late 1730s. Following Savage's death on August 1, 1743, Johnson addressed an anonymous letter to the editor of The Gentleman's Magazine, asking him to inform the public that a life of Savage would soon be published by "a person who was favoured with his confidence."¹ Not too long thereafter, on December 14, Johnson's biographical account was finished. On that day he received from Edward Cave, with whom he had contracted to write the narrative, the sum of fifteen guineas for the finished product, which, as a small octavo of some one hundred and eighty pages, was published by James Roberts of Warwick Lane on February 11, 1744. No author's name appeared on the title page. To the public Johnson remained a mere anonymous compiler.²

Following its publication, the Life of Savage won the enthusiastic praise of Johnson's contemporaries. Sir John Hawkins commended "the judicious manner" in which Johnson had written the Life and then quoted the commendation which had appeared in Henry Fielding's paper, The Champion: "The author's observations are short, significant, and just, as his narrative is remarkably smooth and well disposed: his reflections open to us all the recesses of the human heart, and, in a word, a more just or pleasant, a more engaging or a more improving treatise on the excellencies and defects of human nature, is scarce to be found in our own or perhaps in any other language."³ Considerably later, in the early twentieth century, Professor Walter Raleigh was to write: "The Life of Savage is a tribute of extraordinary delicacy and beauty, paid by Johnson to his friend. Only a man of the broadest and sanest sympathies

could have performed this task ..."⁴ Thus, a critic writing in 1910 is seen to agree with the estimates of Johnson's skill that were made in the eighteenth century. In point of fact, Johnson not only vindicated his statement that "there has rarely passed a life of which a judicious and faithful narrative would not be useful" - a dictum widely accepted ever since it was stated - but, furthermore, he produced a narrative that became a model for many similar lives of the humble.⁵ Clifford has very carefully pointed out that the majority of readers in 1744 were not so greatly interested in the book for its brilliant psychological characterization, however, as they were for the sensational story of Savage's career. Roberts, the publisher, undoubtedly had the sensational aspects in mind in his later newspaper publicity.

Regardless of its contemporary reception, the biography has continued to captivate readers down to the present day. Also, Savage's story has proved to be fraught with material for romance, as the following list suggests: (1) Richard Savage: A Romance of Real Life by Charles Whitehead, written in 1842 and reissued in 1896; (2) Richard Savage, a play by J. M. Barrie and H. B. Marriott Watson, 1891; (3) Richard Savage: A Mystery in Biography by S. V. Makower, fictionalized biography, 1909; and (4) Richard Savage, a novel by Gwyn Jones, 1935. Certainly the ready fascination of Johnson's Life of Savage requires hardly any other substantiation beyond that of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who read the account upon his return from Italy in the autumn of 1752. He was then a young man unacquainted with Johnson. Coming across the work by chance and beginning to read it with his arm resting on a mantelpiece, he could not put the book down until he had finished it, whereupon he found his arm completely benumbed.⁶

Prior to his composing the Life of Savage, Johnson had had preliminary excursions in biographical composition and reportedly was under no illusion about either their quality or their significance. For five years, his pen had traced somewhat unfeelingly the events in the lives of such men as Hermann Boerhaave, Robert Blake, Thomas Sydenham, and others - men about whom he had read and who had left his compassion and sympathy for his fellow-men to a large extent untouched. These short sketches, which had been an important part of his work for The Gentleman's Magazine, were scarcely more than compilations in which generalized formal observations held together the facts acquired from secondary sources. But now

he knew a man, not through the indirect revelations of books and references, but through the strong light of life itself.⁷ The letter to Mr. Urban, printed in The Gentleman's Magazine in August of the year preceding publication of the Life, is only one indication that Johnson was convinced that he had something of real value underway. Thus the Life of Savage was an intimate portrait in which Johnson revealed an especial interest. It has subsequently come to be regarded as an excellent illustration of Johnson's theory, announced much later, that a biographer should have eaten and drunk and lived familiarly with his subject.

All of this is not to suggest that Johnson used no secondary material in his biography of Savage. In The Artificial Bastard, published in 1953, Clarence Tracy comments at length on Johnson's sources besides those of personal knowledge and experience. Additionally, George Birkbeck Hill, in his edition of The Lives of the Poets, cites Johnson's authorities for Savage's birth and early life, other than the poet's own statements made to Johnson during their intimacy, as being the following: (1) the account in Jacob's Poetical Register, 1719; (2) information contained in Aaron Hill's The Plain Dealer, 1724, Nos. 28 and 73; (3) The Life of Mr. Richard Savage, of anonymous authorship, 1727; and (4) Savage's Preface to the second edition of his Miscellanies, 1728.⁸ Clifford notes that since there were no printed accounts, however, for the middle years, "Johnson was forced to rely wholly on what he could remember from Savage's conversation and on what separate works he could discover. This section is the least satisfactory of all, with chronology often completely askew. The last period, a time when Johnson had considerable personal knowledge of his subject, is the best."⁹ The superiority of the Life of Savage, of course, is due most of all to Johnson's affectionate recollections of his frail and talented friend. But its literary quality also derives from its printed sources, which are not uninteresting.

The Gentleman's Magazine, to which Savage contributed poetry, probably brought Johnson and Savage together. It is certainly true that of all the writers with whom Johnson associated while he was writing for Edward Cave, none left a more profound impression upon him than did the poet whose parentage had become such a topic of controversy. To none was Johnson more loyal and sympathetic. In Savage, he saw "the tragedy of dissipation and wasted talents, championing him because of a humanitarian belief that he had been sorely

wronged and that his family had abandoned him. But he probably also shared at this time Savage's rebellious political attitudes. In the spring of 1739 Savage probably was his closest friend, offering to him companionship and brilliant conversation, social requisites which never failed to sustain Johnson in his many crises."¹⁰ Hawkins commented that despite Savage's degeneracy, he was on the exterior an accomplished gentleman who impressed Johnson with his social finesse and the story of his noble birth.

