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Biography

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THE LIFE OF
SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.



SAMUEL JOHNSON, L.F.D.

Portrait by Mr. N. P. Jones, London



THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON LL.D.

By JAMES BOSWELL

THE FIRST EDITION, 1791, REPRINTED VERBATIM WITH
THE APPENDIX, "THE PRINCIPAL CORRECTIONS AND
ADDITIONS," 1793, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH TWENTY
PHOTOGRAVURE ETCHINGS, FIFTY HALF-TONE PLATES,
AND A FACSIMILE AUTOGRAPH LETTER

PREFACE BY
CLEMENT K. SHORTER

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME THE THIRD

LONDON: PRIVATELY PRINTED FOR THE NAVARRE
SOCIETY LIMITED, 23 NEW OXFORD STREET, W.C.
MCMXXIV

Printed in Great Britain

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FAC SIMILES of DR JOHNSON'S hand writing.

When at School, in his 16th year.

After your death, the laurel hair
Will quickly dress away his woes,
The urns you kept with so much care
Along the marble floor shall flow.

Sam: Johnson

In his 35th year.

Sir

Your most obedient
and
most humble Servant

Sam: Johnson

*In the last year of his life
A few days before he died.*

Madam,

Your most humble Servant

Sam: Johnson

Dec. 2. 1784.

London: Published with the last words, 10 April 1791, by Charles Dilly.
(Authenticated)

FACSIMILES OF JOHNSON'S HANDWRITING

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HE sometimes could not bear being teased with questions. I was once present when a gentleman asked so many, as: "What did you do, sir?" "What did you say, sir?" that he at last grew enraged, and said: "I will not be put to the *question*. Don't you consider, sir, that these are not the manners of a gentleman? I will not be baited with *what*, and *why*; what is this? what is that? why is a cow's tail long? why is a fox's tail bushy?" The gentleman, who was a good deal out of countenance, said: "Why, sir, you are so good, that I venture to trouble you." JOHNSON: Sir, my being so *good* is no reason why you should be so *ill*.

Talking of the *Justitia* hulk at Woolwich, in which criminals were punished, by being confined to labour, he said: "I do not see that they are punished by this: they must have worked equally had they never been guilty of stealing. They now only work; so, after all, they have gained: what they stole is clear gain to them; the confinement is nothing. Every man who works is confined: the smith to his shop, the tailor to his garret." BOSWELL: And Lord Mansfield to his court? JOHNSON: Yes, sir. You know the notion of confinement may be extended, as in the song, *Every island is a prison*. There is, in Dodsley's collection, a copy of verses to the author of that song.

Smith's Latin verses on Pococke, the great traveller, were mentioned. He repeated some of them, and said they were Smith's best verses.

He talked with an uncommon animation of travelling into

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distant countries; that the mind was enlarged by it, and that an acquisition of dignity of character was derived from it. He expressed a particular enthusiasm with respect to visiting the wall of China. I caught it for the moment, and said I really believed I should go and see the wall of China had I not children, of whom it was my duty to take care. "Sir," said he, "by doing so, you would do what would be of importance in raising your children to eminence. There would be a lustre reflected upon them from your spirit and curiosity. They would be at all times regarded as the children of a man who had gone to view the wall of China. I am serious, sir."

When we had left Mr Scott's, he said: "Will you go home with me?" "Sir," said I, "it is late; but I'll go with you for three minutes." JOHNSON: Or *four*.—We went to Mrs Williams's room, where we found Mr Allen, the printer, who was the landlord of his house in Bolt Court, a worthy obliging man, and his very old acquaintance; and what was exceedingly amusing, though he was of a very diminutive size, he used, even in Johnson's presence, to imitate the stately periods and slow and solemn utterance of the great man. I this evening boasted, that although I did not write what is called stenography, or shorthand, in appropriated characters devised for the purpose, I had a method of my own of writing half words, and leaving out some altogether, so as yet to keep the substance and language of any discourse which I heard so much in view, that I could give it very completely soon after taking it down. He defied me, as he had once defied an actual shorthand writer; and he made the experiment by reading slowly and distinctly a part of Robertson's *History of America*, while I endeavoured to write it in my way of taking notes. It was found that I had it very imperfectly; the conclusion from which was, that its excellence was principally owing to a studied arrangement of words, which could not be varied or abridged without an essential injury.

On Sunday, 12th April, I found him at home before

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dinner; Dr Dodd's poem entitled *Thoughts in Prison* was lying upon his table. This appearing to me an extraordinary effort by a man who was in Newgate for a capital crime, I was desirous to hear Johnson's opinion of it: to my surprise, he told me he had not read a line of it. I took up the book and read a passage to him. JOHNSON: Pretty well, if you are previously disposed to like them.—I read another passage, with which he was better pleased. He then took the book into his own hands, and having looked at the prayer at the end of it, he said: "What *evidence* is there that this was composed the night before he suffered. I do not believe it." He then read aloud where he prays for the King, etc., and observed: "Sir, do you think that a man the night before he is to be hanged cares for the succession of a royal family? Though he *may* have composed this prayer then. A man who has been canting all his life may cant to the last. And yet a man who has been refused a pardon after so much petitioning would hardly be praying thus fervently for the King."

He and I, and Mrs Williams, went to dine with the Reverend Dr Percy. Talking of Goldsmith, Johnson said, he was very envious. I defended him, by observing that he owned it frankly upon all occasions. JOHNSON: Sir, you are enforcing the charge. He had so much envy that he could not conceal it. He was so full of it that he overflowed. He talked of it, to be sure, often enough. Now, sir, what a man avows, he is not ashamed to think; though many a man thinks what he is ashamed to avow. We are all envious naturally; but by checking envy we get the better of it. So we are all thieves naturally. A child always tries to get at what it wants, the nearest way; by good instruction and good habits this is cured, till a man has not even an inclination to seize what is another's; has no struggle with himself about it.

And here I shall record a scene of too much heat between Dr Johnson and Dr Percy, which I should have suppressed were it not that it gave occasion to display the truly tender and benevolent heart of Johnson, who, as soon as he found

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a friend was at all hurt by anything which he had "said in his wrath," was not only prompt and desirous to be reconciled, but exerted himself to make ample reparation.

Books of travels having been mentioned, Johnson praised Pennant very highly, as he did at Dunvegan, in the Isle of Sky.¹ Dr Percy still holding himself as the heir male of the ancient Percies, and having the warmest and most dutiful attachment to the noble house of Northumberland, could not sit quietly and hear a man praised who had spoken disrespectfully of Alnwick Castle and the Duke's pleasure-grounds, especially as he thought meanly of his travels. He therefore opposed Johnson eagerly. JOHNSON: Pennant, in what he has said of Alnwick, has done what he intended; he has made you very angry. PERCY: He has said the garden is *trim*, which is representing it like a citizen's parterre, when the truth is, there is a very large extent of fine turf and gravel walks. JOHNSON: According to your own account, sir, Pennant is right. It *is* trim. Here is grass cut close, and gravel rolled smooth. Is not that trim? The extent is nothing against that; a mile may be as trim as a square yard. Your extent puts me in mind of the citizens' enlarged dinner, two pieces of roast beef and two puddings. There is no variety, no mind exerted in laying out the ground, no trees. PERCY: He pretends to give the natural history of Northumberland, and yet takes no notice of the immense number of trees planted there of late. JOHNSON: That, sir, has nothing to do with the *natural* history; that is *civil* history. A man who gives the natural history of the oak, is not to tell how many oaks have been planted in this place or that. A man who gives the natural history of the cow, is not to tell how many cows are milked at Islington. The animal is the same, whether milked in the park or at Islington. PERCY: Pennant does not describe well; a carrier who goes along the side of Loch Lomond would describe it better. JOHNSON: I think he describes very well. PERCY: I travelled after him. JOHNSON: And I

¹ *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 3rd edit., p. 221.

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travelled after him. PERCY: But, my good friend, you are short-sighted, and do not see so well as I do.—I wondered at Dr Percy's venturing thus. Dr Johnson said nothing at the time; but inflammable particles were collecting for a cloud to burst. In a little while Dr Percy said something more in disparagement of Pennant. JOHNSON (pointedly): This is the resentment of a narrow mind, because he did not find everything in Northumberland. PERCY (feeling the stroke): Sir, you may be as rude as you please. JOHNSON: Hold, sir! Don't talk of rudeness; remember, sir, you told me (puffing hard with passion struggling for a vent) I was short-sighted. We have done with civility. We are to be as rude as we please. PERCY: Upon my honour, sir, I did not mean to be uncivil. JOHNSON: I cannot say so, sir; for I *did* mean to be uncivil, thinking *you* had been uncivil.—Dr Percy rose, ran up to him, and taking him by the hand assured him affectionately that his meaning had been misunderstood; upon which a reconciliation instantly took place. JOHNSON: My dear sir, I am willing you shall *hang* Pennant. PERCY (resuming the former subject): Pennant complains that the helmet is not hung out to invite to the hall of hospitality. Now I never heard that it was a custom to hang out a *helmet*. JOHNSON: Hang him up, hang him up. BOSWELL (humouring the joke): Hang out his skull instead of a helmet, and you may drink ale out of it in your hall of Odin, as he is your enemy; that will be truly ancient. *There* will be "Northern Antiquities." JOHNSON: He's a *Whig*, sir; a *sad dog* (smiling at his own violent expressions merely for *political* difference of opinion). But he's the best traveller I ever read; he observes more things than anyone else does.

I could not help thinking that this was too high praise of a writer who traversed a wide extent of country in such haste that he could put together only curt frittered fragments of his own, and afterwards procured supplemental intelligence from parochial ministers, and others not the best qualified or most impartial narrators, whose ungenerous prejudice against the House of Stuart glares in misrepresentation;

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a writer, who at best treats merely of superficial objects, and shows no philosophical investigation of character and manners, such as Johnson has exhibited in his masterly *Journey*, over part of the same ground; and who it should seem from a desire of ingratiating himself with the Scotch, has flattered the people of North Britain so inordinately and with so little discrimination, that the judicious and candid amongst them must be disgusted, while they value more the plain, just, yet kindly report of Johnson.

We had a calm after the storm, stayed the evening and supped, and were pleasant and gay. But Dr Percy told me he was very uneasy at what had passed; for there was a gentleman there who had recently been admitted into the confidence of the Northumberland family, to whom he hoped to appear more respectable, by showing him how intimate he was with the great Dr Johnson; and now the gentleman would go away with an impression much to his disadvantage, as if Johnson treated him with disregard, which might do him an essential injury. He begged I would mention this to Dr Johnson, which I afterwards did. His observation upon it was: "This comes of *stratagem*; had he told me that he wished to appear to advantage before that gentleman, he should have been at the top of the house all the time." He spoke of Dr Percy in the handsomest terms. "Then, sir," said I, "may I be allowed to suggest a mode by which you may effectually counteract any unfavourable report of what passed? I will write a letter to you upon the subject of the unlucky contest of that day, and you will be kind enough to put in writing as an answer to that letter, what you have now said, and in short all that you can say to Dr Percy's advantage; and as Lord Percy is to dine with us at General Paoli's soon, I will take an opportunity to read the correspondence in his lordship's presence." This friendly scheme was accordingly carried into execution without Dr Percy's knowledge. Johnson's letter was studiously framed to place Dr Percy's unquestionable merit in the fairest point of view; and I contrived that Lord Percy should

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hear the correspondence, by introducing it at General Paoli's, as an instance of Dr Johnson's kind disposition towards one in whom his lordship was interested. Thus our friend Percy was raised higher in the estimation of those by whom he wished most to be regarded. I breakfasted the day after with him, and informed him of my scheme, and its happy completion, for which he thanked me in the warmest terms, and was highly delighted with Dr Johnson's letter in his praise, of which I gave him a copy. He said: "I would rather have this than degrees from all the universities in Europe. It will be for me, and my children and grandchildren." Dr Johnson having afterwards asked me if I had given him a copy of it, and being told I had, was offended, and insisted that I should get it back, which I did. As, however, he did not desire me to destroy either the original or the copy, or forbid me to let it be seen, I think myself at liberty to apply to it his general declaration to me concerning his other letters, "That he did not choose they should be published in his lifetime; but had no objection to their appearing after his death." I shall therefore insert this kindly correspondence, having faithfully narrated the circumstances accompanying it.

To Dr SAMUEL JOHNSON

MY DEAR SIR,—I beg leave to address you in behalf of our friend Dr Percy, who was much hurt by what you said to him that day we dined at his house¹; when, in the course of the dispute as to Pennant's merit as a traveller, you told Percy that "he had the resentment of a narrow mind against Pennant, because he did not find everything in Northumberland." Percy is sensible that you did not mean to injure him; but he is vexed to think that your behaviour to him upon that occasion may be interpreted as a proof that he is despised by you, which I know is not the case. I have told him, that the charge of being narrow-minded was only as to

¹ Sunday, 12th April 1778.

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the particular point in question ; and that he had the merit of being a martyr to his noble family.

Earl Percy is to dine with General Paoli next Friday ; and I should be sincerely glad to have it in my power to satisfy his lordship how well you think of Dr Percy, who, I find, apprehends that your good opinion of him may be of very essential consequence ; and who assures me, that he has the highest respect and the warmest affection for you.

I have only to add, that my suggesting this occasion for the exercise of your candour and generosity, is altogether unknown to Dr Percy, and proceeds from my goodwill towards him, and my persuasion that you will be happy to do him an essential kindness. I am, more and more, my dear Sir, your most faithful and affectionate humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

SIR,—The debate between Dr Percy and me is one of those foolish controversies, which begin upon a question of which neither party cares how it is decided, and which is, nevertheless, continued to acrimony, by the vanity with which every man resists confutation. Dr Percy's warmth proceeded from a cause which, perhaps, does him more honour than he could have derived from juster criticism. His abhorrence of Pennant proceeded from his opinion that Pennant had wantonly and indecently censured his patron. His anger made him resolve that for having been once wrong, he never should be right. Pennant has much in his notions that I do not like ; but still I think him a very intelligent traveller. If Percy is really offended, I am sorry ; for he is a man whom I never knew to offend anyone. He is a man very willing to learn, and very able to teach ; a man out of whose company I never go without having learned something. It is sure that he vexes me sometimes, but I am afraid it is by making me feel my own ignorance. So much extension of mind, and so much minute accuracy

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of inquiry, if you survey your whole circle of acquaintance, you will find so scarce, if you find it at all, that you will value Percy by comparison. Lord Hailes is somewhat like him: but Lord Hailes does not, perhaps, go beyond him in research; and I do not know that he equals him in elegance. Percy's attention to poetry has given grace and splendour to his studies of antiquity. A mere antiquarian is a rugged being.

Upon the whole, you see that what I might say in sport or petulance to him is very consistent with full conviction of his merit. I am, dear Sir, your most, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

April 23, 1778.

To the Reverend Dr PERCY, Northumberland House

DEAR SIR,—I wrote to Dr Johnson on the subject of the *Pennantian* controversy, and have received from him an answer which will delight you. I read it yesterday to Dr Robertson, at the Exhibition; and at dinner to Lord Percy, General Oglethorpe, etc., who dined with us at General Paoli's; who was also a witness to the high *testimony* to your honour.

General Paoli desires the favour of your company next Tuesday to dinner, to meet Dr Johnson. If I can, I will call on you to-day. I am, with sincere regard, your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

SOUTH AUDLEY STREET,

April 25

On Monday, 13th April, I dined with Johnson at Mr Langton's, where were Dr Porteous, then Bishop of Chester, now of London, and Dr Stinton. He was at first in a very silent frame. Before dinner he said nothing but "Pretty baby," to one of the children. Langton said very well to me afterwards that he could repeat Johnson's conversation before dinner, as Johnson had said he could repeat a complete

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chapter of *The Natural History of Iceland*, from the Danish of Horrebow, the whole of which was exactly thus :

“ CHAP. LXXII. *Concerning snakes.*

“ There are no snakes to be met with throughout the whole island.”

At dinner we talked of another mode in the newspapers of giving modern characters in sentences from the classics, and of the passage :

“ *Parcus Deorum cultor, et infrequens,
Insaniens dum sapientiæ
Consultus erro, nunc retrorsum
Vela dare, atque iterare cursus
Cogor relictos* ” :

being well applied to Soame Jennyns ; who, after having wandered in the wilds of infidelity, had returned to the Christian faith. Mr Langton asked Johnson as to the propriety of *sapientiæ consultus*. JOHNSON : Though *consultus* was primarily an adjective, like *amicus* it came to be used as a substantive. So we have *Juris-consultus*, a consult in law.

We talked of the styles of different painters, and how certainly a connoisseur could distinguish them. I asked if there was as clear a difference of styles in language as in painting, or even as in handwriting, so that the composition of every individual may be distinguished. JOHNSON : Yes. Those who have a style of eminent excellence, such as Dryden and Milton, can always be distinguished.—I had no doubt of this ; but what I wanted to know was, whether there was really a peculiar style to every man whatever, as there is certainly a peculiar handwriting, a peculiar countenance, not widely different in many, yet always enough to be distinctive :

“ ————— *Facies non omnibus una
Nec diversa tamen.*”-

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The Bishop thought not; and said, he supposed that many pieces in Dodsley's collection of poems, though all very pretty, had nothing appropriated in their style, and in that particular could not be at all distinguished. JOHNSON: Why, sir, I think every man whatever has a peculiar style, which may be discovered by nice examination and comparison with others: but a man must write a great deal to make his style obviously discernible. As logicians say, this appropriation of style is infinite *in potestate*, limited *in actu*.

Mr Topham Beauclerk came in the evening, and he and Dr Johnson and I stayed to supper. It was mentioned that Dr Dodd had once wished to be a member of the Literary Club. JOHNSON: I should be sorry if any of our club were hanged. I will not say but some of them deserve it.¹ Beauclerk (supposing this to be aimed at persons for whom he had at that time a wonderful fancy, which, however, did not last long) was irritated, and eagerly said: "You, sir, have a friend (naming him) who deserves to be hanged; for he speaks behind their backs against those with whom he lives on the best terms, and attacks them in the newspapers. He certainly ought to be *kicked*." JOHNSON: Sir, we all do this in some degree, "*Veniam petimus damusque vicissim*." To be sure it may be done so much that a man may deserve to be kicked. BEAUCLERK: He is very malignant. JOHNSON: No, sir; he is not malignant. He is mischievous, if you will. He would do no man an essential injury; he may, indeed, love to make sport of people by vexing their vanity. I, however, once knew an old gentleman who was absolutely malignant. He really wished evil to others, and rejoiced at it. BOSWELL: The gentleman, Mr Beauclerk, against whom you are so violent, is, I know, a man of good principles. BEAUCLERK: Then he does not wear them out in practice.

Dr Johnson, who, as I have observed before, delighted in discrimination of character, and having a masterly knowledge of human nature, was willing to take men as they are, imperfect and with a mixture of good and bad qualities, I

¹ See Vol. II., p. 349, note.

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suppose thought he had said enough in defence of his friend ; of whose merits, notwithstanding his exceptionable points, he had a just value, and added no more on the subject.

On Tuesday, 14th April, I dined with him at General Oglethorpe's, with General Paoli and Mr Langton. General Oglethorpe declaimed against luxury. JOHNSON : Depend upon it, sir, every state of society is as luxurious as it can be. Men always take the best they can get. OGLETHORPE : But the best depends much upon ourselves ; and if we can be as well satisfied with plain things, we are in the wrong to accustom our palates to what is high-seasoned and expensive. What says Addison in his *Cato*, speaking of the Numidian :

“ Coarse are his meals, the fortune of the chase,
Amid the running stream he slakes his thirst,
Toils all the day, and at the approach of night,
On the first friendly bank he throws him down,
Or rests his head upon a rock till morn ;
And if the following day he chance to find
A new repast, or an untasted spring,
Blesses his stars ! and thinks it luxury ! ”

Let us have *that* kind of luxury, sir, if you will. JOHNSON : But hold, sir ; to be merely satisfied is not enough. It is in refinement and elegance that the civilised man differs from the savage. A great part of our industry, and all our ingenuity is exercised in procuring pleasure : and, sir, a hungry man has not the same pleasure in eating a plain dinner, that a hungry man has in eating a luxurious dinner. You see I put the case fairly. A hungry man may have as much, nay, more pleasure in eating a plain dinner than a man grown fastidious has in eating a luxurious dinner. But I suppose the man who decides between the two dinners, to be equally a hungry man.

Talking of different governments. JOHNSON : The more contracted that power is, the more easily it is destroyed. A country governed by a despot is an inverted cone.

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Government there cannot be so firm as when it rests upon a broad basis gradually contracted, as the government of Great Britain, which is founded on the Parliament, then is in the Privy Council, then in the King. BOSWELL: Power when contracted into the person of a despot may be easily destroyed, as the prince may be cut off. So Caligula wished that the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might cut them off at a blow. OGLETHORPE: It was of the Senate he wished that. The Senate by its usurpation controlled both the Emperor and the people. And don't you think that we see too much of that in our own Parliament?

Dr Johnson endeavoured to trace the etymology of Maccaronic verses, which he thought were of Italian invention, from macaroni; but on being informed that this would infer that they were the most common and easy verses, macaroni being the most ordinary and simple food, he was at a loss; for he said: "He rather should have supposed it to import in its primitive signification, a composition of several things; for Maccaronic verses are verses made out of a mixture of different languages, that is, of one language with the termination of another." I suppose there is almost no language in any country where there is any learning, in which that motley ludicrous species of composition may not be found. It is particularly droll in Low Dutch. The *Polemomiddinia* of Drummond of Hawthornden, in which there is a jumble of many languages moulded, as if it were all in Latin, is well known. Mr Langton made us laugh heartily at one in the Grecian mould, by Joshua Barnes, in which are to be found such comical *Anglo-ellenisms* as *Κλυββουσιν εβαρχθεν*. They were banged with clubs.

On Wednesday, 15th April, I dined with Dr Johnson at Mr Dilly's, and was in high spirits, for I had been a good part of the morning with Mr Orme, the able and eloquent historian of Hindostan, who expressed a high admiration of Johnson. "I do not care," said he, "on what subject Johnson talks; but I love better to hear him talk than

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anybody. He either gives you new thoughts, or a new colouring. It is a shame to the nation that he has not been more liberally rewarded. Had I been George the Third, and thought as he did about America, I would have given Johnson three hundred a year for his *Taxation no Tyranny* alone." I repeated this, and Johnson was much pleased with such praise from such a man as Orme.

At Mr Dilly's to-day were Mrs Knowles, the ingenious Quaker lady,¹ Miss Seward, the poetess of Lichfield, the Rev. Dr Mayo, and the Rev. Mr Beresford, tutor to the Duke of Bedford. Before dinner Dr Johnson seized upon Mr Charles Sheridan's *Account of the late Revolution in Sweden*, and seemed to read it ravenously, as if he devoured it, which was to all appearance his method of studying. "He knows how to read better than anyone," said Mrs Knowles; "he gets at the substance of a book directly; he tears out the heart of it." He kept it wrapped up in the tablecloth in his lap during the time of dinner, from an avidity to have one entertainment in readiness when he should have finished another, resembling (if I may use so coarse a simile) a dog who holds a bone in his paws in reserve, while he eats something else which has been thrown to him.