That Johnson understood Savage is plain in the entire Life. Although the interval of their intimate association was brief, Johnson got to know his friend rather well. In the brief span of their acquaintance (Johnson came to London in 1737; Savage left London for Bristol and Swansea in 1739), the heart and mind and temperament of Savage were laid bare before Johnson's sympathetic eyes. The experience of that association moved him deeply. Johnson believed Savage when he told him that he was born in 1697, the illegitimate son of Countess Macclesfield and the Earl Rivers. Despite serious discrepancies of the story, no one has succeeded in disproving it. The mystery of Savage's birth is as far from resolution as ever. The most objective biography is a book mentioned earlier, The Artificial Bastard, in which Tracy shows that all attempts to prove Savage an impostor have been unsuccessful, even those of Moy Thomas, whose "proof" Tracy points out is largely conjecture rather than conclusive evidence. Savage claimed further that his mother had abandoned him when he was an infant and that when he finally, by means of some original letters, was able to ascertain her identity and was himself at last apprised of his own lineage, she would not acknowledge him. His subsequent assertions of his "rights," his being sent to prison following an involvement in a tavern brawl, his attempts to succeed on his own merits as a poet and dramatist - these details were well known to Johnson. His conviction of the complete truth of his narrative is written into every line of the Life of Savage. Boswell reports accordingly: "Johnson's partiality for Savage made him entertain no doubt of his story, however extraordinary and improbable. It never occurred to him to question his being the son of the Countess of Macclesfield, of whose unrelenting barbarity he so loudly complained, and the particulars of which are related in so strong and affecting a manner in Johnson's life of him."¹¹

Longacre has suggested that possibly Johnson was

swept into the conviction of the truth of Savage's stories by his love and compassion for his friend; yet Johnson's keen mind and his own experiences in the world equipped him well to distinguish between the true and the false. Johnson, in spite of his charity, knew men too well to accept literally everything that Savage told him. Any errors that Johnson made in the Life were the result of misinformation concerning particular events; in his evaluation of Savage's character and personality, he did not err. The events in the life of Savage, as he knew them, and his judgment and interpretation of them, were not written in the spirit of producing a good story, but in the spirit of understanding and truth.¹²

Though perhaps Johnson was not always aware of exactly what was implicit in Savage's stories, at least he suppressed no evidence that would contribute to a fair evaluation of his subject's character. Clifford says that Johnson "showed how Savage constantly invited denial and humiliation, and then revelled in self-pity; how he built up a delusion of continual persecution."¹³ Johnson recognized unequivocally the hypocrisy, untrustworthiness, pettiness, vanity, and self-indulgence of his friend, not to mention Savage's incapacity to learn from or even to admit his mistakes. Furthermore, he saw in Savage a love of goodness unsupported by any sustained effort to practise it. Yet, in the midst of these faults, Johnson still could perceive the man's virtues. It is against such undesirable traits that Johnson sets his buoyancy under misfortune, his refusal to flatter the wealthy, and his right to be judged only by those who had been as persecuted by circumstances as himself. Only too well did Johnson know that Savage had false pride, that he was an opportunist, and that he could be virulent toward and inconsiderate of his friends as well as his enemies. For all of his detestation of moral weakness, Johnson was tolerant of Savage's faults. His sense of reality and his sympathy are equally balanced. One of the most striking passages in the Life is this one: "Those are no proper judges of his conduct who have slumbered away their time on the down of plenty, nor will any wise man presume to say, 'Had I been in Savage's condition, I should have lived or written better than Savage.'"¹⁴ Clifford has stated that the quality which makes the Life of Savage a landmark in the development of the art of biography is that Johnson provided in it all the details necessary for a modern interpretation of an exceedingly complex personality.

Writers who are aware of Johnson's high standards

of ethical and literary excellence have expressed great surprise at his consorting with Savage, who they agree was a reprobate. Tracy points out that "as for the incompatibility of the two friends, one must remember in that connection Johnson's enormous tolerance."¹⁵ He once wrote, "Nothing is more unjust, however common, than to charge with hypocrisy him that expresses zeal for those virtues, which he neglects to practice." At another time he defended the indulgence of the poor in gin and tobacco on the ground that they were "sweeteners of their existence"; and finally, when he had means of his own, he befriended dozens of needy poets, though he was never blind to their absurdities and vices. Boswell's perturbation on this score is particularly comical, for he had few stones to throw. Tracy comments very pertinently: "But Johnson was never so badly dazzled by Savage's engaging charm as to overlook his faults. His Account of the Life of Mr. Richard Savage is an object lesson on the dangers of self-delusion, or what he elsewhere aptly called 'cant', and he missed no opportunity of showing that Savage had repeatedly brought his miseries down on his own head."¹⁶ And with what penetration does Johnson describe and sum up the basic defect in Savage's character: "By imputing none of his miseries to himself he continued to act upon the same principles, and to follow the same path; was never made wiser by his sufferings, nor preserved by one misfortune from falling into another. He proceeded throughout his life to tread the same steps on the same circle; always applauding his past conduct, or at least forgetting it, to amuse himself with phantoms of happiness which were dancing before him, and willingly turned his eyes from the light of reason, when it would have discovered the illusion and shewn him, what he never wished to see, his real state."¹⁷ It has been pointed out that Johnson was strong precisely where Savage was weak: in prudence, common sense, and manly independence. But as one of those "modes of life" that Imlac was to find an essential part of a poet's knowledge, Savage fascinated him as a study in human behaviour.

The reasons for Johnson's success with the Life of Savage are not difficult to explain. Their mutual interests, their loneliness, the distressing financial conditions in which they both were, did much to foster friendship. Those nights when the two men wandered together through the London streets, sometimes depressed, and again "resolved to stand by their country," were enough to strengthen the bond of friendship and to reach sympathetic understanding. After they had parted and the news came to Johnson of his friend's death in

the prison at Bristol, it is small wonder that he was eager to protect the name of Savage from insult and calumny and to express his loyalty and reveal his understanding of the man in the form of biography.¹⁸

The main outlines of Johnson's characterization of Savage can be summed up through the citation of a few brief passages: "His mind was in an uncommon degree vigorous and active." "His judgment was eminently exact both with regard to writings and to men." "He was never vehement or loud, but at once modest and easy, open and respectful ..." "He was compassionate ... but when he was provoked (and very small offences were sufficient to provoke him), he would prosecute his revenge with the utmost acrimony ... His friendship was therefore of little value." Johnson carefully shows that his abilities were better than either his fortune or his capacity for discipline; and his faults "were not easily to be avoided by a great mind, irritated by perpetual hardships ..." Occasionally a touch of Johnsonian humour helps to delineate Savage's character, as when Johnson writes: "And he was remarkably retentive of his ideas, which, when once he was in possession of them, rarely forsook him; a quality which could never be communicated to his money." The humour is possibly unintentional.