The subject of cookery having been very naturally introduced at a table where Johnson, who boasted of the niceness of his palate, owned that "he always found a good dinner," he said: "I could write a better book of cookery than has ever yet been written; it should be a book upon philosophical principles. Pharmacy is now made much more simple. Cookery may be made so too. A prescription which is now compounded of five ingredients, had formerly fifty in it. So in cookery, if the nature of the bad ingredients be well known, much fewer will do. Then as you cannot make bad meat good, I would tell what is the best butcher's meat, the best beef, the best pieces; how to choose young fowls;

¹ Dr Johnson, describing her needlework in one of his letters to Mrs Thrale, vol. i., p. 326, uses the learned word *utile*; which Mrs Thrale has mistaken, and made the phrase injurious by writing "*futile* pictures."

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the proper season of different vegetables; and then how to roast and boil, and compound." DILLY: Mrs Glasse's *Cookery*, which is the best, was written by Dr Hill. Half the *trade* know this. JOHNSON: Well, sir. This shows how much better the subject of cookery may be treated by a philosopher. I doubt if the book be written by Dr Hill; for, in Mrs Glasse's *Cookery*, which I have looked into, saltpetre and salprunella are spoken of as different substances, whereas salprunella is only saltpetre burnt on charcoal, and Hill could not be ignorant of this. However, as the greatest part of such a book is made by transcription, this mistake may have been carelessly adopted. But you shall see what a book of cookery I shall make! I shall agree with Mr Dilly for the copyright. MISS SEWARD: That would be Hercules with the distaff indeed. JOHNSON: No, madam. Women can spin very well; but they cannot make a good book of cookery.

JOHNSON: Oh! Mr Dilly—you must know that an English Benedictine monk at Paris has translated *The Duke of Berwick's Memoirs* from the original French, and has sent them to me to sell. I offered them to Strahan, who sent them back with this answer: "That the first book he had published was *The Duke of Berwick's Life*, by which he had lost; and he hated the name." Now I honestly tell you that Strahan has refused them; but I also honestly tell you that he did it upon no principle, for he never looked into them. DILLY: Are they well translated, sir? JOHNSON: Why, sir, very well—in a style very current and very clear. I have written to the Benedictine to give me an answer upon two points—What evidence is there that the letters are authentic? For if they are not authentic they are nothing. And how long will it be before the original French is published? For if the French edition is not to appear for a considerable time, the translation will be almost as valuable as an original book. They will make two volumes in octavo; and I have undertaken to correct every sheet as it comes from the press.—Mr Dilly desired to see them, and said he would send for them. He asked Dr Johnson if he would write a

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Preface to them. JOHNSON: No, sir. The Benedictines were very kind to me, and I'll do what I undertook to do; but I will not mingle my name with them. I am to gain nothing by them. I'll turn them loose upon the world, and let them take their chance. DR MAYO: Pray, sir, are Ganganelli's letters authentic? JOHNSON: No, sir. Voltaire put the same question to the editor of them that I did to Macpherson—Where are the originals?

Mrs Knowles affected to complain that men had much more liberty allowed them than women. JOHNSON: Why, madam, women have all the liberty they should wish to have. We have all the labour and the danger, and the women all the advantage. We go to sea, we build houses, we do everything, in short, to pay our court to the women. MRS KNOWLES: The Doctor reasons very wittily, but not convincingly. Now, take the instance of building: the mason's wife, if she is ever seen in liquor, is ruined. The mason may get himself drunk as often as he pleases, with little loss of character; nay, may let his wife and children starve. JOHNSON: Madam, you must consider, if the mason does get himself drunk, and let his wife and children starve, the parish will oblige him to find security for their maintenance. We have different modes of restraining evil. Stocks for the men, a ducking-stool for women, and a pound for beasts. If we require more perfection from women than from ourselves, it is doing them honour. And women have not the same temptations that we have: they may always live in virtuous company; men must mix in the world indiscriminately. If a woman has no inclination to do what is wrong, being secured from it is no restraint to her. I am at liberty to walk into the Thames; but if I were to try it, my friends would restrain me in Bedlam, and I should be obliged to them. MRS KNOWLES: Still, Doctor, I cannot help thinking it a hardship that more indulgence is allowed to men than to women. It gives a superiority to men, to which I do not see how they are entitled. JOHNSON: It is plain, madam, one or other must have the superiority. As

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Shakspeare says: "If two men ride on horseback, one must ride behind." DILLY: I suppose, sir, Mrs Knowles would have them to ride in panniers, one on each side. JOHNSON: Then, sir, the horse would throw them both. MRS KNOWLES: Well, I hope that in another world the sexes will be equal. BOSWELL: That is being too ambitious, madam. *We* might as well desire to be equal with the angels. We shall all, I hope, be happy in a future state, but we must not expect to be all happy in the same degree. It is enough if we be happy according to our several capacities. A worthy carman will get to heaven as well as Sir Isaac Newton. Yet, though equally good, they will not have the same degrees of happiness. JOHNSON: Probably not.

Upon this subject I had once before sounded him, by mentioning the late Reverend Mr Brown, of Utrecht's image; that a great and small glass, though equally full, did not hold an equal quantity; which he threw out to refute David Hume's saying that a little miss, going to dance at a ball, in a fine new dress, was as happy as a great orator, after having made an eloquent and applauded speech. After some thought, Johnson said: "I come over to the parson." As an instance of coincidence of thinking, Mr Dilly told me that Dr King, a late dissenting minister in London, said to him, upon the happiness in a future state of good men of different capacities: "A pail does not hold so much as a tub; but, if it be equally full, it has no reason to complain. Every saint in heaven will have as much happiness as he can hold." Mr Dilly thought this a clear, though a familiar, illustration of the phrase: "One star differeth from another in brightness."

Dr Mayo having asked Johnson's opinion of Soame Jennyns's *View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion*—JOHNSON: I think it a pretty book; not very theological indeed; and there seems to be an affectation of ease and carelessness, as if it were not suitable to his character to be very serious about the matter. BOSWELL: He may

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have intended this to introduce his book the better among genteel people, who might be unwilling to read too grave a treatise. There is a general levity in the age. We have physicians now with bag-wigs; may we not have airy divines, at least somewhat less solemn in their appearance than they used to be? JOHNSON: Jennyns might mean as you say. BOSWELL: *You* should like his book, Mrs Knowles, as it maintains, as you *friends* do, that courage is not a Christian virtue. MRS KNOWLES: Yes, indeed, I like him there; but I cannot agree with him, that friendship is not a Christian virtue. JOHNSON: Why, madam, strictly speaking, he is right. All friendship is preferring the interest of a friend to the neglect, or, perhaps, against the interest of others; so that an old Greek said: "He that has *friends* has *no friend*." Now Christianity recommends universal benevolence, to consider all men as our brethren, which is contrary to the virtue of friendship, as described by the ancient philosophers. Surely, madam, your sect must approve of this; for you call all men *friends*. MRS KNOWLES: We are commanded to do good to all men, "but especially to them who are of the household of Faith." JOHNSON: Well, madam. The household of Faith is wide enough. MRS KNOWLES: But, Doctor, our Saviour had twelve Apostles, yet there was *one* whom He *loved*. John was called "the disciple whom Jesus loved." JOHNSON (with eyes sparkling benignantly): Very well, indeed, madam. You have said very well. BOSWELL: A fine application. Pray, sir, had you ever thought of it? JOHNSON: I had not, sir.

From this amiable and pleasing subject, he, I know not how or why, made a sudden transition to one upon which he was a violent aggressor; for he said: "I am willing to love all mankind, *except an American*": and his inflammable corruption bursting into horrid fire, he "breathed out threatenings and slaughter," calling them "Rascals—Robbers—Pirates"; and exclaiming he'd "burn and destroy them." Miss Seward, looking to him with mild but steady astonishment, said: "Sir, this is an instance that

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we are always most violent against those whom we have injured." He was irritated still more by this delicate and keen reproach; and roared out another tremendous volley, which one might fancy could be heard across the Atlantic. During this tempest I sat in great uneasiness, lamenting his heat of temper; till, by degrees, I diverted his attention to other topics.

DR MAYO (to Dr Johnson): Pray, sir, have you read Edwards, of New England, on Grace? JOHNSON: No, sir. BOSWELL: It puzzled me so much as to the freedom of the human will, by stating, with wonderful acute ingenuity, our being actuated by a series of motives which we cannot resist, that the only relief *I* had was to forget it. MAYO: But he makes the proper distinction between moral and physical necessity. BOSWELL: Alas, sir, they come both to the same thing. You may be bound as hard by chains when covered by leather, as when the iron appears. The argument for the moral necessity of human actions is always, I observe, fortified by supposing universal prescience to be one of the attributes of the Deity. JOHNSON: You are surer that you are free, than you are of prescience; you are surer that you can lift up your finger or not as you please, than you are of any conclusion from a deduction of reasoning. But let us consider a little the objection from prescience. It is certain I am either to go home to-night or not; that does not prevent my freedom. BOSWELL: That it is certain you are *either* to go home or not does not prevent your freedom; because the liberty of choice between the two is compatible with that certainty. But if *one* of these events be certain *now*, you have no *future* power of volition. If it be certain you are to go home to-night, you *must* go home. JOHNSON: If I am well acquainted with a man, I can judge with great probability how he will act in any case, without his being restrained by my judging. God may have this probability increased to certainty. BOSWELL: When it is increased to *certainty* freedom ceases, because that cannot be certainly foreknown which is not certain at the time; but

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if it be certain at the time, it is a contradiction in terms to maintain that there can be afterwards any *contingency* dependent upon the exercise of will or anything else. JOHNSON: All theory is against the freedom of the will; all experience for it.—I did not push the subject any further. I was glad to find him so mild in discussing a question of the most abstract nature, which is involved with theological tenets, which he generally would not suffer to be in any degree opposed.¹

He as usual defended luxury: "You cannot spend money in luxury without doing good to the poor. Nay, you do more good to them by spending it in luxury than by giving it; for by spending it in luxury you make them exert industry, whereas by giving it you keep them idle. I own, indeed, there may be more virtue in giving it immediately in charity than in spending it in luxury; though there may be a pride in that too." Miss Seward asked if this was not Mandeville's doctrine of "private vices public benefits." JOHNSON: The fallacy of that book is, that Mandeville defines neither vices nor benefits. He reckons among vices everything that gives pleasure. He takes the narrowest system of morality, monastic morality, which holds pleasure itself to be a vice, such as eating salt with our fish, because it makes it taste better; and he reckons wealth as a public benefit, which is by no means always true. Pleasure of itself is not a vice. Having a garden, which we all know to be perfectly innocent, is a great pleasure. At the same time, in this state of being there are many pleasures vices, which, however, are so immediately agreeable that we can hardly abstain from them. The happiness of heaven will be, that pleasure and virtue will be perfectly consistent. Mandeville puts the case of a man who gets drunk at an alehouse; and says it is a public benefit, because so much money is got by it to the public. But it must be considered, that all the good gained

¹ If any of my readers are disturbed by this thorny question, I beg leave to recommend to them Letter 69 of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persannes*, and the late Mr John Palmer of Islington's Answer to Dr Priestley's mechanical arguments for what he calls "Philosophical Necessity."

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by this, through the gradation of alehouse-keeper, brewer, maltster, and farmer, is overbalanced by the evil caused to the man and his family by his getting drunk. This is the way to try what is vicious, by ascertaining whether more evil than good is produced by it upon the whole, which is the case in all vice. It may happen that good is produced by vice, but not as vice; for instance, a robber may take money from its owner, and give it to one who will make a better use of it. Here is good produced; but not by the robbery as robbery, but as translation of property. I read Mandeville forty or, I believe, fifty years ago. He did not puzzle me; he opened my views into real life very much. No, it is clear that the happiness of society depends on virtue. In Sparta theft was allowed by general consent; theft, therefore, was *there* not a crime, but then there was no security; and what a life must they have had when there was no security. Without truth there must be a dissolution of society. As it is, there is so little truth that we are almost afraid to trust our ears; but how should we be if falsehood were multiplied ten times? Society is held together by communication and information; and I remember this remark of Sir Thomas Brown's: "Do the devils lie? No; for then Hell could not subsist."

Talking of Miss —, a literary lady, he said: "I was obliged to speak to Miss Reynolds, to let her know that I desired she would not flatter me so much." Somebody now observed: "She flatters Garrick." JOHNSON: She is in the right to flatter Garrick. She is in the right for two reasons: first, because she has the world with her, who have been praising Garrick these thirty years; and secondly, because she is rewarded for it by Garrick. Why should she flatter *me*? I can do nothing for her. Let her carry her praise to a better market. (Then turning to Mrs Knowles :) You, madam, have been flattering me all the evening; I wish you would give Boswell a little now. If you knew his merit as well as I do, you would say a great deal; he is the best travelling companion in the world.

Somebody mentioned the Reverend Mr Mason's

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prosecution of Mr Murray, the bookseller, for having inserted in a collection of *Gray's Poems* only fifty lines, of which Mr Mason had still the exclusive property, under the statute of Queen Anne; and that Mr Mason had persevered, notwithstanding his being requested to name his own terms of compensation.¹ Johnson signified his displeasure at Mr Mason's conduct very strongly; but added, by way of showing that he was not surprised at it: "Mason's a Whig." MRS KNOWLES (not hearing distinctly): What! a prig, sir? JOHNSON: Worse, madam; a Whig! But he is both.

I expressed a horror at the thought of death. MRS KNOWLES: Nay, thou shouldst not have a horror for what is the gate of life. JOHNSON (standing upon the hearth rolling about, with a serious, solemn, and somewhat gloomy air): No rational man can die without uneasy apprehension. MRS KNOWLES: The Scriptures tell us, "The righteous shall have *hope* in his death." JOHNSON: Yes, madam; that is, he shall not have despair. But, consider, his hope of salvation must be founded on the terms on which it is promised, that the mediation of our Saviour shall be applied to us, namely, obedience; and where obedience has failed, then as suppletory to it, repentance. But what man can say that his obedience has been such as he would approve of in another, or even in himself upon close examination, or that his repentance has not been such as to require being repented of? No man can be sure that his obedience and repentance will obtain salvation. MRS KNOWLES: But divine intimation of acceptance may be made to the soul. JOHNSON: Madam, it may; but I should not think the better of a man who should tell me on his death-bed he was sure of salvation. A man cannot be sure himself that he has divine intimation of acceptance; much less can he make others sure that he has it. BOSWELL: Then, sir, we must be contented to acknowledge that death is a terrible thing. JOHNSON: Yes, sir. I have made no approaches to a state which can

¹ See *A Letter to W. Mason, A.M., from J. Murray, Bookseller in London*, 2nd edit., p. 20.

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look on it as not terrible. MRS KNOWLES (seeming to enjoy a pleasing serenity in the persuasion of benignant divine light): Does not St Paul say: "I have fought the good fight of faith, I have finished my course; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of life"? JOHNSON: Yes, madam; but here was a man inspired, a man who had been converted by supernatural interposition. BOSWELL: In prospect death is dreadful; but in fact we find that people die easy. JOHNSON: Why, sir, most people have not *thought* much of the matter, so cannot *say* much, and it is supposed they die easy. Few believe it certain they are then to die; and those who do, set themselves to behave with resolution, as a man does who is going to be hanged. He is not the less unwilling to be hanged. MISS SEWARD: There is one mode of the fear of death which is certainly absurd, and that is the dread of annihilation, which is only a pleasing sleep without a dream. JOHNSON: It is neither pleasing, nor sleep; it is nothing. Now mere existence is so much better than nothing, that one would rather exist even in pain, than not exist. BOSWELL: If annihilation be nothing, then existing in pain is not a comparative state, but is a positive evil, which I cannot think we should choose. I must be allowed to differ here; and it would lessen the hope of a future state founded on the argument that the Supreme Being, who is good as He is great, will hereafter compensate for our present sufferings in this life. For if existence, such as we have it here, be comparatively a good, we have no reason to complain, though no more of it should be given to us. But if our only state of existence were in this world, then we might with some reason complain that we are so dissatisfied with our enjoyments compared with our desires. JOHNSON: The lady confounds annihilation, which is nothing, with the apprehension of it, which is dreadful. It is in the apprehension of it that the horror of annihilation consists.

Of John Wesley he said: "He can talk well on any subject." BOSWELL: Pray, sir, what has he made of his story of a ghost? JOHNSON: Why, sir, he believes it; but not on

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sufficient authority. He did not take time enough to examine the girl. It was at Newcastle, where the ghost was said to have appeared to a young woman several times, mentioning something about the right to an old house, advising application to be made to an attorney, which was done; and, at the same time, saying the attorney would do nothing, which proved to be the fact. "This," says John, "is a proof that a ghost knows our thoughts." Now (laughing) it is not necessary to know our thoughts to tell that an attorney will sometimes do nothing. Charles Wesley, who is a more stationary man, does not believe the story. I am sorry that John did not take more pains to inquire into the evidence for it. MISS SEWARD (with an incredulous smile): What, sir! about a ghost? JOHNSON (with solemn vehemence): Yes, madam: this is a question which, after five thousand years, is yet undecided; a question, whether in theology or philosophy, one of the most important that can come before the human understanding.

Mrs Knowles mentioned, as a proselyte to Quakerism, Miss —, a young lady well known to Dr Johnson, for whom he had shown much affection; while she ever had, and still retained, a great respect for him. Mrs Knowles at the same time took an opportunity of letting him know "that the amiable young creature was sorry at finding that he was offended at her leaving the Church of England and embracing a simpler faith"; and, in the gentlest and most persuasive manner, solicited his kind indulgence for what was sincerely a matter of conscience. JOHNSON (frowning very angrily): Madam, she is an odious wench. She could not have any proper conviction that it was her duty to change her religion, which is the most important of all subjects, and should be studied with all care, and with all the helps we can get. She knew no more of the Church which she left, and that which she embraced, than she did of the difference between the Copernican and Ptolemaic systems. MRS KNOWLES: She had the New Testament before her. JOHNSON: Madam, she could not understand the New

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Testament, the most difficult book in the world, for which the study of a life is required. MRS KNOWLES: It is clear as to essentials. JOHNSON: But not as to controversial points. The heathens were easily converted, because they had nothing to give up; but we ought not, without very strong conviction indeed, to desert the religion in which we have been educated. That is the religion given you, the religion in which it may be said Providence has placed you. If you live conscientiously in that religion, you may be safe. But error is dangerous indeed, if you err when you choose a religion for yourself. MRS KNOWLES: Must we then go by implicit faith? JOHNSON: Why, madam, the greatest part of our knowledge is implicit faith; and as to religion, have we heard all that a disciple of Confucius, all that a Mahometan can say for himself?—He then rose again into passion, and attacked the young proselyte in the severest terms of reproach, so that both the ladies seemed to be much shocked.

We remained together till it was pretty late. Notwithstanding occasional explosions of violence, we were all delighted upon the whole with Johnson. I compared him at this time to a warm West Indian climate, where you have a bright sun, quick vegetation, luxuriant foliage, luscious fruits; but where the same heat sometimes produces thunder, lightning, and earthquakes in a terrible degree.

April 17, being Good Friday, I waited on Johnson as usual. I observed at breakfast that although it was a part of his abstemious discipline on this most solemn fast to take no milk in his tea, yet when Mrs Desmoulins inadvertently poured it in, he did not reject it. I talked of the strange indecision of mind, and imbecility in the common occurrences of life, which we may observe in some people. JOHNSON: Why, sir, I am in the habit of getting others to do things for me. BOSWELL: What, sir! have you that weakness? JOHNSON: Yes, sir. But I always think afterwards I should have done better for myself.

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I told him that at a gentleman's house where there was thought to be such extravagance or bad management, that he was living much beyond his income, his lady had objected to the cutting of a pickled mango, and that I had taken an opportunity to ask the price of it, and found it was only two shillings; so here was a very poor saving. JOHNSON: Sir, that is the blundering economy of a narrow understanding. It is stopping one hole in a sieve.

I expressed some inclination to publish an account of my travels upon the continent of Europe, for which I had a variety of materials collected. JOHNSON: I do not say, sir, you may not publish your travels; but I give you my opinion that you would lessen yourself by it. What can you tell of countries so well known as those upon the continent of Europe, which you have visited? BOSWELL: But I can give an entertaining narrative, with many incidents, anecdotes, *jeux d'esprit*, and remarks, so as to make very pleasant reading. JOHNSON: Why, sir, most modern travellers in Europe who have published their travels have been laughed at: I would not have you added to the number.¹ The world is now not contented to be merely entertained by a traveller's narrative; they want to learn something. Now some of my friends asked me why I did not give some account of my travels in France. The reason is plain; intelligent readers had seen more of France than I had. *You* might have liked my travels in France, and the club might have liked them; but upon the whole there would have been more ridicule than good produced by them. BOSWELL: I cannot agree with you, sir. People would like to read what you say of anything. Suppose a face has been painted by fifty painters before; still we love to see it done by Sir Joshua. JOHNSON: True, sir; but Sir Joshua cannot paint a face when he has not time to look on it. BOSWELL: Sir, a sketch of any sort by him is valuable. And, sir, to talk to you in your own style (raising my voice, and shaking my

¹ I believe, however, I shall follow my own opinion; for the world has shown a very flattering partiality to my writings on many occasions.

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head), you *should* have given us your travels in France. I am *sure* I am right, and *there's an end on't*.

I said to him that it was certainly true, as my friend Dempster had observed in his letter to me upon the subject, that a great part of what was in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* had been in his mind before he left London. JOHNSON: Why, yes, sir, the topics were; and books of travels will be good in proportion to what a man has previously in his mind; his knowing what to observe; his power of contrasting one mode of life with another. As the Spanish proverb says: "He, who would bring home the wealth of the Indies, must carry the wealth of the Indies with him." So it is in travelling; a man must carry knowledge with him if he would bring home knowledge. BOSWELL: The proverb, I suppose, sir, means, he must carry a large stock with him to trade with. JOHNSON: Yes, sir.

It was a delightful day: as we walked to St Clement's Church, I again remarked that Fleet Street was the most cheerful scene in the world. "Fleet Street," said I, "is in my mind more delightful than Tempé." JOHNSON: Aye, sir; but let it be compared with Mull.

There was a very numerous congregation to-day at St Clement's Church, which Dr Johnson said he observed with pleasure.

And now I am to give a pretty full account of one of the most curious incidents in Johnson's life, of which he himself has made the following minute on this day: "In my return from church, I was accosted by Edwards, an old fellow-collegian, who had not seen me since 1729. He knew me, and asked if I remembered one Edwards; I did not at first recollect the name, but gradually as we walked along, recovered it, and told him a conversation that had passed at an alehouse between us. My purpose is to continue our acquaintance."¹

It was in Butcher Row that this meeting happened. Mr Edwards, who was a decent-looking elderly man in grey

¹ *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 164.

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clothes, and a wig of many curls, accosted Johnson with familiar confidence, knowing who he was, while Johnson returned his salutation with a courteous formality, as to a stranger. But as soon as Edwards had brought to his recollection their having been at Pembroke College together nine-and-thirty years ago, he seemed much pleased, asked where he lived, and said he should be glad to see him in Bolt Court. EDWARDS: Ah, sir! we are old men now. JOHNSON (who never liked to think of being old): Don't let us discourage one another. EDWARDS: Why, Doctor, you look stout and hearty; I am happy to see you so; for the newspapers told us you were very ill. JOHNSON: Aye, sir, they are always telling lies of *us old fellows*.

Wishing to be present at more of so singular a conversation as that between two fellow-collegians, who had lived near forty years in London without ever having chanced to meet, I whispered to Mr Edwards that Dr Johnson was going home, and that he had better accompany him now. So Edwards walked along with us, I eagerly assisting to keep up the conversation. Mr Edwards informed Dr Johnson that he had practised long as a solicitor in Chancery, but that he now lived in the country upon a little farm about sixty acres, just by Stevenage in Hertfordshire, and that he came to London (to Barnard's Inn, No. 6) generally twice a week. Johnson appearing to be in a reverie, Mr Edwards addressed himself to me, and expatiated on the pleasure of living in the country. BOSWELL: I have no notion of this, sir. What you have to entertain you is, I think, exhausted in half-an-hour. EDWARDS: What! don't you love to have hope realised? I see my grass, and my corn, and my trees growing. Now, for instance, I am curious to see if this frost has not nipped my fruit-trees. JOHNSON (who we did not imagine was attending): You find, sir, you have fears as well as hopes.—So well did he see the whole, when another saw but the half of a subject.

When we got to Dr Johnson's house, and were seated in his library, the dialogue went on admirably. EDWARDS:

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Sir, I remember you would not let us say *prodigious* at college. For even then, sir (turning to me), he was delicate in language, and we all feared him.¹ JOHNSON (to Edwards): From your having practised the law long, sir, I presume you must be rich. EDWARDS: No, sir, I got a good deal of money; but I had a number of poor relations to whom I gave a great part of it. JOHNSON: Sir, you have been rich in the most valuable sense of the word. EDWARDS: But I shall not die rich. JOHNSON: Nay, sure, sir, it is better to *live* rich than to *die* rich. EDWARDS: I wish I had continued at college. JOHNSON: Why do you wish that, sir? EDWARDS: Because I think I should have had a much easier life than mine has been. I should have been a parson, and had a good living, like Bloxam and several others, and lived comfortably. JOHNSON: Sir, the life of a parson, of a conscientious clergyman, is not easy. I have always considered a clergyman as the father of a larger family than he is able to maintain. I would rather have Chancery suits upon my hands than the cure of souls. No, sir, I do not envy a clergyman's life as an easy life, nor do I envy the clergyman who makes it an easy life.—Here, taking himself up all of a sudden, he exclaimed: "Oh, Mr Edwards! I'll convince you that I recollect you. Do you remember our drinking together at an alehouse near Pembroke Gate. At that time you told me of the Eton boy, who, when verses on our Saviour's turning water into wine were prescribed as an exercise, brought up a single line, which was highly admired:

'*Vidit et erubuit lympa pudica DEUM*';

and I told you of another fine line in *Camden's Remains*, a eulogy upon one of our kings, who was succeeded by his son, a prince of equal merit:

'*Mira cano, Sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.*'"

¹ Johnson said to me afterwards: "Sir, they respected me for my literature; and yet it was not great but by comparison. Sir, it is amazing how little literature there is in the world."

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EDWARDS: You are a philosopher, Dr Johnson. I have tried too in my time to be a philosopher, but, I don't know how, cheerfulness was always breaking in.—Mr Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr Courtenay, Mr Malone, and, indeed, all the eminent men to whom I have mentioned this, have thought it an exquisite trait of character. The truth is, that philosophy, like religion, is too generally supposed to be hard and severe, at least so grave as to exclude all gaiety.

EDWARDS: I have been twice married, Doctor. You, I suppose, have never known what it was to have a wife. JOHNSON: Sir, I have known what it was to have a wife, and (in a solemn tender faltering tone) I have known what it was to *lose a wife*. It had almost broke my heart.

EDWARDS: How do you live, sir? For my part, I must have my regular meals, and a glass of good wine. I find I require it. JOHNSON: I now drink no wine, sir. Early in life I drank wine: for many years I drank none. I then for some years drank a great deal. EDWARDS: Some hogsheads, I warrant you. JOHNSON: I then had a severe illness, and left it off, and I have never begun it again. I never felt any difference upon myself from eating one thing rather than another, nor from one kind of weather rather than another. There are people, I believe, who feel a difference; but I am not one of them. And as to regular meals, I have fasted from the Sunday's dinner to the Tuesday's dinner, without any inconvenience. I believe it is best to eat just as one is hungry; but a man who is in business, or a man who has a family, must have stated meals. I am a straggler. I may leave this town and go to Grand Cairo, without being missed here or observed there. EDWARDS: Don't you eat supper, sir? JOHNSON: No, sir. EDWARDS: For my part now, I consider supper as a turnpike through which one must pass in order to get to bed.¹

JOHNSON: You are a lawyer, Mr Edwards. Lawyers know life practically. A bookish man should always have

¹ I am not absolutely sure but this was my own suggestion, though it is truly in the character of Edwards.

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them to converse with. They have what he wants. EDWARDS : I am grown old : I am sixty-five. JOHNSON : I shall be sixty-eight next birthday. Come, sir, drink water, and put in for a hundred.

Mr Edwards mentioned a gentleman who had left his whole fortune to Pembroke College. JOHNSON : Whether to leave one's whole fortune to a college be right, must depend upon circumstances. I would leave the interest of the fortune I bequeathed to a college to my relations or my friends, for their lives. It is the same thing to a college, which is a permanent society, whether it gets the money now or twenty years hence ; and I would wish to make my relations or friends feel the benefit of it.

This interview confirmed my opinion of Johnson's most humane and benevolent heart. His cordial and placid behaviour to an old fellow-collegian, a man so different from himself, and his telling him that he would go down to his farm and visit him, showed a kindness of disposition very rare at an advanced age. He observed " how wonderful it was that they had both been in London almost forty years without having ever once met, and both walkers in the street too ! " Mr Edwards, when going away, again recurred to his consciousness of senility, and, looking full in Johnson's face, said to him : " You'll find in Dr Young :

' O my coevals ! remnants of yourselves. ' "

Johnson did not relish this at all ; but shook his head with impatience. Edwards walked off, seemingly highly pleased with the honour of having been thus noticed by Dr Johnson. When he was gone, I said to Johnson, that I thought him but a weak man. JOHNSON : Why, yes, sir. Here is a man who has passed through life without experience : yet I would rather have him with me than a more sensible man who will not talk readily. This man is always willing to say what he has to say.—Yet Dr Johnson had himself by no means that willingness which he praised so much, and I think so justly ; for who has not felt the painful effect of the dreary

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void when there is a total silence in a company for any length of time; or, which is as bad, or perhaps worse, when the conversation is with difficulty kept by up a perpetual effort?

Johnson once observed to me: "Tom Tyers described me the best: 'Sir,' said he, 'you are like a ghost: you never speak till you are spoken to.'"

The gentleman whom he thus familiarly mentioned was Mr Thomas Tyers, son of Mr Jonathan Tyers, the founder of that excellent place of public amusement, Vauxhall Gardens, which must ever be an estate to its proprietor, as it is peculiarly adapted to the taste of the English nation; there being a mixture of curious show—gay exhibition—music, vocal and instrumental, not too refined for the general ear—for all which only a shilling is paid—and, though last not least, good eating and drinking for those who choose to purchase that regale. Mr Thomas Tyers was bred to the law; but having a handsome fortune, vivacity of temper, and eccentricity of mind, he could not confine himself to the regularity of practice. He therefore ran about the world with a pleasant carelessness, amusing everybody by his desultory conversation. He abounded in anecdote, but was not sufficiently attentive to accuracy. I therefore cannot venture to avail myself much of a biographical sketch of Johnson which he published, being one among the various persons ambitious of appending their names to that of my illustrious friend. That sketch is, however, an entertaining little collection of fragments. Those which he published of Pope and Addison are of higher merit; but his fame must chiefly rest upon his *Political Conferences*, in which he introduces several eminent persons delivering their sentiments in the way of dialogue, and discovers a considerable share of learning, various knowledge, and discernment of character. This much may I be allowed to say of a man who was exceedingly obliging to me, and who lived with Dr Johnson in as easy a manner as almost any of his very numerous acquaintance.

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Mr Edwards had said to me aside, that Dr Johnson should have been of a profession. I repeated the remark to Johnson, that I might have his own thoughts on the subject. JOHNSON : Sir, it *would* have been better that I had been of a profession. I ought to have been a lawyer. BOSWELL : I do not think, sir, it would have been better, for we should not have had the *English Dictionary*. JOHNSON : But you would have had Reports. BOSWELL : Aye ; but there would not have been another who could have written the *Dictionary*. There have been many very good judges. Suppose you had been Lord Chancellor ; you would have delivered opinions with more extent of mind, and in a more ornamented manner, than perhaps any Chancellor ever did, or ever will do. But, I believe, causes have been as judiciously decided as you could have done. JOHNSON : Yes, sir. Property has been as well settled.

Johnson, however, had a noble ambition floating in his mind, and had, undoubtedly, often speculated on the possibility of his supereminent powers being rewarded in this great and liberal country by the highest honours of the state. Sir William Scott informs me that upon the death of the late Lord Lichfield, who was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, he said to Johnson : " What a pity it is, sir, that you did not follow the profession of the law. You might have been Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, and attained to the dignity of the peerage ; and now that the title of Lichfield, your native city, is extinct, you might have had it." Johnson, upon this, seemed much agitated, and in an angry tone exclaimed : " Why will you vex me by suggesting this, when it is too late ? "

But he did not repine at the prosperity of others. The late Dr Thomas Leland told Mr Courtenay, that when Mr Edmund Burke showed Johnson his fine house and lands near Beaconsfield, Johnson coolly said : "*Non equidem invideo ; miror magis.*"

Yet no man had a higher notion of the dignity of literature than Johnson, or was more determined in maintaining the

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respect which he justly considered as due to it. Of this, besides the general tenor of his conduct in society, some characteristic instances may be mentioned.

He told Sir Joshua Reynolds that once when he dined in a numerous company of booksellers, where, the room being small, the head of the table, at which he sat, was almost close to the fire, he persevered in suffering a great deal of inconvenience from the heat, rather than quit his place and let one of them sit above him.

Goldsmith, in his diverting simplicity, complained one day, in a mixed company, of Lord Camden. "I met him," said he, "at Lord Clare's house in the country, and he took no more notice of me than if I had been an ordinary man." The company having laughed heartily, Johnson stood forth in defence of his friend. "Nay, gentlemen," said he, "Dr Goldsmith is in the right. A nobleman ought to have made up to such a man as Goldsmith; and I think it is much against Lord Camden that he neglected him."

Nor could he patiently endure to hear that such respect as he thought due only to higher intellectual qualities should be bestowed on men of slighter, though perhaps more amusing, talents. I told him that one morning, when I went to breakfast with Garrick, who was very vain of his intimacy with Lord Camden, he accosted me thus: "Pray now, did you?—did you meet a little lawyer turning the corner, eh?" "No, sir," said I. "Pray, what do you mean by the question?" "Why," replied Garrick, with an affected indifference, yet as if standing on tiptoe, "Lord Camden has this moment left me. We have had a long walk together." JOHNSON: Well, sir, Garrick talked very properly. Lord Camden *was* a little lawyer to be associating so familiarly with a player.

Sir Joshua Reynolds has observed, with great truth, that Johnson considered Garrick to be, as it were, his *property*. He would allow no man either to blame or to praise Garrick in his presence, without contradicting him.

Having fallen into a very serious frame, in which mutual

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expressions of kindness passed between us, such as would be thought too vain in me to repeat, I talked with regret of the sad inevitable certainty that one of us must survive the other. JOHNSON: Yes, sir, that is an affecting consideration. I remember Swift, in one of his letters to Pope, says: "I intend to come over, that we may meet once more; and when we must part, it is what happens to all human beings." BOSWELL: The hope that we shall see our departed friends again must support the mind. JOHNSON: Why, yes, sir. BOSWELL: There is a strange unwillingness to part with life, independent of serious fears as to futurity. A reverend friend of ours (naming him) tells me that he feels an uneasiness at the thoughts of leaving his house, his study, his books. JOHNSON: This is foolish in *****. A man need not be uneasy on these grounds; for, as he will retain his consciousness, he may say with the philosopher, *Omnia mea mecum porto*. BOSWELL: True, sir: we may carry our books in our head; but still there is something painful in the thought of leaving for ever what has given us pleasure. I remember many years ago, when my imagination was warm, and I happened to be in a melancholy mood, it distressed me to think of going into a state of being in which Shakspeare's poetry did not exist. A lady whom I then much admired, a very amiable woman, humoured my fancy, and relieved me by saying: "The first thing you will meet in the other world will be an elegant copy of Shakspeare's works presented to you." Dr Johnson smiled benignantly at this, and did not appear to disapprove of the notion.

We went to St Clement's Church again in the afternoon, and then returned and drank tea and coffee in Mrs Williams's room; Mrs Desmoulins doing the honours of the tea-table. I observed that he would not even look at a proof-sheet of his *Life of Waller* on Good Friday.

Mr Allen, the printer, brought a book on agriculture, which was printed, and was soon to be published. It was a very strange performance, the author having mixed in it his own thoughts upon various topics, along with his remarks

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on ploughing, sowing, and other farming operations. He seemed to be an absurd, profane fellow, and had introduced in his book many sneers at religion, with equal ignorance and conceit. Dr Johnson permitted me to read some passages aloud. One was, that he resolved to work on Sunday, and did work, but he owned he felt *some* weak compunction; and he had this very curious reflection: "I was born in the wilds of Christianity, and the briars and thorns still hang about me." Dr Johnson could not help laughing at this ridiculous image, yet was very angry at the fellow's impiety. "However," said he, "the reviewers will make him hang himself." He however observed, "that formerly there might have been a dispensation obtained for working on Sunday in the time of harvest." Indeed in ritual observances, were all the ministers of religion what they should be, and what many of them are, such a power might be wisely and safely lodged with the Church.

On Saturday, 14th April, I drank tea with him. He praised the late Mr Duncombe, of Canterbury, as a pleasing man. "He used to come to me: I did not seek much after *him*. Indeed I never sought much after anybody." BOSWELL: Lord Orrery, I suppose. JOHNSON: No, sir; I never went to him but when he sent for me. BOSWELL: Richardson? JOHNSON: Yes, sir. But I sought after George Psalmanazar the most. I used to go and sit with him at an alehouse in the city.

I am happy to mention another instance which I discovered of his *seeking after* a man of merit. Soon after the Honourable Daines Barrington had published his excellent *Observations on the Statutes*, Johnson waited on that worthy and learned gentleman; and, having told him his name, courteously said: "I have read your book, sir, with great pleasure, and wish to be better known to you." Thus began an acquaintance which was continued with mutual regard as long as Johnson lived.

Talking of a recent seditious delinquent, he said: "They should set him in the pillory, that he may be punished in a

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way that would disgrace him." I observed, that the pillory does not always disgrace. And I mentioned an instance of a gentleman who, I thought, was not dishonoured by it. JOHNSON: Aye, but he was, sir. He could not mouth and strut as he used to do, after having been there. People are not very willing to ask a man to their tables who has stood in the pillory.

The gentleman who had dined with us at Dr Percy's¹ came in. Johnson attacked the Americans with intemperate vehemence of abuse. I said something in their favour; and added, that I was always sorry when he talked on that subject. This, it seems, exasperated him; though he said nothing at the time. The cloud was charged with sulphurous vapour, which was afterwards to burst in thunder. We talked of a gentleman who was running out his fortune in London; and I said: "We must get him out of it. All his friends must quarrel with him, and that will soon drive him away." JOHNSON: Nay, sir, we'll send *you* to him. If your company does not drive a man out of his house, nothing will.—This was a horrible shock, for which there was no visible cause. I afterwards asked him why he had said so harsh a thing. JOHNSON: Because, sir, you had made me angry about the Americans. BOSWELL: But why did not you take your revenge directly? JOHNSON (smiling): Because, sir, I had nothing ready. A man cannot strike till he has his weapons.—This was a candid and pleasant confession.

He showed me to-night his drawing-room, very genteelly fitted up, and said: "Mrs Thrale sneered when I talked of my having asked you and your lady to live at my house. I was obliged to tell her, that you would be in as respectable a situation in my house as in hers. Sir, the insolence of wealth will creep out." BOSWELL: She has a little both of the insolence of wealth, and the conceit of parts. JOHNSON: The insolence of wealth is a wretched thing; but the conceit of parts has some foundation. To be sure it should not be.

¹ See p. 6 of this volume.

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But who is without it? BOSWELL: Yourself, sir. JOHNSON: Why, I play no tricks: I lay no traps. BOSWELL: No, sir. You are six feet high, and you only do not stoop.

We talked of the numbers of people that sometimes have composed the household of great families. I mentioned that there were a hundred in the family of the present Earl of Eglintoune's father. Dr Johnson seeming to doubt it, I began to enumerate. "Let us see: my Lord and my Lady two." JOHNSON: Nay, sir, if you are to count by twos, you may be long enough. BOSWELL: Well, but now I add two sons and seven daughters, and a servant for each, that will make twenty; so we have the fifth part already. JOHNSON: Very true. You get at twenty pretty readily; but you will not so easily get further on. We grow to five feet pretty readily; but it is not so easy to grow to seven.

On Sunday, 19th April, being Easter Day, after the solemnities of the festival in St Paul's Church, I visited him, but could not stay to dinner. I expressed a wish to have the arguments for Christianity always in readiness, that my religious faith might be as firm and clear as any proposition whatever, so that I need not be under the least uneasiness when it should be attacked. JOHNSON: Sir, you cannot answer all objections. You have demonstration for a First Cause: you see he must be good as well as powerful, because there is nothing to make him otherwise, and goodness of itself is preferable. Yet you have against this what is very certain, the unhappiness of human life. This, however, gives us reason to hope for a future state of compensation, that there may be a perfect system. But of that we were not sure till we had a positive revelation.—I told him that his *Rasselas* had often made me unhappy; for it represented the misery of human life so well, and so convincingly to a thinking mind, that if at any time the impression wore off, and I felt myself easy, I began to suspect some delusion.

On Monday, 20th April, I found him at home in the morning. We talked of a gentleman who we apprehended was gradually involving his circumstances by bad manage-

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ment. JOHNSON: Wasting a fortune is evaporation by a thousand imperceptible means. If it were a stream, they'd stop it. You must speak to him. It is really miserable. Were he a gamester, it could be said he had hopes of winning. Were he a bankrupt in trade, he might have grown rich; but he has neither spirit to spend, nor resolution to spare. He does not spend fast enough to have pleasure from it. He has the crime of prodigality, and the wretchedness of parsimony. If a man is killed in a duel, he is killed as many a one has been killed; but it is a sad thing for a man to lie down and die; to bleed to death, because he has not fortitude enough to sear the wound, or even to stitch it up.—I cannot but pause a moment to admire the fecundity of fancy, and choice of language, which in this instance, and, indeed, on almost all occasions, he displayed. It was well observed by Dr Percy, now Bishop of Dromore: "The conversation of Johnson is strong and clear, and may be compared to an antique statue, where every vein and muscle is distinct and bold. Ordinary conversation resembles an inferior cast."

On Saturday, 25th April, I dined with him at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, with the learned Dr Musgrave, Counsellor Leland of Ireland, son to the historian, Mrs Cholmondeley, and some other ladies. *The Project*, a new poem, was read to the company by Dr Musgrave. JOHNSON: Sir, it has no power. Were it not for the well-known names with which it is filled, it would be nothing: the names carry the poet, not the poet the names. MUSGRAVE: A temporary poem always entertains us. JOHNSON: So does an account of the criminals hanged yesterday entertain us.

He proceeded: "Demosthenes Taylor, as he was called (that is, the translator of Demosthenes), was the most silent man, the merest statue of a man that I have ever seen. I once dined in company with him, and all he said during the whole time was no more than 'Richard.' How a man should say only 'Richard,' it is not easy to imagine. But it was thus: Dr Douglas was talking of Dr Zachary Grey, and ascribing to him something that was written by Dr

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Richard Grey. So to correct him Taylor said " (imitating his affected sententious emphasis and nod), "*Richard.*"

Mrs Cholmondeley, in a high flow of spirits, exhibited some lively sallies of hyperbolical compliment to Johnson, with whom she had been long acquainted, and was very easy. He was quick in catching the *manner* of the moment, and answered her somewhat in the style of the hero of a romance: "Madam, you crown me with unfading laurels."

I happened, I know not how, to say that a pamphlet meant a prose piece. JOHNSON: No, sir. A few sheets of poetry unbound are a pamphlet, as much as a few sheets of prose. MUSGRAVE: A pamphlet may be understood to mean a poetical piece, in Westminster Hall, that is in formal language; but in common language it is understood to mean prose. JOHNSON (and here was one of the many instances of his knowing clearly and telling exactly how a thing is): A pamphlet is understood in common language to mean prose, only from this, that there is so much more prose written than poetry; as when we say a *book*, prose is understood for the same reason, though a book may as well be in poetry as in prose. We understand what is most general, and we name what is less frequent.

We talked of a certain lady's verses on Ireland. Miss REYNOLDS: Have you seen them, sir? JOHNSON: No, madam. I have seen a translation from Horace, by one of her daughters. She showed it me. Miss REYNOLDS: And how was it, sir? JOHNSON: Why, very well for a young Miss's verses—that is to say, compared with excellence, nothing; but, very well, for the person who wrote them. I am vexed at being shown verses in that manner. Miss REYNOLDS: But if they should be good, why not give them hearty praise? JOHNSON: Why, madam, because I have not then got the better of my bad humour from having been shown them. You must consider, madam; beforehand they may be bad as well as good. Nobody has a right to put another under such a difficulty that he must either hurt the person by telling the truth, or hurt himself by telling

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what is not true. BOSWELL: A man often shows his writings to people of eminence, to obtain from them, either from their good nature, or from their not being able to tell the truth firmly, a commendation, of which he may afterwards avail himself. JOHNSON: Very true, sir. Therefore a man, who is asked by an author what he thinks of his work, is put to the torture, and is not obliged to speak the truth; so that what he says is not to be considered as his opinion; yet he has said it, and cannot retract it; and this author, when mankind are hunting him with a canister at his tail, can say: "I would not have published, had not Johnson, or Reynolds, or Musgrave, or some other good judge commended the work." Yet I consider it as a very difficult question in conscience whether one should advise a man not to publish a work, if profit be his object; for the man may say: "Had it not been for you, I should have had the money." Now you cannot be sure; for you have only your own opinion, and the public may think very differently. SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS: You must upon such an occasion have two judgments: one as to the real value of the work, the other as to what may please the general taste at the time. JOHNSON: But you can be *sure* of neither; and therefore I should scruple much to give a suppressive vote. Both Goldsmith's comedies were once refused; his first by Garrick; his second by Colman, who was prevailed on at last by much solicitation, nay, a kind of force, to bring it on. His *Vicar of Wakefield* I myself did not think would have had much success. It was written and sold to a bookseller before his *Traveller*, but published after; so little expectation had the bookseller from it. Had it been sold after *The Traveller*, he might have had twice as much money for it, though sixty guineas was no mean price. The bookseller had the advantage of Goldsmith's reputation from *The Traveller* in the sale, though he had it not in selling the copy. SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS: *The Beggar's Opera* affords a proof how strangely people will differ in opinion about a literary performance. Burke thinks it has no merit. JOHNSON:

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It was refused by one of the houses; but I should have thought it would succeed, not from any great excellence in the writing, but from the novelty, and the general spirit and gaiety of the piece, which keeps the audience always attentive, and dismisses them in good humour.