It has been pointed out that the qualities in the Life that tend to produce compassion are the numerous instances that are given of the ways in which Savage's hopes were disappointed, his schemes balked of success, or his friends and protectors disgusted with him. However justified in their conduct these people may have been, the steadily increasing burden of misery is affecting. The tone is one of philosophic generalization, which by weighing and explaining seems to extenuate without denying the vices which are plainly stated. So judicious, in fact, is this tone that the reader may need a little reflection to realize that, for all his brilliance and charm, Savage was an ingrate and a scoundrel. But the sympathy of his friend, although it weights the style, does not impair the rightness of the judgment. As previously stated, Johnson's gentleness of feeling leads neither to the hiding of a single harsh fact nor to the slightest unbending of his rigid morality.

Johnson valued Savage as a poet and man of letters. He wrote favourably of works such as The Wanderer and Sir Thomas Overbury, as well as of several of the smaller pieces.

Of the Author to be Let he wrote: "Of his exact observations on human life he has left a proof, which would do honor to the greatest names." Today, readers find Johnson's enthusiasm difficult to justify. Percy Houston has written that Johnson praised Savage "rather out of due proportion. His descriptions are 'striking,' his images 'animated,' his fictions 'justly imagined,' and his allegories 'artfully pursued.'"¹⁹ Houston's opinion is a common one. Yet, ten years after the publication of the Life of Savage, Johnson still thought highly enough of Savage the author to cite in the Dictionary passages from Savage's poetry as authority for his definitions of eight words, in spite of a general rule against introducing his contemporaries into that great work of reference.²⁰ In 1939, the critic Jack Lindsay wrote an article entitled "Richard Savage, the First Poet of Colour" in which he presents a modern interpretation of Savage's poetry. Lindsay states: "... He deserves to have attention paid to some of the passages showing the rich new coloration which he imported into the set imagery of the Augustan couplet."²¹ One line by Savage, "No tenth transmitter of a foolish face" from The Bastard, has passed into circulation; and that is all. To the twentieth century, Savage the poet is dead.

When in 1779 Johnson was composing his masterpieces of biography and criticism, The Lives of the English Poets, he incorporated almost in its entirety his previous account of Savage. Hill comments in his edition of the Lives that Johnson made very few alterations when he included it "in the present collection." Those changes which he did make involved, for the most part, the deletion of extended passages which he had earlier quoted from Savage's works and of certain explanatory notes which later he apparently did not consider necessary. Tracy says that Johnson did not tone down anything that he had written about Savage in either the first edition of 1744 or the subsequent editions of 1748, 1767, and 1769: "If this action is dismissed as characteristic of Johnson's indolence, his critics must remember that Savage is often mentioned in other lives written in 1779 especially for this collection, and that he is always mentioned in them with respect. In his life of Pope, for instance, a poet whom Johnson honoured above all others, he discharged his entire critical duty to Pope's Epilogue to the Satires by quoting with approval a remark he remembered Savage to have made about it. After thirty-six years he still considered Savage a critic of weight."²²

The Lives themselves vary in interest and in the degree of completeness with which they were executed. Most of them fit a three-fold pattern of organisation: they present, in this order, the outstanding events of the poet's life; a delineation of his character and personality; and a criticism of his works. The Life of Savage was conceived and composed under a set of circumstances entirely different from that of most of the Lives. Written years before the collection, it does not follow so arbitrary a scheme. It is a much more highly integrated study of character than is to be commonly found among Johnson's other biographical efforts. With this work, Johnson's genius may be said to have produced a kind of tour de force of the biographical art. In its pages Richard Savage the man, whoever he was, still lives. The modern reader can almost hear Dr. Johnson saying, "If we owe regard to the memory of the dead, there is yet more respect to be paid to knowledge, to virtue and to truth."

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THE POLITICAL SERMONS OF JOHNSON AND SWIFT

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Despite his reputation as a critic of Swift's life and works and his apparent irritability whenever Swift was brought into the conversation, Johnson's political and religious views, which flow mainly from his Anglicanism, are basically the same as Swift's. This fact seems to have added to the bewilderment of those who heard him express either prejudice or animosity for the Dean. However, in the work of Johnson and even in some of his utterances on Swift, it is possible to discern rapport in their approach to certain subjects, not only in the writings of the early and middle period, but in those of the later ones as well. One area of agreement lies in their positions on social relations between men and women, especially in marriage. Apart from the need for propagation based upon man's natural urge, they see the value of marriage as a special testing of character through friendship. They also agree that the temptations of politics provides another and perhaps higher test of character.

I want to compare certain sermons of both authors¹ in order to establish the religious basis for some of their political attitudes - attitudes which are encountered throughout their works. In their sermons there is an opportunity to hear Swift and Johnson express themselves unambiguously in the same form. Moreover, the sermons reveal interesting shades of differences between their basic moral concerns. For the most part, the tone of the sermons is personal, unironic, and argumentative.

As a preacher Swift thinks that he is unsuccessful, complaining that he "could only preach pamphlets."² But Swift's published sermons lead Johnson to believe that his judgment of himself as a preacher is "unreasonably severe" (*Lives*, III, 54). Indeed, he states that Swift was generally too harsh with himself on the matter of his religion. He describes Swift as an active and diligent churchman and relates that Swift was willing to sacrifice his reputation by appearing irreligious in order not to appear hypocritical. While admonishing Swift for keeping his piety secretive, Johnson is actually affirming it and rescuing him from the charge of impiety. His quiet praise of the sermons is an

important part of this affirmation.

Both Johnson and Swift composed sermons on the topics of brotherly love, bearing false witness, and the death of Charles I. For the sake of his introductory comments to Swift's sermons, Louis Landa places the sermons dealing with the above topics as belonging "in a group by virtue of their political nature. In one way or another they treat problems growing out of dissent and the relation between church and state, or some political aspect of eighteenth-century religion."⁵ Johnson's sermons on these topics, although not so overtly political, possess strong political overtones. Landa describes the three sermons of Swift as "party documents, two of them openly and violently so, the other by implication" (Swift, Works, IX, 116). Johnson does avoid directness of contentiousness in his sermons.

Maurice Quinlan finds a marked difference in tone between Johnson's and Swift's sermons on these topics. He feels that Swift wrote for a particular congregation, Johnson for mankind. He illustrates this belief by summarizing the effects of Swift's and Johnson's sermons on false witness. Swift's sermon was written at a time when Ireland was engaged in a kind of guerilla warfare against England. Since secrecy is absolutely vital in a struggle of this nature, the greatest danger to a man lies in being exposed. Swift therefore addresses himself chiefly to the evil of informing on others. His sermon "warns against any looseness of tongue that might endanger one's neighbor" (Quinlan, pp.88-89). Johnson's interest in the topic is less political. He concentrates on the subject of bearing false witness in terms of calumny:

Even to listen in silent assent while another's reputation is under attack, he urges, makes one guilty of conniving at evil. The best way to avoid engaging in calumny, he admonishes, is to examine with greater care one's own faults and to remember "that charity is the height of religious excellence; and that it is one of the characteristics of this virtue, that it thinketh no evil of others" (Quinlan, p.89).

While Quinlan's statement is basically true, it does not take into account some of the striking similarities in the organization of thought between the two sermons, a similarity

which I shall presently show. But whatever differences there are between these sermons, they still reflect the ideal of eighteenth-century sermon writing of avoiding the complex rhetorical devices used by the seventeenth-century sermonists. Landa explains:

Lengthy allegorical interpretations of the Scriptures, the excessive number of quotations, analogies and self-conscious imagery, Greek and Latin phrases, 'pert Wit and luscious Eloquence' - the intricate paraphernalia by which the clergymen of that period delivered God's word to their auditors - had all but disappeared from Anglican sermons by Swift's time (Swift, Works, IX, 102).

The eighteenth-century sermonist was free to divide his thoughts and to explain himself plainly. Swift and Johnson view eloquence in the sermon suspiciously. In his Letter to a Young Clergyman, Swift describes the art of the ancient orators in arousing the passions as wholly inappropriate for his time. Similarly, when Boswell asked Johnson "what sermons afford the best specimen of English pulpit eloquence," Johnson replied "we have no sermons addressed to the passions that are good for any thing; if you mean that kind of eloquences."⁴ The sermons of Swift and Johnson reflect an ideal of reasoning men into religion.

As Maurice Quinlan points out, the difference in tone owes something to the nature of the audiences each one was trying to reason into religion. Swift's sermons assume an audience with limited knowledge and limited capabilities of following subtle arguments. Johnson assumes an audience similar to those who might be able to follow his Idler essays. Generally, he seems to follow the rule laid down by Swift in his Letter to a Young Clergyman to avoid "hard words" and abstruse theological diction. There are a few notable exceptions to this rule in the appearance of such latinate words as "feculence," and "maceration." In Sermon XVI he talks about the "attributes of God," a phrase Swift cautions against:

And I defy the greatest Divine to produce any Law, either of God or Man, which obliges me to comprehend the Meaning of Omniscience, Omnipresence, Ubiquity, Attribute, Beatific Vision (Swift, Works, IX, 66).

Both their sermons are marked by brief and informal

construction. According to Louis Landa, "Swift's sermons are rather more extreme than those of his contemporaries" (IX, 103, in this respect. Johnson generally has a longer introductory statement before coming to the divisions of the sermon. Swift's sermons contain some of the vigour of his other writings, but since he believed that preaching should "tell the People what is their Duty, and to convince them that it is so" (IX, 70), by sense and reason, it is not a form in which he can exert his comic genius. Both Swift and Johnson as sermonists rely on the orthodox and traditional. Landa's comment on Swift's sermons could in large part apply to Johnson's:

We observe in them Swift's ready and unabashed use of the heritage of ideas - the traditional counsel, the fixed doctrinal notions, the homiletic wisdom of the ages - that any clergyman had at hand for the edification of his flock; and from this vantage the sermons reveal Swift the divine as he reflects constant and universal elements in Christianity (IX, 101).

Quinlan's description of Johnson's sermons almost completes the picture:

Johnson's sermons are distinguished from the typical sermons of his time, and from most at any time, by the terse and memorable comments woven into the fabric of his discourse. As in his essays, these are usually naked precepts, unembellished by illustration (p.89).

It is possible to add to this observation that there are times when Johnson includes in his sermons an element of debate, as in the case of Sermon I when toward the end of it he magisterially intones his injunction against polygamy.⁵

The contrast between Swift's political anxiety and Johnson's calmer mood is illustrated by their sermons on Charles I, delivered as a January 30 observance sermon, a day which had been set aside after the restoration to commemorate the king's beheading. Swift begins Sermon VI immediately by pointing out that there are those who are against observing this day. He relates the story of the dethronement, assuming that his audience may not really know much about it, and then he gives a picture of its consequences with an explanation for the need of observance. He places the blame fully on the Puritans while giving an historical account of their origins

and motives, as well as of their actions in this period. He sees the rise of atheism as an effect of the Revolution because it brings in its aftermath further schisms which destroy the individual's attempt to secure certainty for his faith. The country has never fully recovered from those events, and he singles out the destruction of churches as one of the terrible consequences.

Swift argues that the revolution has taught the country the need for good advisers, since it was bad advice which in part caused the king's downfall. The day of observance also teaches that new doctrines, even on small matters, eventually get out of hand and ultimately threaten the security of large institutions. The ordinary citizen must not become a zealot. If he has visions he must keep them to himself; otherwise he must become like those "ancient Puritan fanatics," who must:

needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions come into their heads, declaring all their absurdities and blasphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghost.