We went to the drawing-room, where was a considerable increase of company. Several of us got round Dr Johnson, and complained that he would not give us an exact catalogue of his works, that there might be a complete edition. He smiled, and evaded our entreaties. That he intended to do it I have no doubt, because I have heard him say so; and I have in my possession an imperfect list, fairly written out, which he entitles *Historia Studiorum*. I once got from one of his friends a list, which there was pretty good reason to suppose was accurate, for it was written down in his presence by this friend, who enumerated each article aloud, and had some of them mentioned to him by Mr Levett, in concert with whom it was made out; and Johnson, who heard all this, did not contradict it. But when I showed a copy of this list to him, and mentioned the evidence for its exactness, he laughed, and said: "I was willing to let them go on as they pleased, and never interfered." Upon which I read it to him, article by article, and got him positively to own or refuse; and then having obtained certainty so far, I got some other articles confirmed by him directly, and afterwards, from time to time, made additions under his sanction.

His friend Edward Cave having been mentioned, he told us: "Cave used to sell ten thousand of *The Gentleman's Magazine*; yet such was then his minute attention and anxiety that the sale should not feel the smallest diminution, that he would name a particular person who he heard had talked of leaving off the magazine, and would say: 'Let us have something good next month.'"

It was observed, that avarice was inherent in some dispositions. JOHNSON: No man was born a miser, because no man was born to possession. Every man is born *cupidus*—desirous of getting; but not *avarus*—desirous of keeping. BOSWELL:

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I have heard old Mr Sheridan maintain, with much ingenuity, that a complete miser is a happy man ; a miser who gives himself wholly to the one passion of saving. JOHNSON : That is flying in the face of all the world, who have called an avaricious man a *miser*, because he is miserable. No, sir ; a man who both spends and saves money is the happiest man, because he has both enjoyments.

The conversation having turned on *bon mots*, he quoted from one of the *Ana* an exquisite instance of flattery in a maid-of-honour in France, who, being asked by the Queen what o'clock it was, answered : " What your Majesty pleases." He admitted that Mr Burke's classical pun upon Mr Wilkes's being carried on the shoulders of the mob,

" ————— *Numerisque fertur*
Lege solutus,"—

was admirable ; and though he was strangely unwilling to allow to that extraordinary man the talent of wit,¹ he also laughed with approbation at another of his playful conceits ; which was, that " Horace has in one line given a description of a good desirable manor :

' *Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines.*'

—that is to say, a *modus* as to the tithes and certain *fines*."

He observed : " A man cannot with propriety speak of himself, except he relates simple facts, as, ' I was at Richmond ' ; or what depends on mensuration, as, ' I am six feet high.' He is sure he has been at Richmond ; he is sure

¹ See this question fully investigated in the Notes upon my *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 3rd edit., p. 21 *et seq.* And here, as a lawyer mindful of the maxim *Suum cuique tribuito*, I cannot forbear to mention, that the additional Note beginning with " I find since the former edition " is not mine, but was obligingly furnished by Mr Malone, who was so kind as to superintend the press while I was in Scotland, and the first part of the second edition was printing. He would not allow me to ascribe it to its proper author ; but as it is exquisitely acute and elegant, I take this opportunity, without his knowledge, to do him justice.

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he is six feet high : but he cannot be sure he is wise, or that he has any other excellence. Then, all censure of a man's self is oblique praise. It is in order to show how much he can spare. It has all the invidiousness of self-praise, and all the reproach of falsehood." BOSWELL: Sometimes it may proceed from a man's strong consciousness of his faults being observed. He knows that others would throw him down, and therefore he had better lie down softly of his own accord.

On Tuesday, 28th April, he was engaged to dine at General Paoli's, where, as I have already observed, I was still entertained in elegant hospitality, and with all the ease and comfort of a home. I called on him, and accompanied him in a hackney-coach. We stopped first at the bottom of Hedge Lane, into which he went to leave a letter, "with good news for a poor man in distress," as he told me. I did not question him particularly as to this. He himself often resembled Lady Bolingbroke's lively description of Pope : that "he was *un politique aux choux et aux raves*." He would say : "I dine to-day in Grosvenor Square"; this might be with a duke : or, perhaps, "I dine to-day at the other end of the town" : or, "A gentleman of great eminence called on me yesterday." He loved thus to keep things floating in conjecture : *Omne ignotum pro magnifico est*. I believe I ventured to dissipate the cloud, to unveil the mystery, more freely and frequently than any of his friends. We stopped again at Wirgman's, the corner of St James Street, a *toy-shop*, to which he had been directed, but not clearly, for he searched about some time, and could not find it at first ; and said : "To direct one only to a corner shop is *toying* with one." I suppose he meant this as a play upon the word *toy* : it was the first time that I knew him stoop to such sport. After he had been some time in the shop, he sent for me to come out of the coach and help him to choose a pair of silver buckles, as those he had were too small. Probably this alteration in dress had been suggested by Mrs Thrale, by associating with whom, his external appearance was much

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improved. He got better clothes; and the dark colour, from which he never deviated, was enlivened by metal buttons. His wigs, too, were much better; and during their travels in France he was furnished with a Paris-made wig, of handsome construction. This choosing of silver buckles was a negotiation: "Sir," said he, "I will not have the ridiculous large ones now in fashion; and I will give no more than a guinea for a pair." Such were the *principles* of the business; and, after some examination, he was fitted. As we drove along I found him in a talking humour, of which I availed myself. BOSWELL: I was this morning in Ridley's shop, sir, and was told that the collection called *Johnsoniana* has sold very much. JOHNSON: Yet the *Journey to the Hebrides* has not had a great sale.¹ BOSWELL: That is strange. JOHNSON: Yes, sir; for in that book I have told the world a great deal that they did not know before.

BOSWELL: I drank chocolate, sir, this forenoon with Mr Eld, and, to my no small surprise, found him to be a *Staffordshire Whig*, a being which I did not believe had existed. JOHNSON: Sir, there are rascals in all countries. BOSWELL: Eld said a Tory was a creature generated between a nonjuring parson and one's grandmother. JOHNSON: And I have always said the first Whig was the Devil. BOSWELL: He certainly was, sir. The Devil was impatient of subordination; he was the first who resisted power:

"Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven."

At General Paoli's were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr Langton, Marchese Gherardi of Lombardy, and Mr John Spottiswoode of Spottiswoode,² the solicitor. At this time

¹ Here he either was mistaken, or had a different notion of an extensive sale from what is generally entertained: for the fact is that four thousand copies of that excellent work were sold very quickly. A new edition has been printed since his death, besides that in the collection of his works.

² In the phraseology of Scotland, I should have said, "Mr Spottiswoode, of *that ilk*." Johnson knew that sense of the word very well, and has thus explained it in his *Dictionary*: *voce ILK*—"It also signifies 'the same'; as *Mackintosh of that ilk* denotes a gentleman whose surname and the title of his estate are the same."

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fears of an invasion were circulated ; to obviate which, Mr Spottiswoode observed, that Mr Fraser, the engineer, who had lately come from Dunkirk, said that the French had the same fears of us. JOHNSON : It is thus that mutual cowardice keeps us in peace. Were one half of mankind brave, and one half cowards, the brave would be always beating the cowards. Were all brave, they would lead a very uneasy life ; all would be continually fighting : but being all cowards, we go on very well.

We talked of drinking wine. JOHNSON : I require wine only when I am alone. I have then often wished for it, and often taken it. SPOTTISWOODE : What, by way of a companion, sir ? JOHNSON : To get rid of myself, to send myself away. Wine gives great pleasure ; and every pleasure is of itself a good. It is a good, unless counterbalanced by evil. A man may have a strong reason not to drink wine ; and that may be greater than the pleasure. Wine makes a man better pleased with himself. I do not say that it makes him more pleasing to others. Sometimes it does. But the danger is, that while a man grows better pleased with himself, he may be growing less pleasing to others.¹ Wine gives a man nothing. It neither gives him knowledge nor wit ; it only animates a man, and enables him to bring out what a dread of the company has repressed. It only puts in motion what has been locked up in frost. But this may be good, or it may be bad. SPOTTISWOODE : So, sir, wine is a key which opens a box ; but this box may be either full or empty. JOHNSON : Nay, sir, conversation is the key : wine is a pick-lock which forces open the box and injures it. A man should cultivate his mind so as to have that confidence and readiness without wine which wine gives. BOSWELL : The

¹ It is observed in Waller's Life, in the *Biographia Britannica*, that he drank only water ; and that while he sat in a company who were drinking wine, "he had the dexterity to accommodate his discourse to the pitch of theirs as it *junk*." If excess in drinking be meant, the remark is acutely just. But surely a moderate use of wine gives a gaiety of spirits which water-drinkers know not.

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great difficulty of resisting wine is from benevolence. For instance, a good worthy man asks you to taste his wine which he has had twenty years in his cellar. JOHNSON: Sir, all this notion about benevolence arises from a man's imagining himself to be of more importance to others than he really is. They don't care a farthing whether he drinks wine or not. SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS: Yes, they do for the time. JOHNSON: For the time! If they care this minute, they forget it the next. And as for the good worthy man; how do we know he is good and worthy? No good and worthy man will insist upon another man's drinking wine. As to the wine twenty years in the cellar—of ten men, three say this merely because they must say something; three are telling a lie when they say they have had the wine twenty years; three would rather save the wine; one, perhaps, cares. I allow it is something to please one's company; and people are always pleased with those who partake pleasure with them. But after a man has brought himself to relinquish the great personal pleasure which arises from drinking wine, any other consideration is a trifle. To please others by drinking wine is something, only if there be nothing against it. I should, however, be sorry to offend worthy men:

“Curst be the verse, how well soe'er it flow,
That tends to make one worthy man my foe.”

BOSWELL: Curst be the *spring*, the *water*. JOHNSON: But let us consider what a sad thing it would be if we were obliged to drink or do anything else that may happen to be agreeable to the company where we are. LANGTON: By the same rule you must join with a gang of cut-purses. JOHNSON: Yes, sir: but yet we must do justice to wine; we must allow it the power it possesses. To make a man pleased with himself, let me tell you, is doing a very great thing:

“*Si patriæ volumus, si Nobis vivere cari.*”

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I was at this time myself a water-drinker upon trial by Johnson's recommendation. JOHNSON: Boswell is a bolder combatant than Sir Joshua: he argues for wine without the help of wine; but Sir Joshua with it. SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS: But to please one's company is a strong motive. JOHNSON (who, from drinking only water, supposed everybody who drank wine to be elevated): I won't argue any more with you, sir. You are too far gone. SIR JOSHUA: I should have thought so indeed, sir, had I made such a speech as you have now done. JOHNSON (drawing himself in, and, I really thought, blushing): Nay, don't be angry. I did not mean to offend you. SIR JOSHUA: At first the taste of wine was disagreeable to me; but I brought myself to drink it that I might be like other people. The pleasure of drinking wine is so connected with pleasing your company, that altogether there is something of social goodness in it. JOHNSON: Sir, this is only saying the same thing over again. SIR JOSHUA: No, this is new. JOHNSON: You put it in new words, but it is an old thought. This is one of the disadvantages of wine. It makes a man mistake words for thoughts. BOSWELL: I think it is a new thought; at least it is in a new *attitude*. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, it is only in a new coat; or an old coat with a new facing. (Then laughing heartily :) It is the old dog in a new doublet. An extraordinary instance, however, may occur where a man's patron will do nothing for him unless he will drink: *there* may be a good reason for drinking.

I mentioned a nobleman who I believed was really uneasy if his company would not drink hard. JOHNSON: That is from having had people about him whom he has been accustomed to command. BOSWELL: Supposing I should be *tête-à-tête* with him at table. JOHNSON: Sir, there is no more reason for your drinking with *him*, than his being sober with *you*. BOSWELL: Why, that is true; for it would do him less hurt to be sober than it would do me to get drunk. JOHNSON: Yes, sir; and from what I have heard of him, one would not wish to sacrifice himself to such a man.



SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS

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If he must always have somebody to drink with him, he should buy a slave, and then he would be sure to have it. They who submit to drink as another pleases, make themselves his slaves. BOSWELL: But, sir, you will surely make allowance for the duty of hospitality. A gentleman who loves drinking comes to visit me. JOHNSON: Sir, a man knows whom he visits; he comes to the table of a sober man. BOSWELL: But, sir, you and I should not have been so well received in the Highlands and Hebrides if I had not drank with our worthy friends. Had I drunk water only as you did, they would not have been so cordial. JOHNSON: Sir William Temple mentions that in his travels through the Netherlands he had two or three gentlemen with him, and when a bumper was necessary he put it on *them*. Were I to travel again through the Highlands, I would have Sir Joshua with me to take the bumpers. BOSWELL: But, sir, let me put a case. Suppose Sir Joshua should take a jaunt into Scotland; he does me the honour to pay me a visit at my house in the country; I am overjoyed at seeing him; we are quite by ourselves; shall I unsociably and churlishly let him sit drinking by himself? No, no, my dear Sir Joshua, you shall not be treated so, I *will* take a bottle with you.

The celebrated Mrs Rudd being mentioned—JOHNSON: Fifteen years ago I should have gone to see her. SPOTTISWOODE: Because she was fifteen years younger? JOHNSON: No, sir; but now they have a trick of putting everything into the newspapers.

He begged of General Paoli to repeat one of the introductory stanzas of the first book of Tasso's *Jerusalem*, which he did, and then Johnson found fault with the simile of sweetening the edges of a cup for a child, being transferred from Lucretius into an epic poem. The General said he did not imagine Homer's poetry was so ancient as is supposed, because he ascribes to a Greek colony circumstances of refinement not found in Greece itself at a later period, when Thucydides wrote. JOHNSON: I recollect but one passage quoted by Thucydides from Homer, which is not

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to be found in our copies of Homer's works ; I am for the antiquity of Homer, and think that a Grecian colony by being nearer Persia might be more refined than the mother country.

On Wednesday, 29th April, I dined with him at Mr Allan Ramsay's, where were Lord Binning, Dr Robertson, the historian, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the Honourable Mrs Boscawen, widow of the Admiral, and mother of the present Viscount Falmouth, of whom, if it be not presumptuous in me to praise her, I would say that her manners are the most agreeable, and her conversation the best of any lady with whom I ever had the happiness to be acquainted. Before Johnson came we talked a good deal of him ; Ramsay said he had always found him a very polite man, and that he treated him with great respect, which he did very sincerely. I said I worshipped him. ROBERTSON : But some of you spoil him ; you should not worship him ; you should worship no man. BOSWELL : I cannot help worshipping him ; he is so much superior to other men. ROBERTSON : In criticism and in wit in conversation he is no doubt very excellent, but in other respects he is not above other men ; he will believe anything, and will strenuously defend the most minute circumstance connected with the Church of England. BOSWELL : Believe me, Doctor, you are much mistaken as to this ; for when you talk with him calmly in private, he is very liberal in his way of thinking. ROBERTSON : He and I have been always very gracious ; the first time I met him was one evening at Strahan's, when he had just had an unlucky altercation with Adam Smith, to whom he had been so rough, that Strahan, after Smith was gone, had remonstrated with him, and told him that I was coming soon, and that he was uneasy to think that he might behave in the same manner to me. " No, no, sir," said Johnson, " I warrant you Robertson and I shall do very well." Accordingly he was gentle and good-humoured, and courteous with me the whole evening ; and he has been so upon every occasion that we have met since.

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I have often said (laughing) that I have been in a great measure indebted to Smith for my good reception. BOSWELL : His power of reasoning is very strong, and he has a peculiar art of drawing characters, which is as rare as good portrait-painting. SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS : He is undoubtedly admirable in this ; but, in order to mark the characters which he draws, he overcharges them, and gives people more than they really have, whether of good or bad.

No sooner did he, of whom we had been thus talking so easily, arrive, than we were all as quiet as a school upon the entrance of the headmaster ; and were very soon set down to a table covered with such variety of good things as contributed not a little to dispose him to be pleased.

RAMSAY : I am old enough to have been a contemporary of Pope. His poetry was highly admired in his lifetime, more, a great deal, than after his death. JOHNSON : Sir, it has not been less admired after his death ; no authors ever had so much fame in their own lifetime as Pope and Voltaire ; and Pope's poetry has been as much admired after his death as during his life ; it has only not been as much talked of, but that is owing to its being now more distant, and people having other writings to talk of. Virgil is less talked of than Pope, and Homer is less talked of than Virgil ; but they are not less admired. We must read what the world reads at the moment. It has been maintained that this superfoetation, this teeming of the press in modern times, is prejudicial to good literature, because it obliges us to read so much of what is of inferior value, in order to be in the fashion ; so that better works are neglected for want of time, because a man will have more gratification of his vanity in conversation, from having read modern books, than from having read the best works of antiquity. But it must be considered that we have now more knowledge generally diffused ; all our ladies read now, which is a great extension. Modern writers are the moons of literature ; they shine with reflected light, with light borrowed from the ancients. Greece appears to me to be the fountain

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of knowledge; Rome of elegance. RAMSAY: I suppose Homer's *Iliad* to be a collection of pieces which had been written before his time. I should like to see a translation of it in poetical prose like the Book of Ruth or Job. ROBERTSON: Would you, Dr Johnson, who are master of the English language, but try your hand upon a part of it. JOHNSON: Sir, you could not read it without the pleasure of verse.¹

We talked of antiquarian researches. JOHNSON: All that is really *known* of the ancient state of Britain is contained in a few pages. We *can* know no more than what the old writers have told us; yet what large books have we upon it, the whole of which, excepting such parts as are taken from those old writers, is all a dream, such as Whitaker's *Manchester*. I have heard Henry's *History of Britain* well spoken of, I am told it is carried on in separate divisions, as the civil, the military, the religious history: I wish much to have one branch well done, and that is the history of manners, of common life. ROBERTSON: Henry should have applied his attention to that alone, which is enough for any man; and he might have found a great deal scattered in various books had he read solely with that view. Henry erred in not selling his first volume at a moderate price to the booksellers, that they might have pushed him on till he had got reputation. I sold my *History of Scotland* at a moderate price, as a work by which the booksellers might either gain or not; and Cadell has told me that Millar and he have got six thousand pounds by it. I afterwards received a much higher price for my writings. An author should sell his first work for what the booksellers will give, till it shall appear whether he is an author of merit, or, which is the same thing as to purchase-money, an author who pleases the public.

Dr Robertson expatiated on the character of a certain

¹ This experiment, which Madame Dacier made in vain, has since been tried in our own language by the editor of *Orsian*, and we must either think very meanly of his abilities, or allow that Dr Johnson was in the right.

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nobleman; that he was one of the strongest-minded men that ever lived; that he would sit in company quite sluggish, while there was nothing to call forth his intellectual vigour, but the moment that any important subject was started, for instance, how this country is to be defended against a French invasion, he would rouse himself, and show his extraordinary talents with the most powerful ability and animation. JOHNSON: Yet this man cut his own throat. The true strong and sound mind is the mind that can embrace equally great things and small. Now I am told the King of Prussia will say to a servant: "Bring me a bottle of such a wine, which came in such a year; it lies in such a corner of the cellars." I would have a man to be great in great things, and elegant in little things.—He said to me afterwards, when we were by ourselves: "Robertson was in a mighty romantic humour, he talked of one whom he did not know; but I *downed* him with the King of Prussia." "Yes, sir," said I, "you threw a *bottle* at his head."

An ingenious gentleman was mentioned, concerning whom both Robertson and Ramsay agreed that he had a constant firmness of mind; for after a laborious day, and amidst a multiplicity of cares and anxieties, he would sit down with his sisters and be quite cheerful and good-humoured. Such a disposition, it was observed, was a happy gift of nature. JOHNSON: I do not think so; a man has from nature a certain portion of mind; the use he makes of it depends upon his own free will. That a man has always the same firmness of mind I do not say, because every man feels his mind less firm at one time than at another; but I think a man's being in a good or bad humour depends upon his will.—I, however, could not help thinking that a man's humour is often uncontrollable by his will.

Johnson harangued against drinking wine: "A man," said he, "may choose whether he will have abstemiousness and knowledge, or claret and ignorance." Dr Robertson (who is very companionable) was beginning to dissent as to the proscription of claret. JOHNSON (with a placid smile):

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Nay, sir, you shall not differ with me ; as I have said that the man is most perfect who takes in the most things, I am for knowledge and claret. ROBERTSON (holding a glass of generous claret in his hand): Sir, I can only drink your health. JOHNSON: Sir, I should be sorry if *you* should be ever in such a state as to be able to do nothing more. ROBERTSON: Dr Johnson, allow me to say, that in one respect I have the advantage of you ; when you were in Scotland you would not come to hear any of our preachers, whereas when I am here I attend your public worship without scruple, and indeed with great satisfaction. JOHNSON: Why, sir, that is not so extraordinary: the King of Siam sent ambassadors to Louis the Fourteenth, but Louis the Fourteenth sent none to the King of Siam.¹

Here my friend for once discovered a want of knowledge or forgetfulness ; for Louis the Fourteenth did send an embassy to the King of Siam, and the Abbé Choisis, who was employed in it, published an account of it in two volumes.

Next day, Thursday, 30th April, I found him at home by himself. JOHNSON: Well, sir, Ramsay gave us a splendid dinner. I love Ramsay. You will not find a man in whose conversation there is more instruction, more information, and more elegance, than in Ramsay's. BOSWELL: What I admire in Ramsay is his continuing to be so young. JOHNSON: Why, yes, sir, it is to be admired. I value myself upon this, that there is nothing of the old man in my conversation. I am now sixty-eight, and I have no more of it than at twenty-eight. BOSWELL: But, sir, would not you wish to know old age? He who is never an old man does not know the whole of human life ; for old age is one of the divisions of it. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, what talk is this? BOSWELL: I mean, sir, the Sphinx's description of it—morning, noon, and night. I would know night, as well as morning and noon. JOHNSON: What, sir, would you know what it is to feel the evils of old age? Would you have

¹ Mrs Piozzi confidently mentions this as having passed in Scotland. *Anecdotes*, p. 62.

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the gout? Would you have decrepitude?—Seeing him heated, I would not argue any further; but I was confident that I was in the right. I would, in due time, be a Nestor, an elder of the people; and there *should* be some difference between the conversation of twenty-eight and sixty-eight. A grave picture should not be gay. There is a serene, solemn, placid old age. JOHNSON: Mrs Thrale's mother said of me what flattered me much. A clergyman was complaining of want of society in the country where he lived, and said: "They talk of *runts*" (that is, young cows). "Sir," said Mrs Salusbury, "Mr Johnson would learn to talk of runs": meaning that I was a man who would make the most of my situation, whatever it was.—He added: "I think myself a very polite man."

On Saturday, 2nd May, I dined with him at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, where there was a very large company and a great deal of conversation; but owing to some circumstance, which I cannot now recollect, I have no record of any part of it, except that there were several people there by no means of the Johnsonian school; so that less attention was paid to him than usual, which put him out of humour; and upon some imaginary offence from me, he attacked me with such rudeness that I was vexed and angry, because it gave those persons an opportunity of enlarging upon his supposed ferocity, and ill-treatment of his best friends. I was so much hurt, and had my pride so much roused, that I kept away from him for a week; and, perhaps, might have kept away much longer, nay, gone to Scotland without seeing him again, had not we fortunately met and been reconciled. To such unhappy chances are human friendships liable.

On Friday, 8th May, I dined with him at Mr Langton's. I was reserved and silent, which I suppose he perceived, and might recollect the cause. After dinner, when Mr Langton was called out of the room, and we were by ourselves, he drew his chair near to mine, and said in a tone of conciliating courtesy: "Well, how have you done?"