(Swift, Works, IX, 227)

Swift urges that between the extremes of total submission to a king, who should not be deified since he is merely a mortal man, to the extreme of blaming the king for all the evils in the state through intolerance of his shortcomings, there is a middle road: "to be good and loyal subjects, yet, according to your power, faithful assertors of your religion and liberties" (IX, 230-231). Thus, there was justifiable cause for the dethronement of James II, who had imposed on the religion and liberties of the people. But Charles was a martyr to those fanatics who were really without just grievances for deposing him.

Johnson begins Sermon XXIII on a quieter note. He does not go into the concrete detail or historical background of Charles' death, nor does he directly identify the parties concerned. He takes a philosophical stance, while alluding to the Puritans and dissenters, but he sees their motives as sharing in the more common failing of envy, rather than zeal. In society, strife is inevitable because of individual self-interest; God has allowed for strife, by granting man individuality. But there must be a discrimination between

lawful and unlawful strife. He concedes that the Puritans and dissenters may have been motivated by higher considerations, rather than mere mercantile ones, but they aim at conquest rather than conversion, and their means are unlawful:

To do evil that good may come, can never be the purpose of a man who has not perverted his morality by some false principle (Johnson, Works, IX, 501).

While it is true that oppression can become awful, an individual may feel persecuted when he is not. To those who quarrel with men in power because "they want merit," Johnson gives this advice: "He that has once concluded it lawful to resist power, when it wants merit, will soon find a want of merit, to justify his resistance of power" (IX, 503). Johnson also recognizes the revolutionary mood as an attack against the existing class-structure and really does not benefit the weak:

[They] ...desire times of tumult and disturbance, as affording the fairest opportunities for the active and sagacious to distinguish themselves, and as throwing open the avenues of wealth and honour, to be entered by those who have the greatest quickness of discernment, and celerity of dispatch. In times of peace every thing proceeds in a train of regularity, and there is no sudden advantage to be snatched, nor any unusual change of condition to be hoped ... The great benefit of society is that the weak are protected against the strong. The great evil of confusion is that the world is thrown into the hands, not of the best, but of the strongest (IX, 504).

It is not until near the close of the sermon that Johnson gets to the death of Charles I. He measures the event against all the tokens of "unlawful strife" which he has previously established and finds unjust means and ends, disproportionate measures taken, confusion, usurpation and further schism.

Like Swift he recognizes that the imperfections of kings is natural and not a sufficient cause for inciting revolution. They both see the day of observance as a reminder to avoid the unnecessary bloodshed caused by jealousy and hatred. Swift asserts that the country has not fully recovered and Johnson reminds his audience that:

Such are the evils which God sometimes permits to fall upon nations, when they stand secure in their own greatness, and forget their dependence on universal sovereignty, depart from the laws of their Maker, corrupt the purity of his worship, or swerve from the truth of his revelation. Such evils surely we have too much reason to fear again, for we have no right to charge our ancestors with having provoked them by crimes greater than our own (IX, 505-506).

Johnson's sermon is paced very deliberately. It starts slowly and reflectively and then begins to accelerate its pace, becoming quite lively in the last few paragraphs when he confronts the event itself. Rather than merely warning his audience to beware of Puritans or dissenters who seduce ordinary people into becoming fanatics, Johnson is telling his audience to be aware of envy, a social flaw, which under certain conditions may overturn society. But behind the difference of Johnson's probing of motives lies the essential acceptance of the notion that real oppression deserves to be overthrown, while there is no justification either for rebelling in order to perfect society or to impose an individual's will over others. Both make a distinction between real tyranny and the magnification of the ordinary evils attendant upon government. Swift is mainly interested in identifying the Puritans and their descendants, the dissenters; Johnson is more interested in emphasizing the revolution as part of the general condition of mankind, which could apply anywhere at any time. In a word Swift is concrete, Johnson universal.

In both their sermons on bearing false witness there is again a difference of emphasis on the political and social implications of the topic. Swift, whose career as an anonymous writer of controversial tracts and satires, such as The Drapier Letters, was understandably concerned with the problem of informers, who, he grants in Sermon VII, can be useful to the state. But the problem is that:

when Parties are violently inflamed, which seemeth unfortunately to be our Case at present, there is never wanting a Set of evil Instruments who, either out of mad Zeal, private Hatred, or filthy Lucre, are always ready to offer their Services to the prevailing Side, and become Accusers of their Brethren without any Regard to Truth or Charity (Works, IX, 180).

He next indicates the different ways in which a man may be called a false witness. There are those who make accusations without the least ground of truth, those who mix falsehood and truth together, those who report remarks out of context. The "blackest kind" seduce others into friendship where they encourage them to give vent to complaints, which are then subsequently perverted. A false witness may also be one who, although he tells the truth, is motivated either by malice or by revenge. There are those who inform for favour or reward; and then finally there are informers who take innocuous remarks and distort them.

The way to protect oneself against false witness, aside from being virtuous, which is not a sure protection, is to avoid politics, controversy, drunkenness, and disloyalty to the king. The way to bear faithful witness is to avoid self-interest and to use discretion in making reports: that is, to judge whether it is really necessary to make the report. Most important of all is the motive behind making the report.

While Johnson is concerned more with the consequences of social defamation brought by false witness, he covers practically the same categories in the same order as does Swift. Introducing his subject in Sermon XVII by pointing out that many are not aware of the magnitude of the vice, he also counts the ways men bear false witness. He starts with Swift's first category of those who commit absolute perjury, and like Swift he disdainfully hesitates to linger with the perjurers. There are those who mix truth and falsehood, those who do not get the facts straight, those who assume knowledge of a fact, and those whose intentions are impure:

For to relate reproachful truths, only for the pleasure of depressing the reputation of our neighbour, is far from being innocent. The crime, indeed, doth not fall under the head of calumny, but only differs from it in the falsehood, not in the malice (Works, IX, 445).