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BOSWELL: Sir, you have made me very uneasy by your behaviour to me when we were last at Sir Joshua Reynolds's. You know, my dear sir, no man has a greater respect and affection for you, or would sooner go to the end of the world to serve you. Now to treat me so——.—He insisted that I had interrupted him, which I assured him was not the case; and proceeded: "But why treat me so before people who neither love you nor me?" JOHNSON: Well, I am sorry for it. I'll make it up to you twenty different ways, as you please. BOSWELL: I said to-day to Sir Joshua, when he observed that you *tossed* me sometimes, I don't care how often, or how high he tosses me, when only friends are present, for then I fall upon soft ground: but I do not like falling on stones, which is the case when enemies are present. I think this a pretty good image, sir. JOHNSON: Sir, it is one of the happiest I have ever heard.

The truth is, there was no venom in the wounds which he inflicted at any time, unless they were irritated by some malignant infusion by other hands. We were instantly as cordial again as ever, and joined in hearty laugh at some ludicrous but innocent peculiarities of one of our friends. BOSWELL: Do you think, sir, it is always culpable to laugh at a man to his face? JOHNSON: Why, sir, that depends upon the man and the thing. If it is a slight man, and a slight thing, you may; for you take nothing valuable from him.

He said: "I read yesterday Dr Blair's sermon on Devotion, from the text, '*Cornelius, a devout man.*' His doctrine is the best limited, the best expressed; there is the most warmth without fanaticism, the most rational transport. There is one part of it which I disapprove, and I'd have him correct it; which is, that 'he who does not feel joy in religion is far from the kingdom of heaven.' There are many good men whose fear of God predominates over their love. It may discourage. It was rashly said. A noble sermon it is indeed. I wish Blair would come over to the Church of England."

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When Mr Langton returned to us, the "flow of talk" went on. An eminent author being mentioned—JOHNSON: He is not a pleasant man. His conversation is neither instructive nor brilliant. He does not talk as if impelled by any fullness of knowledge or vivacity of imagination. His conversation is like that of any other sensible man. He talks with no wish either to inform or to hear, but only because he thinks it does not become ——— to sit in a company and say nothing.

Mr Langton having repeated the anecdote of Addison having distinguished between his powers in conversation and in writing, by saying: "I have only ninepence in my pocket; but I can draw for a thousand pounds"—JOHNSON: He had not that retort ready, sir; he had prepared it beforehand. LANGTON (turning to me): A fine surmise. Set a thief to catch a thief.

Johnson called the East Indians barbarians. BOSWELL: You will except the Chinese, sir? JOHNSON: No, sir. BOSWELL: Have they not arts? JOHNSON: They have pottery. BOSWELL: What do you say to the written characters of their language? JOHNSON: Sir, they have not an alphabet. They have not been able to form what all other nations have formed. BOSWELL: There is more learning in their language than in any other, from the immense number of their characters. JOHNSON: It is only more difficult from its rudeness; as there is more labour in hewing down a tree with a stone than with an axe.

He said: "I have been reading Lord Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man*. In treating of severity of punishment, he mentions that of Madame Lapouchin, in Russia, but he does not give it fairly; for I have looked at *Chappe D'Aueroche*, from whom he has taken it. He stops where it is said that the spectators thought her innocent, and leaves out what follows—that she nevertheless was guilty. Now this is being as culpable as one can conceive, to misrepresent fact in a book, and for what motive? It is like one of those lies which people tell, one cannot see why. The woman's

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life was spared; and no punishment is too great for the favourite of an empress who had conspired to dethrone her mistress." BOSWELL: He was only giving a picture of the lady in her sufferings. JOHNSON: Nay, don't endeavour to palliate this. Guilt is a principal feature in the picture. Kames is puzzled with a question that puzzled me when I was a very young man. Why is it that the interest of money is lower when money is plentiful; for five pounds has the same proportion of value to a hundred pounds when money is plentiful as when it is scarce? A lady explained it to me. "It is," said she, "because when money is plentiful there are so many more who have money to lend that they bid down one another. Many have then a hundred pounds; and one says, 'Take mine rather than another's, and you shall have it at four per cent.'" BOSWELL: Does Lord Kames decide the question? JOHNSON: I think he leaves it as he found it. BOSWELL: This must have been an extraordinary lady who instructed you, sir. May I ask who she was? JOHNSON: Molly Aston,¹ sir, the sister of those ladies with whom you dined at Lichfield. I shall be at home to-morrow. BOSWELL: Then let us dine by ourselves at the Mitre, to keep up the old custom, "the custom of the Manor," the custom of the Mitre. JOHNSON: Sir, so it shall be.

On Saturday, 9th May, we fulfilled our purpose of dining by ourselves at the Mitre, according to old custom. There was, on these occasions, a little circumstance of kind attention to Mrs Williams, which must not be omitted. Before coming out, and leaving her to dine alone, he gave her her choice of a chicken, a sweetbread, or any other little

¹ Johnson had an extraordinary admiration of this lady, notwithstanding she was a violent Whig. In answer to her high-flown speeches for *Liberty*, he addressed to her the following epigram, of which I presume to offer a translation:—

*"Liber ut esse velim suavis pulchra Maria,
Ut maneam liber pulchra Maria vale."*

Adieu, Maria! since you'd have me free;
For, who beholds thy charms a slave must be.

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nice thing, which was carefully sent to her from the tavern, ready dressed.

Our conversation to-day, I know not how, turned (I think for the only time at any length during our long acquaintance) upon the sensual intercourse between the sexes, the delight of which he ascribed chiefly to imagination. "Were it not for imagination, sir," said he, "a man would be as happy in the arms of a chambermaid as of a duchess. But such is the adventitious charm of fancy, that we find men who have violated the best principles of society, and ruined their fame and their fortune, that they might possess a woman of rank." It would not be proper to record the particulars of such a conversation in moments of unreserved frankness, when nobody was present on whom it could have any hurtful effect. That subject, when philosophically treated, may surely employ the mind in as curious discussion, and as innocently as anatomy; provided that those who do treat it keep clear of inflammatory incentives.

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe," we were soon engaged in very different speculation, humbly and reverently considering and wondering at the universal mystery of all things, as our imperfect faculties can now judge of them. "There are," said he, "innumerable questions to which the inquisitive mind can in this state receive no answer: Why do you and I exist? Why was this world created? Since it was to be created, why was it not created sooner?"

On Sunday, 10th May, I supped with him at Mr Hoole's, with Sir Joshua Reynolds. I have neglected the memorial of this evening, so as to remember no more of it than two particulars: one, that he strenuously opposed an argument by Sir Joshua that virtue was preferable to vice, considering this life only; and that a man would be virtuous were it only to preserve his character: and that he expressed much wonder at the curious formation of the bat, a mouse with wings; saying that "it was almost as strange a thing in physiology, as if the fabulous dragon could be seen."

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On Tuesday, 12th May, I waited on the Earl of Marchmont, to know if his lordship would favour Dr Johnson with information concerning Pope, whose Life he was about to write. Johnson had not flattered himself with the hopes of receiving any civility from this nobleman; for he said to me, when I mentioned Lord Marchmont as one who could tell him a great deal about Pope, "Sir, he will tell *me* nothing." I had the honour of being known to his lordship, and applied to him of myself, without being commissioned by Johnson. His lordship behaved in the most polite and obliging manner, promised to tell all he recollected about Pope, and was so very courteous as to say: "Tell Dr Johnson I have a great respect for him, and am ready to show it in any way I can. I am to be in the city to-morrow, and will call at his house as I return." His lordship however asked: "Will he write *The Lives of the Poets* impartially? He was the first that brought Whig and Tory into a dictionary. And what do you think of his definition of Excise? Do you know the history of his aversion to the word *transpire*?" Then taking down the folio *Dictionary*, he showed it with this censure on its secondary sense: "To escape from secrecy to notice; a sense lately innovated from France, without necessity." The truth was, Lord Bolingbroke, who left the Jacobites, first used it; therefore it was to be condemned. He should have shown what word would do for it, if it was unnecessary. I afterwards put the question to Johnson: "Why, sir," said he, "*get abroad*." BOSWELL: That, sir, is using two words. JOHNSON: Sir, there's no end of this. You may as well insist to have a word for old age. BOSWELL: Well, sir, *Senectus*. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, to insist always that there should be one word to express a thing in English, because there is one in another language, is to change the language.

I availed myself of this opportunity to hear from his lordship many particulars both of Pope and Lord Bolingbroke, which I have in writing.

I proposed to Lord Marchmont that he should revise

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Johnson's *Life of Pope*: "So," said his lordship, "you would put me in a dangerous situation. You know he knocked down Osborne, the bookseller."

Elated with the success of my spontaneous exertion to procure material and respectable aid to Johnson for his very favourite work *The Lives of the Poets*, I hastened down to Mr Thrale's at Streatham, where he now was, that I might ensure his being at home next day; and after dinner, when I thought he would receive the good news in the best humour, I announced it eagerly: "I have been at work for you to-day, sir. I have been with Lord Marchmont. He bid me tell you he has a great respect for you, and will call on you to-morrow at one o'clock, and communicate all he knows about Pope." Here I paused, in full expectation that he would be pleased with this intelligence, would praise my active merit, and would be alert to embrace such an offer from a nobleman. But whether I had shown an over-exultation, which provoked his spleen; or whether he was seized with a suspicion that I had obtruded him on Lord Marchmont, and had humbled him too much; or whether there was anything more than an unlucky fit of ill humour, I know not; but, to my surprise, the result was—JOHNSON: I shall not be in town to-morrow. I don't care to know about Pope. MRS THRALE (surprised as I was, and a little angry): I suppose, sir, Mr Boswell thought, that as you are to write Pope's Life, you would wish to know about him. JOHNSON: Wish! why yes. If it rained knowledge I'd hold out my hand; but I would not give myself the trouble to go in quest of it.—There was no arguing with him at the moment. Some time afterwards he said: "Lord Marchmont will call on me, and then I shall call on Lord Marchmont." Mr Thrale was uneasy at his unaccountable caprice, and told me that if I did not take care to bring about a meeting between Lord Marchmont and him, it would never take place, which would be a great pity. I sent a card to his lordship, to be left at Johnson's house, acquainting him that Dr Johnson could not be in town next

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day, but would do himself the honour of waiting on him at another time. I give this account fairly, as a specimen of that unhappy temper with which this great and good man had occasionally to struggle, from something morbid in his constitution. Let the most censorious of my readers suppose himself to have a violent fit of the toothache, or to have received a severe stroke on the shin-bone, and when in such a state to be asked a question; and if he has any candour, he will not be surprised at the answers which Johnson sometimes gave in moments of irritation, which, let me assure them, is exquisitely painful. But it must not be erroneously supposed that he was, in the smallest degree, careless concerning any work which he undertook, or that he was generally thus peevish. It will be seen that in the following year he had a very agreeable interview with Lord Marchmont, at his lordship's house; and this very afternoon he soon forgot any fretfulness, and fell into conversation as usual.

I mentioned a reflection having been thrown out against four Peers for having presumed to rise in opposition to the opinion of the twelve Judges in a cause in the House of Lords, as if that were indecent. JOHNSON: Sir, there is no ground for censure. The Peers are Judges themselves: and supposing them really to be of a different opinion, they might from duty be in opposition to the Judges, who were there only to be consulted.

In this observation I fully concurred with him; for, unquestionably, all the Peers are vested with the highest judicial powers; and, when they are confident that they understand a cause, are not obliged, nay ought not to acquiesce in the opinion of the ordinary law Judges, or even in that of those who from their studies and experience are called the Law Lords. I consider the Peers in general as I do a jury, who ought to listen with respectful attention to the sages of the law; but if, after hearing them, they have a firm opinion of their own, are bound, as honest men, to decide accordingly. Nor is it so difficult for them to

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understand even law questions, as is generally thought; provided they will bestow sufficient attention upon them. This observation was made by my honoured relation the late Lord Cathcart, who had spent his life in camps and courts; yet assured me that he could form a clear opinion upon most of the causes that came before the House of Lords, "as they were so well enucleated in the Cases."

Mrs Thrale told us, that a curious clergyman of our acquaintance had discovered a licentious stanza, which Pope had originally in his *Universal Prayer*, before the stanza

"What conscience dictates to be done,
Or warns us not to do, etc."

It was this:

"Can sins of moment claim the rod
Of everlasting fires?
And that offend great Nature's God,
Which Nature's self inspires?"

and that Dr Johnson observed, "it had been borrowed from Guarini." There are, indeed, in *Pastor Fido*, many such flimsy superficial reasonings, as that in the last two lines of this stanza.

BOSWELL: In that stanza of Pope's, "*rod of fires*" is certainly a bad metaphor. MRS THRALE: And "*sins of moment*" is a faulty expression; for its true import is *momentous*, which cannot be intended. JOHNSON: It must have been written "*of moments*." Of *moment*, is *momentous*; of *moments*, *momentary*. I warrant you, however, Pope wrote this stanza, and some friend struck it out. Boileau wrote some such thing, and Arnaud struck it out, saying: "*Vous gagnerez deux ou trois impies, et perdrez je ne sais combien des honnettes gens*." These fellows want to say a daring thing, and don't know how to go about it. Mere poets know no more of fundamental principles than——.—Here he was interrupted somehow. Mrs Thrale mentioned Dryden. JOHNSON: He

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puzzled himself about predestination. How foolish was it in Pope to give all his friendship to lords, who thought they honoured him by being with him; and to choose such lords as Burlington, and Cobham, and Bolingbroke. Bathurst was negative, a pleasing man; and I have heard no ill of Marchmont: and then always saying: "I do not value you for being a lord," which was a sure proof that he did. I never say, I do not value Boswell more for being born to an estate, because I do not care. BOSWELL: Nor for being a Scotchman? JOHNSON: Nay, sir, I do value you more for being a Scotchman. You are a Scotchman without the faults of Scotchmen. You would not have been so valuable as you are, had you not been a Scotchman.

Talking of divorces, I asked if Othello's doctrine was not plausible:

"He who is robb'd, not wanting what is stolen,
Let him not know't, and he's not robb'd at all."

Dr Johnson and Mrs Thrale joined against this. JOHNSON: Ask any man if he'd wish not to know of such an injury. BOSWELL: Would you tell your friend to make him unhappy? JOHNSON: Perhaps, sir, I should not; but that would be from prudence on my own account. A man would tell his father. BOSWELL: Yes; because he would not have spurious children to get any share of the family inheritance. MRS THRALE: Or he would tell his brother. BOSWELL: Certainly his *elder* brother. JOHNSON: You would tell your friend of a woman's infamy, to prevent his marrying a whore: there is the same reason to tell him of his wife's infidelity when he is married, to prevent the consequences of imposition. It is a breach of confidence not to tell a friend. BOSWELL: Would you tell Mr —— (naming a gentleman who assuredly was not in the least danger of such a miserable disgrace, though married to a fine woman)? JOHNSON: No, sir; because it would do no good: he is so sluggish he'd never go to Parliament and get through a divorce.

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He said of one of our friends: "He is ruining himself without pleasure. A man who loses at play, or who runs out his fortune at court, makes his estate less, in hopes of making it bigger" (I am sure of this word, which was often used by him): "but it is a sad thing to pass through the quagmire of parsimony, to the gulf of ruin. To pass over the flowery path of extravagance is very well."

Amongst the numerous prints pasted on the walls of the dining-room at Streatham, was Hogarth's *Modern Midnight Conversation*. I asked him what he knew of Parson Ford, who makes a conspicuous figure in the riotous group. JOHNSON: Sir, he was my acquaintance and relation, my mother's nephew. He had purchased a living in the country, but not simoniacally. I never saw him but in the country. I have been told he was a man of great parts; very profligate, but I never heard he was impious. BOSWELL: Was there not a story of his ghost having appeared? JOHNSON: Sir, it was believed. A waiter at the Hummums, in which house Ford died, had been absent for some time, and returned, not knowing that Ford was dead. Going down to the cellar, according to the story, he met him; going down again he met him a second time. When he came up, he asked some of the people of the house what Ford could be doing there. They told him Ford was dead. The waiter took a fever, in which he lay for some time. When he recovered, he said he had a message to deliver to some women from Ford; but he was not to tell what, or to whom. He walked out: he was followed; but somewhere about St Paul's they lost him. He came back, and said he had delivered the message, and the women exclaimed: "Then we are all undone!" Dr Pellet, who was not a credulous man, inquired into the truth of this story, and he said the evidence was irresistible. My wife went to the Hummums (it is a place where people get themselves cupped). I believe she went with intention to hear about this story of Ford. At first they made difficulty to tell her; but, after they had talked to her, she came away satisfied that it was true. To be sure, the man had a fever;

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and this vision may have been the beginning of it. But if the message to the women, and their behaviour upon it were true as related, there was something supernatural. That rests upon his word; and there it remains.

After Mrs Thrale was gone to bed, Johnson and I sat up late. We resumed Sir Joshua Reynolds's argument on Sunday last, that a man would be virtuous though he had no other motive than to preserve his character. JOHNSON: Sir, it is not true: for as to this world vice does not hurt a man's character. BOSWELL: Yes, sir; debauching a friend's wife will. JOHNSON: No, sir. Who thinks the worse of — for it? BOSWELL: Lord — was not his friend. JOHNSON: That is only a circumstance, sir; a slight distinction. He could not get into the house but by Lord —. A man is chosen Knight of the Shire, not the less for having debauched ladies. BOSWELL: What, sir, if he debauched the ladies of gentlemen in the county, will not there be a general resentment against him? JOHNSON: No, sir. He will lose those particular gentlemen; but the rest will not trouble their heads about it (warmly). BOSWELL: Well, sir, I cannot think so. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, there is no talking with a man who will dispute what everybody knows (angrily). Don't you know this? BOSWELL: No, sir; and I wish to think better of your country than you represent it. I knew in Scotland a gentleman obliged to leave it for debauching a lady; and in one of our counties an earl's brother lost his election because he had debauched the lady of another earl in that county, and broken the peace of a noble family.

Still he would not yield. He proceeded: "Will you not allow, sir, that vice does not hurt a man's character so as to obstruct his prosperity in life when you know that — was loaded with wealth and honours; a man who had acquired his fortune by such crimes, that his consciousness of them impelled him to cut his own throat?" BOSWELL: You will recollect, sir, that Dr Robertson said he cut his throat because he was weary of still life; little things not being sufficient to move his great mind. JOHNSON (very angry):

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Nay, sir, what stuff is this? You had no more this opinion after Robertson said it than before. I know nothing more offensive than repeating what one knows to be foolish things, by way of continuing a dispute, to see what a man will answer, to make him your butt! (angrier still). BOSWELL: My dear sir, I had no such intention as you seem to suspect; I had not indeed. Might not this nobleman have felt everything "weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable," as Hamlet says? JOHNSON: Nay, if you are to bring in gabble, I'll talk no more. I will not, upon my honour!—My readers will decide upon this dispute.

Next morning I stated to Mrs Thrale at breakfast, before he came down, the dispute of last night as to the influence of character upon success in life. She said he was certainly wrong; and told me that a baronet lost an election in Wales because he had debauched the sister of a gentleman in the county, whom he made one of his daughters invite as her companion at his seat in the country when his lady and his other children were in London. But she would not encounter Johnson upon the subject.

I stayed all this day with him at Streatham. He talked a great deal, in very good humour.

Looking at Messrs Dilly's splendid edition of Lord Chesterfield's miscellaneous works, he laughed and said: "Here now are two speeches ascribed to him, both of which were written by me; and the best of it is, they have found out that one is like Demosthenes and the other like Cicero."

He censured Lord Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man*, for misrepresenting Clarendon's account of the appearance of Sir George Villiers's ghost, as if Clarendon were weakly credulous; when the truth is, that Clarendon only says that the story was upon a better foundation of credit than usually such discourses are founded upon; nay, speaks thus of the person who was reported to have seen the vision, "the poor man, *if he had been at all waking*," which Lord Kames has omitted. He added: "In this book it is

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maintained that virtue is natural to man, and that if we would but consult our own hearts we should be virtuous. Now after consulting our own hearts all we can, and with all the helps we have, we find how few of us are virtuous. This is saying a thing which all mankind know not to be true. BOSWELL: Is not modesty natural? JOHNSON: I cannot say, sir, as we find no people quite in a state of nature; but I think the more they are taught, the more modest they are. *The French are a gross, ill-bred, untaught people; a lady there will spit on the floor and rub it with her foot.* What I gained by being in France was, learning to be better satisfied with my own country. Time may be employed to more advantage from nineteen to twenty-four almost in any way than in travelling; when you set travelling against mere negation, against doing nothing, it is better to be sure; but how much more would a young man improve were he to study during those years. Indeed, if a young man is wild, and must run after women and bad company, it is better this should be done abroad, as, on his return, he can break off such connections, and begin at home a new man, with a character to form, and acquaintances to make. How little does travelling supply to the conversation of any man who has travelled? how little to Beauclerk? BOSWELL: What say you to Lord —? JOHNSON: I never but once heard him talk of what he had seen, and that was of a large serpent in one of the Pyramids of Egypt. BOSWELL: Well, I happened to hear him tell the same thing, which made me mention him.

I talked of a country life. JOHNSON: Were I to live in the country I would not devote myself to the acquisition of popularity; I would live in a much better way, much more happily; I would have my time at my own command. BOSWELL: But, sir, is it not a sad thing to be at a distance from all our literary friends? JOHNSON: Sir, you will by and by have enough of this conversation, which now delights you so much.

As he was a zealous friend of subordination, he was at

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all times watchful to repress the vulgar cant against the manners of the great: "High people, sir," said he, "are the best: take a hundred ladies of quality; you'll find them better wives, better mothers, more willing to sacrifice their own pleasure to their children, than a hundred other women. Tradeswomen (I mean the wives of tradesmen) in the city, who are worth from ten to fifteen thousand pounds, are the worst creatures upon the earth, grossly ignorant, and thinking viciousness fashionable. Farmers, I think, are often worthless fellows. Few lords will cheat; and, if they do, they'll be ashamed of it: farmers cheat and are not ashamed of it; they have all the sensual vices too of the nobility, with cheating into the bargain. There is as much fornication and adultery amongst farmers as amongst noblemen." BOSWELL: The notion of the world, sir, however is, that the morals of women of quality are worse than those in lower stations. JOHNSON: Yes, sir, the licentiousness of one woman of quality makes more noise than that of a number of women in lower stations; then, sir, you are to consider the malignity of women in the city against women of quality, which will make them believe anything of them, such as that they call their coachmen to bed. No, sir; so far as I have observed, the higher in rank, the richer ladies are, they are the better instructed and the more virtuous.

This year the Reverend Mr Horne published his *Letter to Mr Dunning, on the English Particle*; Johnson read it, and though not treated in it with sufficient respect, he had candour enough to say to Mr Seward: "Were I to make a new edition of my *Dictionary*, I would adopt several¹ of Mr Horne's etymologies; I hope they did not put the dog in the pillory for his libel; he has too much literature for that."

¹ In Mr Horne Tooke's enlargement of that *Letter*, which he has since published with the title of *Επεα πρεποενα*; or, *The Diversions of Purley*, he mentions this compliment, as if Dr Johnson, instead of several of his etymologies, had said *all*. His recollection having thus magnified it, shows how ambitious he was of the approbation of so great a man.

some others. I regret very feelingly every instance of my remissness in recording his *memorabilia*; I am afraid it is the condition of humanity (as Mr Windham of Norfolk once observed to me, after having made an admirable speech in the House of Commons, which was highly applauded, but which he afterwards perceived might have been better) "that we are more uneasy from thinking of our wants, than happy in thinking of our acquisitions." This is an unreasonable mode of disturbing our tranquillity, and should be corrected; let me then comfort myself with the large treasure of Johnson's conversation which I have preserved for my own enjoyment and that of the world, and let me exhibit what I have upon each occasion, whether more or less, whether a bulse, or only a few sparks of diamond.