Johnson includes defamation and ridicule as forms of false witness:

Defamation is become one of the amusements of life, a cursory part of conversation and social entertainment. Men sport away the reputation of others, without the least reflection upon the injury which they are doing, and applaud the happiness of their own invention, if

they can increase the mirth of a feast, or animate conviviality, by slander and detraction (IX, 443).

And then he shifts his attack to those who listen either in silence or approval, or use the information for their own ends. Using sharp language, like Swift, Johnson says this vice "blacken(s) human nature," "pollute(s) the earth," and is practised by the resentful whom he describes as "villains," "wretches," practising the "vilest arts of detraction" (IX, 447). Nor is a man exculpated from this vice by charging that everybody else is involved in the deed. The individual is responsible for his own actions:

It is the duty of every man to regulate his conduct, not by the example of others, or by his own surmises, but by the invariable rules of equity and truth. Wickedness must be opposed by some, or virtue would be entirely driven out of the world (IX, 445-446).

As in the case of sedition, Johnson finds envy at the base of this evil. He defines envy here as pride coupled with laziness. It is a pride which leads to a process of bringing people down to one's own level. Unlike Swift, who advises on the way of giving truthful witness, Johnson ends his sermon by recommending charity.

Swift ends Sermon V, on the subject of brotherly love, by acknowledging his political concern: "I have now done with my Text, which I confess to have treated in a Manner more suited to the present Times than to the Nature of the Subject in general" (Works, IX, 179). He begins the sermon by pointing out that the early Christians could feel brotherly toward each other because they were persecuted and were not inclined toward divisive doctrines. The lack of brotherly love in Christianity at the present is due to the Papists and fanatics - the fanatics being the more dangerous of the two. Other causes for the lack of brotherly love are the bad influence of cunning men upon the lower classes, inflammatory sermons from the pulpit, and political activity on the part of the trading people. Religious feeling suffers when the people take hold of politics: "But where party hath once made entrance, with all its consequences of hatred, envy, partiality and virulence, religion cannot long keep its hold in any state or degree of life whatsoever" (IX, 174-175). With the entry of the people into party politics, friendships and hospitality become severely limited. Repeatedly here, as well as in the

other sermons, Swift insists that the people have no direct concerns with the state as long as the right to worship and to earn a living and to enjoy any of their traditional liberties is not infringed. One might note in passing, how effectively Swift was able to mobilize public opinion in his role as the Drapier. He saw Wood's patent as an infringement of the economic rights of the people which could justify their refusal to co-operate with the government.

The sermon ends with Swift's definition of true moderation. The true moderate allows for liberty of conscience but is still respectful and loyal to state and church, while those who are merely preaching moderation are really intolerant, irreligious, and destructive. Swift seems to be suggesting that brotherly love might begin by accepting the establishment of the church, even by the dissenters.

Johnson, on the same subject in Sermon XI, begins, like Swift, with a discussion of the early Christians, who were able through their small number of followers and dangerous surroundings to come close to the ideal of brotherly love. He too warns how sects, factions, and parties divide men from each other. That all should be of one mind is an unattainable goal since this would assume either that all were wise or that some were forcing others to agree with them. However, profession of belief which may be exacted cannot alter a person's mind, because mankind has been endowed with freedom of conscience. But men of different opinions can live together through humility, moderation, and charity. However "there is in every mind, implanted by nature, a desire of superiority" (Johnson, Works, IX, 389). This urge often leads to envy and cruelty, which can be counteracted by compassion. Instead of identifying the fanatics as the cause of divisiveness Johnson uses the term "ambition":

Ambition has effeced all natural consanguinity, by calling nation to war against nation, and making the destruction of one half of mankind the glory of the other. Christian piety, as it revived and enforced all the original and primeval duties of humanity, so it restored, in some degree, that brotherhood, or foundation of kindness, which naturally arises from some common relation (IX, 391).

There are many opportunities to exert pity and help, even for those who have brought their sorrow upon themselves. The sermon closes with Johnson recommending courtesy in opposition

to "harsh strictness and sour virtue," in order that Christianity might not be accused of making men "less cheerful as companions, less sociable as neighbors, or less useful as friends" (IX, 394).

These sermons show Swift's and Johnson's views on the duties of a Christian in society. He must know enough about politics not to be duped into unchristian behaviour. The advice not to spy or spread calumny, or arouse a faction, or to oppose evil by evil is based on religious laws.

In their sermons on the death of Charles I, Swift and Johnson seem to be caught in the same apparent contradiction of rejecting the dethronement of one king while accepting the other. The contradiction can be explained by their acceptance of the Whig position on the revolution and opposition to monarchical absolutism, along with the Tory position of a strong church-state relationship.

From the time of the English reformation the church depended on the crown for its civil authority. After the restoration, the church found it difficult to maintain its authority from the crown against attacks from the dissenters. With the revolution, the Church had to decide between the hereditary king or the people. Those who remained loyal to the king found they were excluded. The revolution of 1688 made it clear that the divine right of the Church could not rest on the divine right of the king in English politics. Since Swift and Johnson follow the majority of Englishmen in accepting the primacy of the legislative power, they turn to that agency of government rather than the crown to bolster the claims of the Church. The Church authority rested on the crown with Charles I and was usurped by a minority. Now it rests on the legislative and can no longer revert to the crown. The problem is how to keep the dissenters, who are abetted by the Whigs, from wielding political influence through the legislative power against the Church.⁶

In The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man, Swift clarifies the difference between the legislative power and the arbitrary power of a king or faction, which he views "as a greater Evil than Anarchy itself; as much as a Savage is in a happier State of Life, than a Slave at the Car" (Works, II, 15). Recalling the school dispute: "whether under any Pretence whatsoever, it may be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, which was held in the negative," Swift answers they were right

but mistook that "to which Passive Obedience was due":

By the Supreme Magistrate is properly understood the Legislative Power, which in all Government must be absolute and unlimited (II, 16).

Broadly speaking Swift is following John Locke's theory of constitutional government, that is, government based on the consent of the governed. In one of The Drapier Letters he actually uses Locke's classic formulation: "For in Reason, all Government, without the Consent of the Governed, is the very Definition of Slavery" (Swift, Works, X, 63).⁷

Johnson addresses himself to the same problem in his response to Goldsmith's badgering him on the precept, "the King can do no wrong." He explains to Goldsmith that there is no redress above the King since he is the head of government, but that "the King, though he should command, cannot force a judge to condemn a man unjustly; therefore it is the judge whom we prosecute and punish" (Boswell's Life, I, 424). He argues that government requires "a supreme legislative power," even when that power is abused. But:

if the abuse be enormous, Nature will rise up, and claiming her original rights, overturn a corrupt political system (I, 424).

In these passages Johnson is elaborating two principles: the individual is responsible for his actions, and revolution is "natural" under certain circumstances. The two principles are related, because a Government that has grown thoroughly corrupt might place an unnatural disadvantage upon the individual's ability to resist evil. In the example of the King and judge, Johnson seems to be laying down a principle upon which the Nuremburg Trials were conducted. To the argument that these Germans were following the laws of their State, both Johnson and Swift could cite the Laws of God. Unfortunately, for most men, the laws of the State are more compelling, whether or not they are just.

However they see the human advantages of a stable society. In principle they are reluctant to allow the kind of debate that would produce turmoil in the State and they both take pains to distinguish between freedom of conscience and freedom of expression. Swift makes a forthright distinction between freedom of thought and freedom of expression:

I am in all opinions to believe according to my own impartial reason; which I am bound to inform and improve, as far as my capacity and opportunities will permit
(Works, IX, 261).

I am not answerable to God for the doubts that arise in my own breast, since they are the consequence of that reason which he hath planted in me, if I take care to conceal those doubts from others, if I use my best endeavours to subdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life (IX, 262).

Johnson seems to echo not only Swift's thought but his language as well:

Every man has a physical right to think as he pleases; for it cannot be discovered how he thinks. He has not a moral right, for he ought to inform himself, and think justly. But, Sir, no member of a society has a right to teach any doctrine contrary to what the society holds to be true (Boswell's Life, II, 249).

However, in practice Swift and Johnson, while they were defenders of the faith, did not hesitate to express themselves on controversial subjects.

The classical view of politics, from Plato onwards, always stresses the need for wisdom in government, and sees the lower classes as lacking the mind and restraint necessary for the complexities of rule. At its worst these classes become a rabble which is a primordial force of nature. At its best they are the plebeians, servants, traders toiling happily in their occupations and content with the share of happiness they have received. Kings and parliaments are the heads of society, and the Church its soul. But as the agencies of reason and morality they are open to the dangers of tyranny, factionalism, and schism. As in the social order, so too in the State, reason is nature's guide. Kings, parliaments, and clergy may fail, but the ideal of a just and reasonable force restraining the undifferentiated energies of humanity is still the classical vision of all human society.

In their sermons Swift and Johnson give religious sanctions to this classical view. It is interesting that neither men took the trouble to have their sermons published. As satirists, they reach a wider audience and make their moral

ideas more compelling. But for the admirers of Swift and Johnson, the sermons stand as the crystallization of their basic views.

Documentation

1. For a discussion of the facts of publication and inclusion of the sermons in the Johnson canon see Maurice Quinlan, Samuel Johnson: A Layman's Religion (Madison, 1964), pp. 85-100. Sermon XXI is the only one that seems doubtful: "There are even approving allusions to the Chain of Being, a theory with which Johnson expressed strong disagreement elsewhere. Furthermore, there are many more quotations from Scripture than is customary in his sermons. Because of these circumstances, Jean Hagstrum doubts that Johnson wrote it and believes it may be one of Taylor's compositions. I, too, find it difficult to ascribe any considerable portion of this sermon to Johnson" (p.98).
2. Samuel Johnson, The Lives of the English Poets, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, rev. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1905), III, 54.
3. The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1962), IX, 106. Hereafter cited in text as Swift, Works.
4. Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, rev. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934), III, 248.
5. The Works of Samuel Johnson (Oxford, 1825), IX, 295. Hereafter cited in text as Johnson, Works.
6. For an illuminating and detailed, though short, description of Swift's political thinking as it relates to his position on the church see J. C. Beckett, "Swift as an Ecclesiastical Statesman," Essays in British and Irish History (London, 1949). See also Donald Greene, The Politics of Samuel Johnson (New Haven, 1960), where he discusses the complexities of applying the term "Tory" to Johnson. Greene points out: "Of course, there were certain attitudes that Johnson did share with the traditional Old Tory. Above all, he was a stout partisan of the Church of England, and of the maintenance of its position in the state. This loyalty, more than any other of his political feelings, can be confidently said never to have wavered throughout his adult life. Even in his most vociferously patriot days, when he supported the radical positions of Savage and Henry Brooke, he dissociated himself from their anti-clericalism. His

- loyalty to the Establishment even included an affection for Whig bishops" (p.236).
7. Kathleen Williams (Jonathan Swift and the Age of Compromise, Lawrence, 1965) also sees the influence of Locke: "Like so many Englishmen of his time who abhorred the rebellion of 1641 but accepted the settlement of 1688, Swift found himself somewhere between two extreme and consistent points of view. Faced with the necessity, in a 'Martyrdom' sermon, of setting out a coherent theory which will tactfully express his own disapproval of current tendencies, he **accepts** the moderate position best expressed by that spokesman of the necessary Augustan compromise, John Locke" (p.103). Some observations on the relationship between Locke and Johnson in Donald Greene seem relevant to Swift's position as well: "To Locke and his liberal successors, natural rights of men and a mystical compact between rulers and ruled constituted the sanctions that were above the state. All these metaphysical entities Johnson summarily rejected: the only sanction for law that he recognized was the omniscience of whatever is the sovereign power in the state; and the only sanction for the existence of that power was the willingness of the governed to be governed" (p.244). "The principle of the rule of law enunciated by Locke, and essentially conservative principle, is as much Tory as it is Whig" (p.245).

AN HEROIC OCCASION

Bearing in mind the Doctor's dictum that "claret is the liquor for boys, port for men, but he who aspires to be a hero must drink brandy," Messrs. Matthew Clark & Sons Ltd., most generously provided three bottles of the Medallion Cognac brandy distilled and blended by Messrs. Martell & Co., of Cognac, for the Christmas luncheon of the Johnson Society of London at the White Hall Hotel, Bloomsbury Square, on Saturday 19 December, 1970.