He said: "Dr Mead lived more in the broad sunshine of life than almost any man."

The disaster of General Burgoyne's army was then the common topic of conversation. It was asked why piling their arms was insisted upon as a matter of such consequence, when it seemed to be a circumstance so inconsiderable in itself. JOHNSON: Why, sir, a French author says, "*Il y a beaucoup de puerilités dans la guerre.*" All distinctions are trifles, because great things can seldom occur, and those distinctions are settled by custom. A savage would as willingly have his meat sent to him in the kitchen as eat it at the table here; as men become civilised, various modes of denoting honourable preference are invented.

He this day made the observations upon the similarity between *Rasselas* and *Candide*, which I have inserted in its proper place, when considering his admirable philosophical Romance. He said *Candide*, he thought, had more power in it than anything that Voltaire had written.

He said: "The lyrical part of Horace never can be perfectly translated; so much of the excellence is in the

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numbers and the expression. Francis has done it the best ; I'll take his, five out of six, against them all."

On Sunday, 17th May, I presented to him Mr Fullarton, of Fullarton, who has since distinguished himself so much in India, to whom he naturally talked of travels, as Mr Brydone accompanied him in his tour to Sicily and Malta. He said: "The information which we have from modern travellers is much more authentic than what we had from ancient travellers; ancient travellers guessed; modern travellers measure. The Swiss admit that there is but one error in Stanyan. If Brydone were more attentive to his Bible, he would be a good traveller."

He said: "Lord Chatham was a Dictator; he possessed the power of putting the State in motion; now there is no power, all order is relaxed." BOSWELL: Is there no hope of a change to the better? JOHNSON: Why, yes, sir, when we are weary of this relaxation. So the City of London will appoint its mayors again by seniority. BOSWELL: But is not that taking a mere chance for having a good or a bad mayor? JOHNSON: Yes, sir; but the evil of competition is greater than that of the worst mayor that can come; besides, there is no more reason to suppose that the choice of a rabble will be right, than that chance will be right.

On Tuesday, 19th May, I was to set out for Scotland in the evening. He was engaged to dine with me at Mr Dilly's. I waited upon him to remind him of his appointment and attend him thither; he gave me some salutary counsel, and recommended vigorous resolution against any deviation from moral duty. BOSWELL: But you would not have me to bind myself by a solemn obligation? JOHNSON (much agitated): What! a vow—Oh, no, sir, a vow is a horrible thing; it is a snare for sin. The man who cannot go to Heaven without a vow—may go——.—Here, standing erect in the middle of his library, and rolling grand, his pause was truly a curious compound of the solemn and the ludicrous; he half whistled in his usual way when pleasant, and he paused, as if checked by religious awe. Methought

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he would have added—"to Hell"—but was restrained. I humoured the dilemma. "What! sir," said I, "*In calum jusseris ibis*," alluding to his imitation of it,

"And bid him go to Hell, to Hell he goes."

I had mentioned to him a slight fault in his noble *Imitation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal*, a too near recurrence of the verb *spread*, in his description of the young Enthusiast at College:

"Through all his veins the fever of renown,
Spreads from the strong contagion of the gown;
O'er Bodley's dome his future labours *spread*,
And Bacon's mansion trembles o'er his head."

He had desired me to change *spreads* to *burns*, but for perfect authenticity I now had it done with his own hand.¹ I thought this alteration not only cured the fault, but was more poetical, as it might carry an allusion to the shirt by which Hercules was inflamed.

We had a quiet comfortable meeting at Mr Dilly's; nobody there but ourselves. Mr Dilly mentioned somebody having wished that Milton's *Tractate on Education* should be printed along with his poems in the edition of *The English Poets* then going on. JOHNSON: It would be breaking in upon the plan; but would be of no great consequence. So far as it would be anything it would be wrong. Education in England has been in danger of being hurt by two of its greatest men, Milton and Locke. Milton's plan is impracticable, and I suppose has never been tried. Locke's, I fancy, has been tried often enough, but is very imperfect; it gives too much to one side, and too little to the other; it gives too little to literature. I shall do what I can for

¹ The slip of paper on which he made the correction, is deposited by me in the noble library to which it relates, and to which I have presented other pieces of his handwriting.

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Dr Watts; but my materials are very scanty. His poems are by no means his best works; I cannot praise his poetry itself highly, but I can praise its design.

My illustrious friend and I parted with assurances of affectionate regard.

Johnson maintained a long and intimate friendship with Mr Welch, who succeeded the celebrated Henry Fielding as one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for Westminster; kept a regular office for the police of that great district; and discharged his important trust, for many years, faithfully and ably. Johnson, who had an eager and unceasing curiosity to know human life in all its variety, told me, that he attended Mr Welch in his office for a whole winter, to hear the examinations of the culprits; but that he found an almost uniform tenor of misfortune, wretchedness, and profligacy. Mr Welch's health being impaired, he was advised to try the effect of a warm climate; and Johnson, by his interest with Mr Chamier, procured him leave of absence to go to Italy, and a promise that the pension or salary of two hundred pounds a year, which Government allowed him, should not be discontinued. Mr Welch accordingly went abroad, accompanied by his daughter Anne, a young lady of uncommon talents and literature. I have been fortunate enough, as this work was passing through the press, to obtain the following letter; which, although the first part of my narrative of this year was printed off before I received it, will now come in with very little deviation from chronological order.

*To SAUNDERS WELCH, Esq., at the English
Coffee-House, Rome*

DEAR SIR,—To have suffered one of my best and dearest friends to pass almost two years in foreign countries without a letter, has a very shameful appearance of inattention. But the truth is, that there was no particular time in which I had anything particular to say; and general expressions

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of good will, I hope, our long friendship is grown too solid to want.

Of public affairs you have information from the newspapers wherever you go, for the English keep no secret; and of other things, Mrs Nollekens informs you. My intelligence could therefore be of no use; and Miss Nancy's letters made it unnecessary to write to you for information: I was likewise for some time out of humour, to find that motion, and nearer approaches to the sun, did not restore your health so fast as I expected. Of your health, the accounts have lately been more pleasing; and I have the gratification of imaging to myself a length of years which I hope you have gained, and of which the enjoyment will be improved, by a vast accession of images and observations which your journeys and various residence have enabled you to make and accumulate. You have travelled with this felicity, almost peculiar to yourself, that your companion is not to part from you at your journey's end; but you are to live on together, to help each other's recollection, and to supply each other's omissions. The world has few greater pleasures than that which two friends enjoy in tracing back, at some distant time, those transactions and events through which they have passed together. One of the old man's miseries is, that he cannot easily find a companion able to partake with him of the past. You and your fellow-traveller have this comfort in store, that your conversation will be not easily exhausted; one will always be glad to say what the other will always be willing to hear.

That you may enjoy this pleasure long, your health must have your constant attention. I suppose you purpose to return this year. There is no need of haste: do not come hither before the height of summer, that you may fall gradually into the inconveniences of your native climate. July seems to be the proper month. August and September will prepare you for the winter. After having travelled so far to find health, you must take care not to lose it at home; and I hope a little care will effectually preserve it.

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Miss Nancy has doubtless kept a constant and copious journal. She must not expect to be welcome when she returns without a great mass of information. Let her review her journal often, and set down what she finds herself to have omitted, that she may trust to memory as little as possible, for memory is soon confused by a quick succession of things; and she will grow every day less confident of the truth of her own narratives, unless she can recur to some written memorials. If she has satisfied herself with hints, instead of full representations, let her supply the deficiencies now while her memory is yet fresh, and while her father's memory may help her. If she observes this direction, she will not have travelled in vain; for she will bring home a book with which she may entertain herself to the end of life. If it were not now too late, I would advise her to note the impression which the first sight of anything new and wonderful made upon her mind. Let her now set her thoughts down as she can recollect them; for faint as they may already be, they will grow every day fainter.

Perhaps I do not flatter myself unreasonably when I imagine that you may wish to know something of me. I can gratify your benevolence with no account of health. The hand of time, or of disease, is very heavy upon me. I pass restless and uneasy nights, harassed with convulsions of my breast, and flatulencies at my stomach; and restless nights make heavy days. But nothing will be mended by complaints, and therefore I will make an end. When we meet, we will try to forget our cares and our maladies, and contribute, as we can, to the cheerfulness of each other. If I had gone with you, I believe I should have been better; but I do not know that it was in my power. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Feb. 3, 1778.

This letter, while it gives admirable advice how to travel to the best advantage, and will therefore be of very general

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use, is another eminent proof of Johnson's warm and affectionate heart.¹

I wrote to him on the 25th of May, from Thorpe, in Yorkshire, one of the seats of Mr Bosville, and gave him an account of my having passed a day at Lincoln, unexpectedly, and therefore without having any letters of introduction, but that I had been honoured with civilities from the Reverend Mr Simpson, an acquaintance of his, and Captain Broadley, of the Lincolnshire Militia; but more particularly from the Reverend Dr Gordon, the Chancellor, who first received me with great politeness as a stranger, and when I had informed him who I was, entertained me at his house with the most flattering attention. I also expressed the pleasure with which I had found that our worthy friend Langton was highly esteemed in his own county town.

To Dr SAMUEL JOHNSON

EDINBURGH, *June 18, 1778.*

MY DEAR SIR,—*** Since my return to Scotland, I have been again at Lanark, and have had more conversation with Thomson's sister. It is strange that Murdoch, who was his intimate friend, should have mistaken his mother's maiden name, which he says was Hume, whereas Hume was the name of his grandmother by the mother's side. His mother's name was Beatrix Trotter,² a daughter of Mr Trotter, of Fogo, a small proprietor of land. Thomson had one brother, whom he had with him in England as his amanuensis; but

¹ The friendship between Mr Welch and him was unbroken. Mr Welch died not many months before him, and bequeathed him five guineas for a ring, which Johnson received with tenderness, as a kind memorial. His regard was constant for his friend Mr Welch's daughters; of whom, Jane is married to Mr Nollekens, the statuary, whose merit is too well known to require any praise from me.

² Dr Johnson was by no means attentive to minute accuracy in his *Lives of the Poets*; for notwithstanding my having detected this mistake, he has continued it.

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he was seized with a consumption, and having returned to Scotland, to try what his native air would do for him, died young. He had three sisters, one married to Mr Bell, minister of the parish of Strathaven; one to Mr Craig, father of the ingenious architect, who gave the plan of the New Town of Edinburgh; and one to Mr Thomson, master of the grammar school at Lanark. He was of a humane and benevolent disposition; not only sent valuable presents to his sisters, but a yearly allowance in money, and was always wishing to have it in his power to do them more good. Lord Lyttelton's observation, that "he lothed much to write," was very true. His letters to his sister, Mrs Thomson, were not frequent, and in one of them he says: "All my friends who know me, know how backward I am to write letters; and never impute the negligence of my hand to the coldness of my heart." I send you a copy of the last letter which she had from him; she never heard that he had any intention of going into holy orders. From this late interview with his sister, I think much more favourably of him, as I hope you will. I am eager to see more of your Prefaces to the Poets; I solace myself with the few proof-sheets which I have.

I send another parcel of Lord Hailes's *Annals*, which you will please to return to me as soon as you conveniently can. He says "he wishes you would cut a little deeper"; but he may be proud that there is so little occasion to use the critical knife. I ever am, my dear Sir, your faithful and affectionate humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

Mr Langton has been pleased, at my request, to favour me with some particulars of Dr Johnson's visit to Warley Camp, where this gentleman was at the time stationed, as a captain in the Lincolnshire Militia. I shall give them in his own words in a letter to me:

"It was in the summer of the year 1778, that he complied with my invitation to come down to the Camp at Warley,

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and he stayed with me about a week ; the scene appeared, notwithstanding a great degree of ill health that he seemed to labour under, to interest and amuse him, as agreeing with the disposition that I believe you know he constantly manifested towards inquiring into subjects of the military kind. He sate, with a patient degree of attention, to observe the proceedings of a regimental court-martial, that happened to be called in the time of his stay with us ; and one night, as late as at eleven o'clock, he accompanied the Major of the regiment in going what are styled the *Rounds*, where he might observe the forms of visiting the guards, for the seeing that they and their sentries are ready in their duty on their several posts. He took occasion to converse at times on military topics, one in particular, that I see the mention of, in your *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, which lies open before me,¹ as to gunpowder ; which he spoke of to the same effect, in part, that you relate.

“ On one occasion, when the regiment were going through their exercise, he went quite close to the men at one of the extremities of it, and watched all their practices attentively ; and, when he came away, his remark was : ‘ The men indeed do load their muskets and fire with wonderful celerity.’ He was likewise particular in requiring to know what was the weight of the musket-balls in use, and within what distance they might be expected to take effect when fired off.

“ In walking among the tents, and observing the difference between those of the officers and private men, he said that the superiority of accommodation of the better conditions of life, to that of the inferior ones, was never exhibited to him in so distinct a view. The civilities paid to him in the camp were from the gentlemen of the Lincolnshire regiment, one of the officers of which accommodated him with a tent in which he slept ; and from General Hall, who very courteously invited him to dine with him, where he appeared to be very well pleased with his entertainment,

¹ 3rd edition, p. 111.

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and the civilities he received on the part of the General¹; the attention likewise of the General's aide-de-camp, Captain Smith, seemed to be very welcome to him, as appeared by their engaging in a great deal of discourse together. The gentlemen of the East York regiment likewise, on being informed of his coming, solicited his company at dinner, but by that time he had fixed his departure, so that he could not comply with the invitation."

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I have received two letters from you, of which the second complains of the neglect shown to the first. You must not tie your friends to such punctual correspondence. You have all possible assurances of my affection and esteem; and there ought to be no need of reiterated professions. When it may happen that I can give you either counsel or comfort, I hope it will never happen to me that I should neglect you; but you must not think me criminal or cold if I say nothing, when I have nothing to say.

You are now happy enough. Mrs Boswell is recovered; and I congratulate you upon the probability of her long life. If general approbation will add anything to your enjoyment, I can tell you that I have heard you mentioned as *a man whom everybody likes*. I think life has little more to give.

— has gone to his regiment. He has laid down his coach, and talks of making more contractions of his expense: how he will succeed I know not. It is difficult to reform a household gradually; it may be better done by a system totally new. I am afraid he has always something to hide. When we pressed him to go to —, he objected the necessity of attending his navigation; yet he could talk of

¹ When I one day at Court expressed to General Hall my sense of the honour he had done my friend, he politely answered, "Sir, I did *myself* honour."

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going to Aberdeen, a place not much nearer his navigation. I believe he cannot bear the thought of living at — in a state of diminution; and of appearing among the gentlemen of the neighbourhood *shorn of his beams*. This is natural, but it is cowardly. What I told him of the increasing expense of a growing family seems to have struck him. He certainly had gone on with very confused views, and we have, I think, shown him that he is wrong; though, with the common deficiency of advisers, we have not shown him how to do right.

I wish you would a little correct or restrain your imagination, and imagine that happiness, such as life admits, may be had at other places as well as London. Without asserting Stoicism, it may be said that it is our business to exempt ourselves as much as we can from the power of external things. There is but one solid basis of happiness; and that is, the reasonable hope of a happy futurity. This may be had everywhere.

I do not blame your preference of London to other places, for it is really to be preferred, if the choice is free; but few have the choice of their place, or their manner of life; and mere pleasure ought not to be the prime motive of action.

Mrs Thrale, poor thing, has a daughter. Mr Thrale dislikes the times, like the rest of us. Mrs Williams is sick; Mrs Desmoulins is poor. I have miserable nights. Nobody is well but Mr Levett. I am, dear Sir, your most, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *July 3, 1778.*

In the course of this year there was a difference between him and his friend Mr Strahan, the particulars of which it is unnecessary to relate. Their reconciliation was communicated to me in a letter from Mr Strahan, in the following words:

“The notes I showed you that passed between him and me were dated in March last. The matter lay dormant till July 27, when he wrote to me as follows:



GRAY'S INN GARDENS

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'To WILLIAM STRAHAN, Esq.

'SIR,—It would be very foolish for us to continue strangers any longer. You can never by persistency make wrong right. If I resented too acrimoniously, I resented only to yourself. Nobody ever saw or heard what I wrote. You saw that my anger was over, for in a day or two I came to your house. I have given you longer time; and I hope you have made so good use of it, as to be no longer on evil terms with, Sir, your, etc.,

'SAM. JOHNSON.'

On this I called upon him; and he has since dined with me."

After this time, the same friendship as formerly continued between Dr Johnson and Mr Strahan. My friend mentioned to me a little circumstance of his attention, which, though we may smile at it, must be allowed to have its foundation in a nice and true knowledge of human life. "When I write to Scotland," said he, "I employ Strahan to frank my letters, that he may have the consequence of appearing a Parliament-man among his countrymen."

To Captain LANGTON,¹ at Warley Camp

DEAR SIR,—When I recollect how long ago I was received with so much kindness at Warley Common, I am ashamed that I have not made some inquiries after my friends.

Pray how many sheep-stealers did you convict? and how did you punish them? When are you to be cantoned in better habitations? The air grows cold, and the ground damp. Longer stay in the camp cannot be without much danger to the health of the common men, if even the officers can escape.

You see that Dr Percy is now Dean of Carlisle; about

¹ Dr Johnson here addresses his worthy friend, Bennet Langton, Esq., by his title, as a Captain of the Lincolnshire Militia.

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five hundred a year, with a power of presenting himself to some good living. He is provided for.

The session of the club is to commence with that of the Parliament. Mr Banks desires to be admitted; he will be a very honourable accession.

Did the King please you? The Coxheath men, I think, have some reason to complain: Reynolds says your camp is better than theirs.

I hope you find yourself able to encounter this weather. Take care of your own health; and, as you can, of your men. Be pleased to make my compliments to all the gentlemen whose notice I have had, and whose kindness I have experienced. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Oct. 31, 1778.

I wrote to him on the 18th of August, the 18th of September, and the 6th of November; informing him of my having had another son born, whom I had called James; that I had passed some time at Auchinleck; that the Countess of Loudoun, now in her ninety-ninth year, was as fresh as when he saw her, and remembered him with respect; and that his mother by adoption, the Countess of Eglintoune, had said to me: "Tell Mr Johnson I love him exceedingly"; that I had again suffered much from bad spirits; and that as it was very long since I heard from him, I was not a little uneasy.

The continuance of his regard for his friend Dr Burney appears from the following letters:

To the Reverend Dr WHEELER, Oxford

DEAR SIR,—Dr Burney, who brings this paper, is engaged in a *History of Music*; and having been told by Dr Markham of some MSS. relating to his subject, which are in the library of your College, is desirous to examine them. He is my friend; and therefore I take the liberty of entreating

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your favour and assistance in his inquiry: and can assure you, with great confidence, that if you knew him he would not want any intervenient solicitation to obtain the kindness of one who loves learning and virtue as you love them.

I have been flattering myself all the summer with the hope of paying my annual visit to my friends, but something has obstructed me: I still hope not to be long without seeing you. I should be glad of a little literary talk; and glad to show you, by the frequency of my visits, how eagerly I love it, when you talk it. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *Nov. 2, 1778.*

To the Reverend Dr EDWARDS, Oxford

SIR,—The bearer, Dr Burney, has had some account of a Welsh Manuscript in the Bodleian library, from which he hopes to gain some materials for his *History of Music*; but, being ignorant of the language, is at a loss where to find assistance. I make no doubt but you, sir, can help him through his difficulties, and therefore take the liberty of recommending him to your favour, as I am sure you will find him a man worthy of every civility that can be shown, and every benefit that can be conferred.

But we must not let Welsh drive us from Greek. What comes of Xenophon? If you do not like the trouble of publishing the book, do not let your commentaries be lost; contrive that they may be published somewhere. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *Nov. 2, 1778.*

These letters procured Dr Burney great kindness and friendly offices from both of these gentlemen, not only on that occasion, but in future visits to the university. The same year Dr Johnson not only wrote to Dr Joseph Warton

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in favour of Dr Burney's youngest son, who was to be placed in the college there, but accompanied him to Winchester, when he went thither.

We surely cannot but admire the benevolent exertions of this great and good man, especially when we consider how grievously he was afflicted with bad health, and how uncomfortable his home was made by the perpetual jarring of those whom he charitably accommodated under his roof. He has sometimes suffered me to talk jocularly of his group of females, and call them his *Seraglio*. He thus mentions them, together with honest Levett, in one of his letters to Mrs Thrale¹: "Williams hates everybody; Levett hates Desmoulins, and does not love Williams; Desmoulins hates them both; Poll² loves none of them."

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—It is indeed a long time since I wrote, and I think you have some reason to complain; however, you must not let small things disturb you, when you have such a fine addition to your happiness as a new boy, and I hope your lady's health restored by bringing him. It seems very probable that a little care will now restore her, if any remains of her complaints are left.

You seem, if I understand your letter, to be gaining ground at Auchinleck, an incident that would give me great delight.

* * * * *

When any fit of anxiety, or gloominess, or perversion of mind, lays hold upon you, make it a rule not to publish it by complaints, but exert your whole care to hide it; by endeavouring to hide it, you will drive it away. Be always busy.

The Club is to meet with the Parliament; we talk of electing Banks, the traveller; he will be a reputable member.

Langton has been encamped with his company of

¹ Vol. ii., p. 38.

² Miss Carmichael.

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militia on Warley Common; I spent five days amongst them; he signalised himself as a diligent officer, and has very high respect in the regiment. He presided when I was there at a court-martial; he is now quartered in Hertfordshire; his lady and little ones are in Scotland. Paoli came to the camp and commended the soldiers.

Of myself I have no great matter to say, my health is not restored, my nights are restless and tedious. The best night that I have had these twenty years was at Fort Augustus.

I hope soon to send you a few lines to read. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Nov. 21, 1778.¹

About this time Mr John Hussey, who had been some time in trade, and is now a clergyman of the Church of England, being about to undertake a journey to Aleppo, and other parts of the East, which he accomplished, Dr Johnson honoured him with the following letter:

To Mr JOHN HUSSEY

DEAR SIR,—I have sent you the *Grammar*, and have left you two books more, by which I hope to be remembered, write my name in them; we may perhaps see each other no more, you part with my good wishes, nor do I despair of seeing you return. Let no opportunities of vice corrupt you; let no bad example seduce you; let the blindness of Mahometans confirm you in Christianity. God bless you. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Dec. 29, 1778.

¹ Notwithstanding all my anxious attention to chronological order, I find that I have ascribed to this year (see Vol. II., p. 440) the publication of his *Prefaces to the Poets*, which in fact came out early in the next year.

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Johnson this year expressed great satisfaction at the publication of the first volume of *Discourses to the Royal Academy*, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, whom he always considered as one of his literary school. Much praise indeed is due to those excellent *Discourses*, which are so universally admired, and for which the author lately received from the Empress of Russia a gold snuff-box, adorned with her profile in *bas-relief*, set in diamonds; and containing what is infinitely more valuable, a slip of paper, on which are written, with her Imperial Majesty's own hand, the following words:—" *Pour le Chevalier Reynolds en temoignage du contentement que j'ai ressentie à la lecture de ses excellens discours sur la peinture.*"

1779. *Ætat.* 70. In 1779 Johnson proceeded, at intervals, in writing his *Lives of the Poets*.