In a brief reference to Matthew Clark's generosity, Mr. Ross Wilson explained Medallion's place in the list of Martell Cognacs and something of the Martell structure: they are the biggest Cognac producers in the world and own 30 distilleries, thousands of hectares of vineyards, and take the entire produce of 22 other Cognac brandy distillers. The V.S.C.P. Cognac provided at the luncheon is the especial pride of Martell, and of Matthew Clark & Sons, sole agents and importers in Britain. It retails in the U.K. at about £5 a bottle.

FREDERIC NICKLIN DOUBLEDAY, 1885-1971

Frederic Doubleday, who died on 4th April, was for many years one of the most active members of our society, and his retirement from the editorship of the New Rambler was marked by his election as a Vice-President. Few men have had a more variously distinguished career than Frederic Doubleday. He qualified as a dental surgeon at Guy's Hospital in 1908, and four years later took his medical qualification of M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P. He joined the staff of Guy's as a consultant dental surgeon, and was later appointed editor of the British Dental Journal. At home he became one of the leading teachers of dental science, while his reputation abroad was shown by his being invited to lecture in Canada and the United States and by his membership of several foreign dental societies. In 1947 his life took a new direction through his ordination into the ministry of the Church of England. It was from that date that my friendship with him began, for he was the first ordination candidate whom the Bishop of Guildford referred to me after my appointment as one of his examining chaplains, and I record with gratitude the fact that it was through him that I came to join the Johnson Society. Although he was ordained to serve as an assistant-curate in Dorking, the greater part of his diaconate was spent in Cairo, where he had been invited as Visiting Professor to lecture in advanced dental surgery at the Fouad University. In Dorking he exercised for some years a much valued pastoral ministry at the Pixham mission church, taking a special interest in children and young people.

All his life Frederic Doubleday was a lover and student of literature. His connection with Guy's Hospital gave him a special interest in John Keats, on whom he contributed several papers to the Guy's Hospital Journal. His love of Johnson and his knowledge of Johnson's works and contemporaries were revealed in the papers which he read to the meetings of our society. His editorship of the New Rambler witnessed its transformation from little more than a news-sheet into a periodical of scholarly standing which found its place in academic libraries. He contributed a characteristic essay on the Religion of Samuel Johnson to the remarkable symposium, Johnsonian Studies, edited by Magdi Wahba and published in Cairo in 1962. To Johnsonian scholarship, and to our society in particular, he made a distinctive contribution for which he will always be gratefully remembered.

Those of us, and there are many, who knew Frederic Doubleday as a friend will cherish the memory of his kindness and generosity, and of his encouragement of those who longo intervallo sought to follow him on the path of Johnsonian learning. Of all the tributes that might be paid to Frederic Doubleday's many-sided and many-gifted personality I can think of no more fitting one - nor one that for all his modesty would please him more - than this: he was a man of whom Johnson would have approved.

A. R. W.

AUCHINLECK BOSWELL SOCIETY

The Auchinleck Boswell Society was formed in January 1970 with the objects of making Auchinleck a centre of Boswell pilgrimage, and furthering interest in the history of the Parish by restoring and maintaining the ancient church where James Boswell and his forefathers worshipped, and the Mausoleum where his remains are interred; raising funds to encompass this purpose of restoration; and accepting any article of historical or literary interest.

The Society has received the gift of the old church from the Kirk Session of the Barony Church, and the vaults and Mausoleum from the Boswell family. Their aim is to restore these historic buildings as a fitting memorial to the men of Auchinleck Parish who contributed so much to the world of literature.

Books, manuscripts, and portraits of the Boswell family together with objects of historical interest have been donated to the Society and these will form the nucleus of the proposed museum. The Society will gladly accept any items such as these to extend their collection.

To achieve the objects of the Society, £12,000 is required and an appeal fund has been opened by Lady Talbot de Malahide with a generous donation.

The Society welcomes new members "who have the interest of the Boswellian Parish of Auchinleck at heart". The annual membership fee is £1 and life membership £10. Further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, Gordon P. Hoyle, 131 Main Street, AUCHINLECK, Ayrshire, Scotland (Tel. Cumnock 2382).

THE JOHNSON SOCIETY OF LONDON

Election of Vice-President.

The well-being and efficient functioning of any society depends upon its secretary, and in Mr. A. G. Dowdeswell our society has had until his recent retirement an Honorary Secretary who combined efficiency in the conduct of business with the equally important personal qualities of imperturbability, modesty and geniality. So large a part did he play in the society's administration, and so much did we rely upon him, that to some it might have seemed that the society and its secretary were identical. That, however, would have been far from the truth, for no secretary could have fulfilled his duties more self-effacingly than he. He was content to be the servant of the society and thereby to help in furthering the society's purposes - the honouring of Johnson's memory and the encouragement of Johnsonian studies. In grateful and well deserved recognition of what the society owes to Mr. Dowdeswell he has been elected as a Vice-President, and we rejoice that he and his wife, Marguerite, now the society's assistant-secretary, will continue to aid us by their counsel and enrich us by their friendship.

Appointment of Honorary Secretary.

In the place of Mr. Dowdeswell we welcome the Rev. F. M. Hodgess Roper as Honorary Secretary of the Society. A Congregational minister and a former General Superintendent of the British Sailors' Society, he is known for the breadth of his interests, which in addition to those more particularly Johnsonian include geology, ornithology, international relationships and chess. Like his predecessor he combines devotion to Johnson with administrative experience and a warmth of friendship, and we look forward to a prosperous future for the Society under his secretaryship.

A. R. W.

Applications for membership of the Johnson Society of London should be made to the Hon. Secretary: Revd. F. M. Hodgess Roper, The Manse, Tower Road, Hindhead, Surrey.

Non-members at home or abroad who wish to take out a subscription to The New Rambler should write to the Editor, J. H. Leicester, Broadmead, Eynsford Road, Farningham, Kent, DA4 0BQ.

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