On the 22nd of January I wrote to him on several topics, and mentioned that as he had been so good as to permit me to have the proof-sheets of his *Lives of the Poets*, I had written to his servant, Francis, to take care of them for me.

MR BOSWELL to DR JOHNSON

EDINBURGH, Feb. 2, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—Garrick's death is a striking event; not that we should be surprised with the death of any man who has lived sixty-two years. But because there was a *vivacity* in our late celebrated friend, which drove away the thoughts of *death* from any association with *him*; I am sure you will be tenderly affected with his departure; and I would wish to hear from you upon the subject. I was obliged to him in my days of effervescence in London, when poor Derrick was my governor; and since that time I received many civilities from him. Do you remember how pleasing it was when I received a letter from him at Inverary, upon our first return to civilised living after our Hebridean journey. I shall always remember him with affection as well as admiration.

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On Saturday last, being the 30th of January, I drank coffee and old port, and had solemn conversation with the Reverend Mr Falconer, a nonjuring bishop, a very learned and worthy man. He gave two toasts, which you will believe I drank with cordiality, Dr Samuel Johnson, and Flora Macdonald. I sat about four hours with him, and it was really as if I had been living in the last century. The Episcopal Church of Scotland, though faithful to the Royal House of Stuart, has never accepted of any *congé d'élire*, since the Revolution; it is the only true Episcopal Church in Scotland, as it has its own succession of bishops. For as to the Episcopal clergy who take the oaths to the present Government, they indeed follow the rites of the Church of England, but, as Bishop Falconer observed, they are not *Episcopals*; for they are under no bishop, as a bishop cannot have authority beyond his diocese.

This venerable gentleman did me the honour to dine with me yesterday, and he laid his hands upon the heads of my little ones. We had a good deal of curious literary conversation, particularly about Mr Thomas Ruddiman, with whom he lived in great friendship.

Any fresh instance of the uncertainty of life makes one embrace more closely a valuable friend. My dear and much respected sir, may God preserve you long in this world while I am in it. I am ever, your much obliged, and affectionate humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

On the 23rd of February I wrote to him again, complaining of his silence, as I had heard he was ill, and had written to Mr Thrale for information concerning him; and I announced my intention of soon being again in London.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Why should you take such delight to make a bustle, to write to Mr Thrale that I am negligent, and to

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Francis to do what is so very unnecessary. Thrale, you may be sure, cared not about it; and I shall spare Francis the trouble, by ordering a set both of the *Lives* and *Poets* to dear Mrs Boswell,¹ in acknowledgment of her marmalade. Persuade her to accept them, and accept them kindly. If I thought she would receive them scornfully, I would send them to Miss Boswell, who, I hope, has yet none of her mamma's ill-will to me.

I would send sets of *Lives*, four volumes, to some other friends, to Lord Hailes first. His second volume lies by my bedside; a book surely of great labour, and to every just thinker of great delight. Write me word to whom I shall send besides; would it please Lord Auchinleck? Mrs Thrale waits in the coach. I am, dear Sir, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

March 13, 1779.

This letter crossed me on the road to London, where I arrived on Monday, 15th March, and next morning, at a late hour, found Dr Johnson sitting over his tea, attended by Mrs Desmoulins, Mr Levett, and a clergyman, who had come to submit some poetical pieces to his revision. It is wonderful what a number and variety of writers, some of them even unknown to him, prevailed on his good nature to look over their works, and suggest corrections and improvements. My arrival interrupted for a little while the important business of this true representative of Bayes; upon its being resumed, I found that the subject under immediate consideration was a translation, yet in manuscript, of the *Carmen Seculare* of Horace, which had this year been set to music, and performed as a public entertainment in London, for the joint benefit of Monsieur Philidor and Signor Baretta. When Johnson had done reading, the author asked him bluntly, "If upon the whole it was a good translation?" Johnson, whose regard

¹ He sent a set elegantly bound and gilt, which was received as a very handsome present.

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for truth was uncommonly strict, seemed to be puzzled for a moment what answer to make, as he certainly could not honestly commend the performance: with exquisite address he evaded the question thus: "Sir, I do not say that it may not be made a very good translation." Here nothing whatever in favour of the performance was affirmed, and yet the writer was not shocked. A printed *Ode to the Warlike Genius of Britain*, came next in review; the bard was a lank bony figure, with short black hair; he was writhing himself in agitation, while Johnson read, and, showing his teeth in a grin of earnestness, exclaimed in broken sentences, and in a keen sharp tone: "Is that poetry, sir? Is it Pindar?" JOHNSON: Why, sir, there is here a great deal of what is called poetry.—Then turning to me the poet cried: "My muse has not been long upon the town, and" (pointing to the *Ode*) "it trembles under the hand of the great critic." Johnson, in a tone of displeasure, asked him: "Why do you praise Anson?" I did not trouble him by asking his reason for this question. He proceeded: "Here is an error, sir; you have made Genius feminine." "Palpable, sir!" cried the enthusiast; "I know it. But" (in a lower tone) "it was to pay a compliment to the Duchess of Devonshire, with which her Grace was pleased. She is walking across Coxheath, in the military uniform, and I suppose her to be the Genius of Britain." JOHNSON: Sir, you are giving a reason for it, but that will not make it right. You may have a reason why two and two should make five; but they will still make but four.

Although I was several times with him in the course of the following days, such it seems were my occupations, or such my negligence, that I have preserved no memorial of his conversation till Friday, 26th March, when I visited him. He said he expected to be attacked on account of his *Lives of the Poets*. "However," said he, "I would rather be attacked than unnoticed. For the worst thing you can do to an author is to be silent as to his works. An assault upon a town is a bad thing; but starving it is still worse;

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an assault may be unsuccessful; you may have more men killed than you kill; but if you starve the town you are sure of a victory."

Talking of a friend of ours associating with persons of very discordant principles and characters, I said he was a very universal man, quite a man of the world. JOHNSON: Yes, sir; but one may be so much a man of the world as to be nothing in the world. I remember a passage in Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, which he was afterwards fool enough to expunge: "I do not love a man who is zealous for nothing." BOSWELL: That was a fine passage. JOHNSON: Yes, sir: there was another fine passage too, which he struck out: "When I was a young man, being anxious to distinguish myself, I was perpetually starting new propositions. But I soon gave this over; for I found that generally what was new was false." I said I did not like to sit with people of whom I had not a good opinion. JOHNSON: But you must not indulge your delicacy too much; or you will be a *tête-à-tête* man all your life.

During my stay in London this spring I find I was unaccountably negligent in preserving Johnson's sayings, more so than at any time when I was happy enough to have an opportunity of hearing his wisdom and wit. There is no help for it now. I must content myself with presenting such scraps as I have. But I am nevertheless ashamed and vexed to think how much has been lost. It is not that there was a bad crop this year; but that I was not sufficiently careful in gathering it in. I, therefore, in some instances can only exhibit a few detached fragments.

Talking of the wonderful concealment of the author of the celebrated letters signed *Junius*, he said: "I should have believed Burke to be Junius, because I know no man but Burke who is capable of writing these letters; but Burke spontaneously denied it to me. The case would have been different had I asked him if he was the author; a man so questioned, as to an anonymous publication, may think he has a right to deny it."

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He observed that his old friend, Mr Sheridan, had been honoured with extraordinary attention in his own country, by having had an exception made in his favour in an Irish Act of Parliament concerning insolvent debtors. "To be thus singled out," said he, "by a legislature, as an object of public consideration and kindness, is a proof of no common merit."

At Streatham, on Monday, 29th March, at breakfast, he maintained that a father had no right to control the inclinations of his daughters in marriage.

On Wednesday, 31st March, when I visited him, and confessed an excess of which I had very seldom been guilty; that I had spent a whole night in playing at cards, and that I could not look back on it with satisfaction. Instead of a harsh animadversion, he mildly said: "Alas, sir, on how few things can we look back with satisfaction."

On Thursday, 1st April, he commended one of the Dukes of Devonshire for "a dogged veracity."¹ He said too: "London is nothing to some people; but to a man whose pleasure is intellectual, London is the place. And there is no place where economy can be so well practised as in London. More can be had here for the money, even by ladies, than anywhere else. You cannot play tricks with your fortune in a small place; you must make a uniform appearance. Here a lady may have well-furnished apartments, and elegant dress, without any meat in her kitchen."

I was amused by considering with how much ease and coolness he could write or talk to a friend, exhorting him not to suppose that happiness was not to be found as well in other places as in London; when he himself was at all times sensible of its being, comparatively speaking, a heaven upon earth. The truth is, that by those who from sagacity, attention, and experience, have learned the full advantage of London, its pre-eminence over every other place, not only for variety of enjoyment, but for comfort, will be felt with a philosophical exultation. The freedom from remark

¹ See Vol. II., p. 419.

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and petty censure, with which life may be passed there, is a circumstance which a man who knows the teasing restraint of a narrow circle must relish highly. Mr Burke, whose orderly and amiable domestic habits might make the eye of observation less irksome to him than to most men, said once very pleasantly, in my hearing: "Though I have the honour to represent Bristol, I should not like to live there; I should be obliged to be so much *upon my good behaviour*." In London, a man may live in splendid society at one time, and in frugal retirement another, without animadversion. There, and there alone, a man's own house is truly his *castle*, in which he can be in perfect safety from intrusion whenever he pleases. I never shall forget how well this was expressed to me one day by Mr Meynell: "The chief advantage of London," said he, "is that a man is always *so near his burrow*."

He said of one of his old acquaintances: "He is very fit for a travelling governor. He knows French very well. He is a man of good principles; and there would be no danger that a young gentleman should catch his manner; for it is so very bad, that it must be avoided. In that respect he would be like the drunken Helot."

On Friday, 2nd April, being Good Friday, I visited him in the morning as usual; and finding that we insensibly fell into a train of ridicule upon the foibles of one of our friends, a very worthy man, I, by way of a check, quoted some good admonition from *The Government of the Tongue*, that very pious book. It happened also remarkably enough that the subject of the sermon preached to us to-day by Dr Burrows, the rector of St Clement Danes, was upon the certainty that at the last day we must give an account of "the deeds done in the body"; and, amongst various acts of culpability, he mentioned evil-speaking. As we were moving slowly along in the crowd from church, Johnson jogged my elbow, and said: "Did you attend to the sermon?" "Yes, sir," said I, "it was very applicable to *us*." He, however, stood upon the defensive: "Why, sir, the sense

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of ridicule is given us, and may be lawfully used. The author of *The Government of the Tongue* would have us to treat all men alike."

In the interval between morning and evening service he endeavoured to employ himself earnestly in devotional exercises; and, as he has mentioned in his *Prayers and Meditations*,¹ gave me *Les Pensées de Pascal*, that I might not interrupt him. I preserve the book with reverence. His presenting it to me is marked upon it with his own hand, and I have found in it a truly divine unction. We went to church again in the afternoon.

On Saturday, 3rd April, I visited him at night, and found him sitting in Mrs Williams's room, with her and one who he afterwards told me was a natural son of the second Lord Southwell. The table had a singular appearance, being covered with a heterogeneous assemblage of oysters and porter for his company, and tea for himself. I mentioned my having heard an eminent physician, who was himself a Christian, argue in favour of universal toleration, and maintain that no man could be hurt by another man's differing from him in opinion. JOHNSON: Sir, you are to a certain degree hurt by knowing that even one man does not believe.

On Easter Day, after solemn service at St Paul's, I dined with him: Mr Allen, the printer, was also his guest. He was uncommonly silent; and I have not written down anything, except a single curious fact, which, having the sanction of his inflexible veracity, may be received as a striking instance of human insensibility and inconsideration. As he was passing by a fishmonger who was skinning an eel alive he heard him "curse it, because it would not lie still."

On Wednesday, 7th April, I dined with him at Sir Joshua Reynolds's. I have not marked what company was there. Johnson harangued upon the qualities of different liquors, and spoke with great contempt of claret, as so weak, that "a man would be drowned by it before it made

¹ Page 173.

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him drunk." He was persuaded to drink one glass of it, that he might judge, not from recollection, which might be dim, but from immediate sensation. He shook his head, and said: "Poor stuff. No, sir, claret is the liquor for boys; port, for men: but he who aspires to be a hero" (smiling) "must drink brandy. In the first place, the flavour of brandy is most grateful to the palate; and then brandy will do soonest for a man what drinking *can* do for him. There are, indeed, few who are able to drink brandy. That is a power rather to be wished for than attained. And yet" (proceeded he) "as in all pleasure hope is a considerable part, I know not but fruition comes too quick by brandy. Florence wine I think the worst; it is wine only to the eye; it is wine neither while you are drinking it, nor after you have drunk it; it neither pleases the taste, nor exhilarates the spirits." I reminded him how heartily he and I used to drink wine together when we were first acquainted, and how I used to have a headache after sitting up with him. He did not like to have this recalled, or, perhaps, thinking that I boasted improperly, resolved to have a witty stroke at me: "Nay, sir, it was not the *wine* that made your head ache, but the *sense* that I put into it." BOSWELL: What, sir! will sense make the head ache? JOHNSON: Yes, sir (with a smile), when it is not used to it.—No man who has a true relish of pleasantries could be offended at this; especially if Johnson in a long intimacy had given him repeated proofs of his regard and good estimation. I used to say that as he had given me a thousand pounds in praise, he had a good right now and then to take a guinea from me.

On Thursday, 8th April, I dined with him at Mr Allan Ramsay's, with Lord Graham and some other company. We talked of Shakspeare's witches. JOHNSON: They are beings of his own creation; they are a compound of malignity and meanness, without any abilities; and are quite different from the Italian magician. King James says, in his *Dæmonology*, "Magicians command the devils; witches are their servants." The Italian magicians are elegant

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beings. RAMSAY: Opera witches, not Drury Lane witches.—Johnson observed, that abilities might be employed in a narrow sphere, as in getting money, which he said he believed no man could do, without vigorous parts, though concentrated to a point. RAMSAY: Yes, like a strong horse in a mill: he pulls better.

Lord Graham, while he praised the beauty of Loch Lomond, on the banks of which is his family seat, complained of the climate, and said he could not bear it. JOHNSON: Nay, my Lord, don't talk so: you may bear it well enough. Your ancestors have borne it more years than I can tell.—This was a handsome compliment to the antiquity of the house of Montrose. His lordship told me afterwards, that he had only affected to complain of the climate; lest, if he had spoken as favourably of his country as he really thought, Dr Johnson might have attacked it. Johnson was very courteous to Lady Margaret Macdonald. "Madam," said he, "when I was in the Isle of Sky, I heard of the people running to take the stones off the road, lest Lady Margaret's horse should stumble."

Lord Graham commended Dr Drummond at Naples, as a man of extraordinary talents; and added, that he had a great love of liberty. JOHNSON: He is *young*, my lord (looking to his lordship with an arch smile); all *boys* love liberty, till experience convinces them they are not so fit to govern themselves as they imagined. We are all agreed as to our own liberty; we would have as much of it as we can get; but we are not agreed as to the liberty of others: for in proportion as we take, others must lose. I believe we hardly wish that the mob should have liberty to govern us. When that was the case some time ago, no man was at liberty not to have candles in his windows. RAMSAY: The result is, that order is better than confusion. JOHNSON: The result is, that order cannot be had but by subordination.

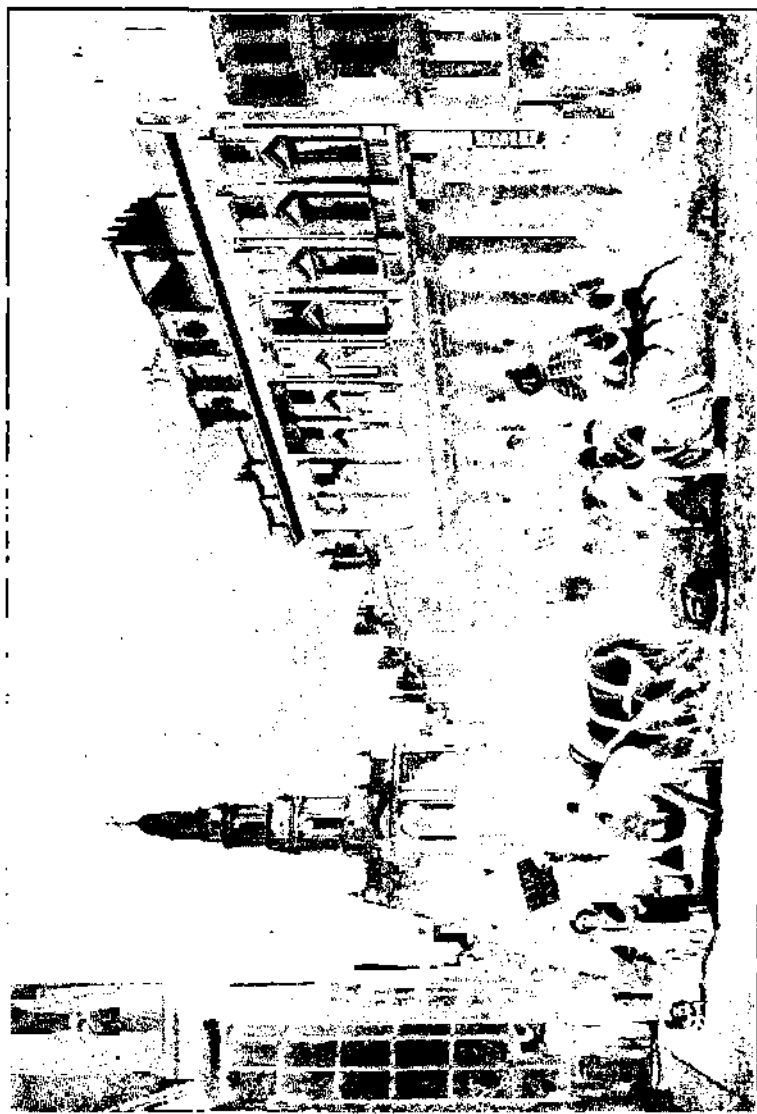
On Friday, 16th April, I had been present at the trial of the unfortunate Mr Hackman, who, in a fit of frantic jealous love, had shot Miss Ray, the favourite of a nobleman.

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Johnson, in whose company I dined to-day with some other friends, was much interested by my account of what passed, and particularly with his prayer for the mercy of heaven. He said, in a solemn fervid tone: "I hope he *shall* find mercy."

This day a violent altercation arose between Johnson and Beauclerk, which, having made much noise at the time, I think it proper, in order to prevent any future misrepresentation, to give a minute account of it.

In talking of Hackman, Johnson argued, as Judge Blackstone had done, that his being furnished with two pistols was a proof that he meant to shoot two persons. Mr Beauclerk said: "No; for that every wise man who intended to shoot himself, took two pistols, that he might be sure of doing it at once. Lord ———'s cook shot himself with one pistol, and lived ten days in great agony. Mr ———, who loved buttered muffins, but durst not eat them because they disagreed with his stomach, resolved to shoot himself; and then he ate three buttered muffins for breakfast before shooting himself, knowing that he should not be troubled with indigestion: *he* had two charged pistols; one was found lying charged upon the table by him, after he had shot himself with the other." "Well," said Johnson, with an air of triumph, "you see here one pistol was sufficient." Beauclerk replied smartly: "Because it happened to kill him." And either then, or a very little afterwards, being piqued at Johnson's triumphant remark, added: "This is what you don't know, and I do." There was then a cessation of the dispute; and some minutes intervened, during which dinner and the glass went on cheerfully; when Johnson suddenly and abruptly exclaimed: "Mr Beauclerk, how came you to talk so petulantly to me, as 'This is what you don't know, but what I know?' One thing *I* know which *you* don't seem to know, that you are very uncivil." BEAUCLERK: Because *you* began by being uncivil (which you always are).—The words in parentheses were, I believe, not heard by Dr Johnson. Here again



STRAND

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there was a cessation of arms. Johnson told me, that the reason why he waited some time at first, without taking any notice of what Mr Beauclerk said, was because he was thinking whether he should resent it. But when he considered that there were present a young lord and an eminent traveller, two men of the world with whom he had never dined before, he was apprehensive that they might think they had a right to take such liberties with him as Beauclerk did, and therefore resolved he would not let it pass; adding, that "he would not appear a coward." A little while after this the conversation turned on the violence of Hackman's temper. Johnson then said: "It was his business to *command* his temper, as my friend Mr Beauclerk should have done some time ago." BEAUCLERK: I should learn of *you*, sir. JOHNSON: Sir, you have given *me* opportunities enough of learning when I have been in *your* company. No man loves to be treated with contempt. BEAUCLERK (with a polite inclination towards Johnson): Sir, you have known me twenty years, and however I may have treated others, you may be sure I could never treat you with contempt. JOHNSON: Sir, you have said more than was necessary.—Thus it ended; and Beauclerk's coach not having come for him till very late, Dr Johnson and another gentleman sat with him a long time after the rest of the company were gone; and he and I dined at Beauclerk's on the Saturday se'nnight following.

After this tempest had subsided, I recollect the following particulars of his conversation:

"I am always for getting a boy forward in his learning; for that is a sure good. I would let him at first read *any* English book which happens to engage his attention; because you have done a great deal when you have brought him to have entertainment from a book. He'll get better books afterwards."

"Mallet, I believe, never wrote a single line of his projected *Life of the Duke of Marlborough*. He groped for materials; and thought of it till he had exhausted his mind.

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Thus it sometimes happens that men entangle themselves in their own schemes."

"To be contradicted, in order to force you to talk, is mighty unpleasing. You *shine*, indeed; but it is by being *ground*."

Of a gentleman who made some figure among the *literati* of his time, he said: "What eminence he had was by a felicity of manner: he had no more learning than what he could not help."

On Saturday, 24th April, I dined with him at Mr Beauclerk's, with Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr Jones (now Sir William), Mr Langton, Mr Steevens, Mr Paradise, and Dr Higgins. I mentioned that a Mr Wilkes had attached Garrick to me as a man who had no friend. JOHNSON: I believe he is right, sir. *Οι φίλοι ου φίλος*—He had friends, but no friend. Garrick was so diffused he had no man to whom he wished to unbosom himself. He found people always ready to applaud him, and that always for the same thing: so he saw life with great uniformity.—I took upon me, for once, to fight with Goliath's weapons, and play the sophist. "Garrick did not need a friend, as he got from everybody all he wanted. What is a friend? One who supports you and comforts you, while others do not. Friendship, you know, sir, is the cordial drop, 'to make the nauseous draught of life go down': but if the draught be not nauseous, if it be all sweet, there is no occasion for that drop." JOHNSON: Many men would not be content to live so. I hope I should not. They would wish to have an intimate friend, with whom they might compare minds and cherish private virtues.—One of the company mentioned Lord Chesterfield as a man who had no friend. JOHNSON: There were more materials to make friendship in Garrick, had he not been so diffused. BOSWELL: Garrick was pure gold, but beat out to thin leaf. Lord Chesterfield was tinsel. JOHNSON: Garrick was a very good man, the cheerfulest man of his age; a decent liver in a profession which is supposed to give indulgence to licentiousness; and a man

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who gave away, freely, money acquired by himself. He began the world with a great hunger for money; the son of a half-pay officer, bred in a family whose study was to make fourpence do as much as others made fourpence halfpenny do. But, when he had got money, he was very liberal.—I presumed to animadvert on his eulogy on Garrick, in his *Lives of the Poets*. “You say, sir, his death eclipsed the gaiety of nations.” JOHNSON: I could not have said more nor less. It is the truth; *eclipsed*, not *extinguished*; and his death *did* eclipse; it was like a storm. BOSWELL: But why nations? Did his gaiety extend farther than his own nation? JOHNSON: Why, sir, some exaggeration must be allowed. Besides, nations may be said if we allow the Scotch to be a nation, and to have gaiety, which they have not. *You* are an exception, though. Come, gentlemen, let us candidly admit that there is one Scotchman who is cheerful. BEAUCLERK: But he is a very unnatural Scotchman.—I, however, continued to think the compliment to Garrick hyperbolically untrue. His acting had ceased some time before his death; at any rate he had acted in Ireland but a short time, at an early period of his life, and never in Scotland. I objected also to what appears an anticlimax of praise, when contrasted with the preceding panegyric—“and diminished the public stock of harmless pleasure!” “Is not *harmless pleasure* very tame?” JOHNSON: Nay, sir, harmless pleasure is the highest praise. Pleasure is a word of dubious import; pleasure is in general dangerous, and pernicious to virtue: to be able therefore to furnish pleasure that is harmless, pleasure pure and unalloyed, is as great a power as man can possess.—This was, perhaps, as ingenious a defence as could be made; still, however, I was not satisfied.

A celebrated wit being mentioned, he said: “One may say of him as was said of a French wit, *Il n'a de l'esprit que contre Dieu*. I have been several times in company with him, but never perceived any strong power of wit. He produces a general effect by various means; he has a cheerful countenance and a gay voice; besides, his trade is wit.

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It would be as wild in him to come into company without merriment, as for a highwayman to take the road without his pistols."

Talking of the effects of drinking, he said: "Drinking may be practised with great prudence: a man who exposes himself when he is intoxicated has not the art of getting drunk; a sober man who happens occasionally to get drunk, readily enough goes into a new company, which a man who has been drinking should never do. Such a man will undertake anything; he is without skill in inebriation. I used to slink home when I had drunk too much. A man accustomed to self-examination will be conscious when he is drunk, though an habitual drunkard will not be conscious of it. I knew a physician who for twenty years was not sober; yet in a pamphlet, which he wrote upon fevers, he appealed to Garrick and me for his vindication from a charge of drunkenness. A bookseller" (naming him) "who got a large fortune by trade was so habitually and equably drunk that his most intimate friends never perceived that he was more sober at one time than another."

Talking of celebrated and successful irregular practisers in physic, he said: "Taylor was the most ignorant man I ever knew; but sprightly. Ward the dullest. Taylor challenged me once to talk Latin with him" (laughing). "I quoted some of Horace, which he took to be a part of my own speech. He said a few words well enough." BEAUCLERK: I remember, sir, you said that Taylor was an instance how far impudence could carry ignorance.—Mr Beauclerk was very entertaining this day, and told us a number of short stories in a lively elegant manner, and with that air of *the world* which has I know not what impressive effect, as if there were something more than is expressed, or than perhaps we could perfectly understand. As Johnson and I accompanied Sir Joshua Reynolds in his coach, Johnson said: "There is in Beauclerk a predominance over his company that one does not like. But he is a man who has lived so much in the world, that he has a short story

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on every occasion ; he is always ready to talk and is never exhausted."

Johnson and I passed the evening at Miss Reynolds's, Sir Joshua's sister. I mentioned that an eminent friend of ours, talking of the common remark that affection descends, said that "this was wisely contrived for the preservation of mankind ; for which it was not so necessary that there should be affection from children to parents, as from parents to children ; nay, there would be no harm in that view though children should at a certain age eat their parents."

JOHNSON : But, sir, if this were known generally to be the case, parents would not have affection for children. BOSWELL : True, sir ; for it is in expectation of a return that parents are so attentive to their children ; and I know a very pretty instance of a little girl of whom her father was very fond, who once when he was in a melancholy fit, and had gone to bed, persuaded him to rise in good humour, by saying : "My dear papa, please to get up, and let me help you on with your clothes, that I may learn to do it when you are an old man."

Soon after this time a little incident occurred, which I will not suppress, because I am desirous that my work should be, as much as is consistent with the strictest truth, an antidote to the false and injurious notions of his character which have been given by others, and therefore I infuse every drop of genuine sweetness into my biographical cup.

To Dr JOHNSON

MY DEAR SIR,—I am in great pain with an inflamed foot, and obliged to keep my bed, so am prevented from having the pleasure to dine at Mr Ramsay's to-day, which is very hard ; and my spirits are sadly sunk. Will you be so friendly as to come and sit an hour with me in the evening. I am ever, your most faithful and affectionate humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

SOUTH AUDLEY STREET,
Monday, April 26.

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To Mr BOSWELL

Mr Johnson laments the absence of Mr Boswell, and will come to him.

HARLEY STREET.

He came to me in the evening, and brought Sir Joshua Reynolds. I need scarcely say that their conversation, while they sat by my bedside, was the most pleasing opiate to pain that could have been administered.

Johnson being now better disposed to obtain information concerning Pope than he was last year,¹ sent by me to my Lord Marchmont a present of those volumes of his *Lives of the Poets* which were at this time published, with a request to have permission to wait on him, and his lordship, who had called on him twice, obligingly appointed Saturday, the 1st of May, for receiving us.

On that morning Johnson came to me from Streatham, and after drinking chocolate at General Paoli's, in South Audley Street, we proceeded to Lord Marchmont's, in Curzon Street. His lordship met us at the door of his library, and with great politeness said to Johnson: "I am not going to make an encomium upon *myself*, by telling you the high respect I have for *you*, sir." Johnson was exceedingly courteous, and the interview, which lasted about two hours, during which the Earl communicated his anecdotes of Pope, was as agreeable as I could have wished. When we came out I said to Johnson, that considering his lordship's civility, I should have been vexed if he had again failed to come. "Sir," said he, "I would rather have given twenty pounds than not have come." I accompanied him to Streatham, where we dined, and returned to town in the evening.

On Monday, 3rd May, I dined with him at Mr Dilly's. I pressed him this day for his opinion on the passage in

¹ See Vol. III., p. 61.

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Parnell, concerning which I had in vain questioned him in several letters, and at length obtained it in *due form of law* :

CASE for Dr JOHNSON's Opinion ; 3rd of May, 1779

" Parnell, in his *Hermit*, has the following passage :

' To clear this doubt, to know the world by sight,
To find if *books* and *swains* report it right :
(For yet by *swains alone* the world he knew,
Whose feet came wandering o'er the nightly dew).'

Is there not a contradiction in its being *first* supposed that the Hermit knew *both* what books and swains reported of the world ; yet *afterwards* said that he knew it by swains *alone* ? "

" *I think it an inaccuracy.—He mentions two instructors in the first line, and says he had only one in the next.*"

This evening I set out for Scotland.

To Mrs LUCY PORTER, in *Lichfield*

DEAR MADAM,—Mr Green has informed me that you are much better ; I hope I need not tell you that I am glad of it. I cannot boast of being much better ; my old nocturnal complaint still pursues me, and my respiration is difficult, though much easier than when I left you the summer before last. Mr and Mrs Thrale are well ; Miss has been a little indisposed ; but she is got well again. They have since the loss of their boy had two daughters ; but they seem likely to want a son.

I hope you had some books which I sent you. I was sorry for poor Mrs Adey's death, and am afraid you will be sometimes solitary ; but endeavour, whether alone or in company,

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to keep yourself cheerful. My friends likewise die very fast; but such is the state of man. I am, dear love, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 4, 1779.

He had, before I left London, resumed the conversation concerning the appearance of a ghost at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which Mr John Wesley believed, but to which Johnson did not give credit. I was, however, desirous to examine the question closely, and at the same time wished to be made acquainted with Mr John Wesley; for though I differed from him in some points, I admired his various talents, and loved his pious zeal. At my request, therefore, Dr Johnson gave me a letter of introduction to him.

To the Reverend Mr JOHN WESLEY

SIR,—Mr Boswell, a gentleman who has been long known to me, is desirous of being known to you, and has asked this recommendation, which I give him with great willingness, because I think it very much to be wished that worthy and religious men should be acquainted with each other. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 3, 1779.

Mr Wesley being in the course of his ministry at Edinburgh, I presented this letter to him, and was very politely received. I begged to have it returned to me, which was accordingly done. His state of the evidence as to the ghost did not satisfy me.

I did not write to Johnson, as usual, upon my return to my family; but tried how he would be affected by my silence. Mr Dilly sent me a copy of a note which he received from him on the 13th of July, in these words:

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To Mr DILLY

SIR,—Since Mr Boswell's departure I have never heard from him; please to send word what you know of him, and whether you have sent my books to his lady. I am, etc.,
SAM. JOHNSON.

My readers will not doubt that his solicitude about me was very flattering.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—What can possibly have happened, that keeps us two such strangers to each other? I expected to have heard from you when you came home; I expected afterwards. I went into the country, and returned; and yet there is no letter from Mr Boswell. No ill I hope has happened; and if ill should happen, why should it be concealed from him who loves you? Is it a fit of humour that has disposed you to try who can hold out longest without writing? if it be, you have the victory. But I am afraid of something bad; set me free from my suspicions.

My thoughts are at present employed in guessing the reason of your silence: you must not expect that I should tell you anything, if I had anything to tell. Write, pray write to me, and let me know what is or what has been the cause of this long interruption. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

July 13, 1779.

To Dr SAMUEL JOHNSON

EDINBURGH, *July 17, 1779.*

MY DEAR SIR,—What may be justly denominated a supine indolence of mind has been my state of existence since I last returned to Scotland. In a livelier state I had often suffered severely from long intervals of silence on

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your part; and I had even been chid by you for expressing my uneasiness. I was willing to take advantage of my insensibility, and while I could bear the experiment, to try whether your affection for me would, after an unusual silence on my part, make you write first. This afternoon I have had very high satisfaction by receiving your kind letter of inquiry, for which I most gratefully thank you. I am doubtful if it was right to make the experiment; though I have gained by it. I was beginning to grow tender, and to upbraid myself, especially after having dreamt two nights ago that I was with you. I and my wife and my four children are all well. I would not delay one post to answer your letter; but as it is late, I have not time to do more. You shall soon hear from me, upon many and various particulars; and I shall never again put you to any test. I ever am, with veneration, my dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

On the 22nd of July, I wrote to him again, and gave him an account of my last interview with my worthy friend, Mr Edward Dilly, at his brother's house at Southill, in Bedfordshire, where he died soon after I parted from him, leaving me a very kind remembrance of his regard.

I informed him that Lord Hailes, who had promised to furnish him with some anecdotes for his *Lives of the Poets*, had sent me three instances of Prior's borrowing from Gombauld, in *Recueil des Poetes*, tome 3, Epigram "To John I owed, 'great obligation,'" p. 25. "To the Duke of Noailles," p. 32. "Sauntering Jack and idle Joan," p. 25.

My letter was a pretty long one, and contained a variety of particulars; but he, it would seem, had not attended to it; for his next to me was as follows:

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR,—Are you playing the same trick again, and trying who can keep silence longest? Remember that

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all tricks are either knavish or childish; and that it is as foolish to make experiments upon the constancy of a friend, as upon the chastity of a wife.

What can be the cause of this second fit of silence, I cannot conjecture; but after one trick, I will not be cheated by another, nor will harass my thoughts with conjectures about the motives of a man who, probably, acts only by caprice. I therefore suppose you are well, and that Mrs Boswell is well too; and that the fine summer has restored Lord Auchinleck. I am much better than you left me; I think I am better than when I was in Scotland.

I forget whether I informed you that poor Thrale has been in great danger. Mrs Thrale likewise has miscarried, and been much indisposed. Everybody else is well; Langton is in camp. I intend to put Lord Hailes's description of Dryden¹ into another edition, and as I know his accuracy, wish he would consider the dates, which I could not always settle to my own mind.

Mr Thrale goes to Brighthelmston about Michaelmas, to be jolly and ride a hunting. I shall go to town, or perhaps to Oxford. Exercise and gaiety, or rather carelessness, will, I hope, dissipate all remains of his malady; and I likewise hope, by the change of place, to find some opportunities of growing yet better myself. I am, dear Sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

STREATHAM, *Sept.* 9, 1779.

My readers will not be displeased at being told every slight circumstance of the manner in which Dr Johnson contrived to amuse his solitary hours. He sometimes employed himself in chemistry, sometimes in watering and pruning a vine, and sometimes in small experiments, at which those who may smile, should recollect that

¹ Which I communicated to him from his lordship, but it has not yet been published. I have a copy of it.

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there are moments which admit of being soothed only by trifles.¹

On the 20th of September I defended myself against his suspicion of me, which I did not deserve; and I added: "Pray let us write frequently. A whim strikes me, that we should each send off a sheet once a week, like a stage-coach, whether it be full or not; nay, though it should be empty. The very sight of your handwriting would comfort me; and were a sheet to be thus sent regularly, we should much oftener convey something, were it only a few kind words."

My friend Colonel James Stuart, second son of the Earl of Bute, who had distinguished himself as a good officer of the Bedfordshire Militia, had taken a public-spirited resolution to serve his country in its difficulties, by raising a regular regiment, and taking the command of it himself. This, in the heir of the immense property of Wortley, was highly honourable. Having been in Scotland recruiting, he obligingly asked me to accompany him to Leeds, then the headquarters of his corps; from thence to London for a short time, and afterwards to other places to which the regiment might be ordered. Such an offer, at a time of the year when I had full leisure, was very pleasing; especially as I was to accompany a man of sterling good sense, information, discernment, and conviviality, and was to have a second crop, in one year, of London and Johnson. Of this I informed my illustrious friend, in characteristic warm terms, in a letter dated the 30th of September, from Leeds.

¹ In one of his manuscript Diaries, there is the following entry, which marks his curious minute attention: "Aug. 7, 1779. *Partem brachii dextri carpo proximam et cutem pectoris circa maxillam dextram rasi, ut notum fieret quanto temporis pili renovarentur.*"

Another of the same kind appears: "July 26, 1768. I shaved my nail by accident in whetting the knife, about an eighth of an inch from the bottom, and about a fourth from the top. This I measure that I may know the growth of nails; the whole is about five eighths of an inch."

And: "Aug. 15, 1783. I cut from the vine 41 leaves, which weighed five oz. and a half, and eight scruples:—I lay them upon my bookcase to see what weight they will lose by drying."

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On Monday, 4th October, I called at his house before he was up. He sent for me to his bedside, and expressed his satisfaction at this incidental meeting with as much vivacity as if he had been in the gaiety of youth. He called briskly: "Frank, go and get coffee, and let us breakfast in splendour."

During this visit to London I had several interviews with him, which it is unnecessary to distinguish particularly. I consulted him as to the appointment of guardians to my children, in case of my death. "Sir," said he, "do not appoint a number of guardians. When they are many they trust one to another, and the business is neglected. I would advise you to choose only one: let him be a man of respectable character, who, for his own credit, will do what is right; let him be a rich man, so that he may be under no temptation to take advantage; and let him be a man of business, who is used to conduct affairs with ability and expertness, to whom, therefore, the execution of the trust will not be burthensome."

On Sunday, 10th October, we dined together at Mr Strahan's. The conversation having turned on the prevailing practice of going to the East Indies in quest of wealth—JOHNSON: A man had better have ten thousand pounds at the end of ten years passed in England, than twenty thousand pounds at the end of ten years passed in India, because you must compute what you *give* for money; and a man who has lived ten years in India, has given up ten years of social comfort and all those advantages which arise from living in England. The ingenious Mr Brown, distinguished by the name of *Capability Brown*, told me, that he was once at the seat of Lord Clive, who had returned from India with great wealth; and that he showed him at the door of his bed-chamber a large chest, which he said he had once had full of gold; upon which Brown observed: "I am glad you can bear it so near your bed-chamber."

We talked of the state of the poor in London. JOHNSON: Saunders Welch, the Justice, who was once High Constable of Holborn, and had the best opportunities of knowing the

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state of the poor, told me, that I underrated the number when I computed that twenty a week, that is, above a thousand a year, died of hunger; not absolutely of immediate hunger, but of the wasting and other diseases which are the consequences of hunger. This happens only in so large a place as London, where people are not known. What we are told about the great sums got by begging is not true: the trade is overstocked. And, you may depend upon it, there are many who cannot get work. A particular kind of manufacture fails. Those who have been used to work at it can, for some time, work at nothing else. You meet a man begging; you charge him with idleness: he says: "I am willing to labour. Will you give me work?" "I cannot." "Why then you have no right to charge me with idleness."

We left Mr Strahan's at seven, as Johnson had said he intended to go to evening prayers. As we walked along he complained of a little gout in his toe, and said: "I shan't go to prayers to-night; I shall go to-morrow. Whenever I miss church on a Sunday I resolve to go another day. But I do not always do it." This was a fair exhibition of that vibration between pious resolutions and indolence which many of us have too often experienced.

I went home with him, and we had a long quiet conversation.

I read him a letter from Dr Hugh Blair concerning Pope (in writing whose Life he was now employed), which I shall insert as a literary curiosity.¹

¹ The Reverend Dr Law, Bishop of Carlisle, in the Preface to his valuable edition of Archbishop King's *Essay on the Origin of Evil*, mentions that the principles maintained in it had been adopted by Pope in his *Essay on Man*, and adds, "The fact, notwithstanding such denial (Bishop Warburton's), might have been strictly verified by an unexceptionable testimony, viz. that of the late Lord Bathurst, who saw the very same system of the *το βέλτιον* (taken from the Archbishop) in Lord Bolingbroke's own hand, lying before Mr Pope, while he was composing his *Essay*." This is respectable evidence; but that of Dr Blair is more direct from the fountain-head, as well as more full.

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To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—In the year 1763, being at London, I was carried by Dr John Blair, Prebendary of Westminster, to dine at old Lord Bathurst's; where we found the late Mr Mallet, Sir James Porter, who had been Ambassador at Constantinople, the late Dr Macaulay, and two or three more. The conversation turning on Mr Pope, Lord Bathurst told us, that *The Essay on Man* was originally composed by Lord Bolingbroke in prose, and that Mr Pope did no more than put it into verse: that he had read Lord Bolingbroke's manuscript in his own handwriting; and remembered well that he was at a loss whether most to admire the elegance of Lord Bolingbroke's prose, or the beauty of Mr Pope's verse. When Lord Bathurst told this, Mr Mallet bade me attend, and remember this remarkable piece of information; as, by the course of Nature, I might survive his lordship, and be a witness of his having said so. The conversation was indeed too remarkable to be forgotten. A few days after, meeting with you, who were then also at London, you will remember that I mentioned to you what had passed on this subject, as I was much struck with this anecdote. But what ascertains my recollection of it beyond doubt is, that being accustomed to keep a journal of what passed when I was at London, which I wrote out every evening, I find the particulars of the above information, just as I have now given them, distinctly marked; and am thence enabled to fix this conversation to have passed on Friday, the 22nd of April 1763.

I remember also distinctly (though I have not for this the authority of my journal), that the conversation going on concerning Mr Pope, I took notice of a report which had been sometimes propagated that he did not understand Greek. Lord Bathurst said to me, that he knew that to be false; for that part of the *Iliad* was translated by Mr Pope in his house in the country; and that in the mornings, when they assembled at breakfast, Mr Pope used frequently

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to repeat, with great rapture, the Greek lines which he had been translating, and then to give them his version of them, and to compare them together.

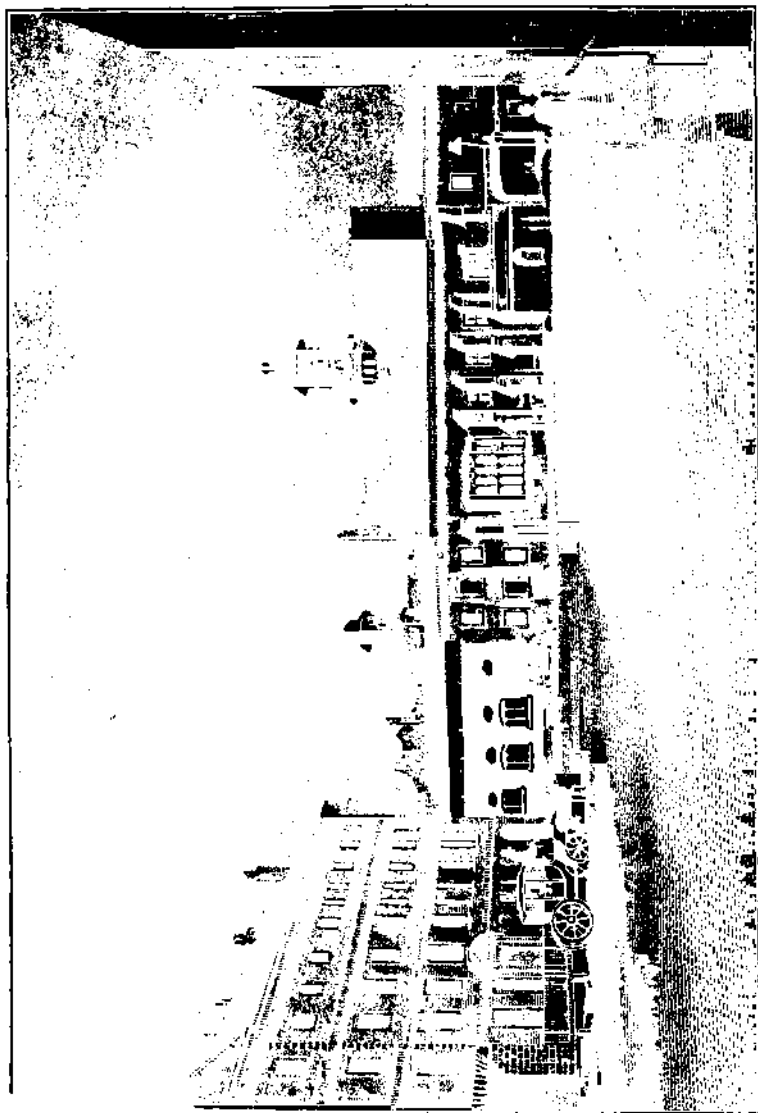
If these circumstances can be of any use to Dr Johnson, you have my full liberty to give them to him. I beg you will, at the same time, present to him my most respectful compliments, with best wishes for his success and fame in all his literary undertakings. I am, with great respect, my dearest Sir, your most affectionate and obliged humble servant,

HUGH BLAIR.

BROUGHTON PARK,
Sept. 21, 1779.

JOHNSON: Depend upon it, sir, this is too strongly stated. Pope may have had from Bolingbroke the philosophic stamina of his *Essay*: and admitting this to be true, Lord Bathurst did not intentionally falsify. But the thing is not true in the latitude that Blair seems to imagine; we are sure that the poetical imagery, which makes a great part of the poem, was Pope's own. It is amazing, sir, what deviations there are from precise truth, in the account which is given of almost everything. I told Mrs Thrale: "You have so little anxiety about truth, that you never tax your memory with the exact thing." Now what is the use of the memory to truth, if one is careless of exactness? Lord Hailes's *Annals of Scotland* are very exact; but they contain mere dry particulars. They are to be considered as a dictionary. You know such things are there, and may be looked at when you please. Robertson paints; but the misfortune is, you are sure he does not know the people whom he paints: so you cannot suppose a likeness. Characters should never be given by an historian unless he knew the people whom he describes, or copies from those who knew them.

BOSWELL: Why, sir, do people play this trick which I observe now, when I look at your grate, putting the shovel



GRAY'S INN, THE HALL AND CHAPEL

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against it to make the fire burn? JOHNSON: They play the trick, but it does not make the fire burn. *There* is a better (setting the poker perpendicularly up at right angles with the grate). In days of superstition they thought, as it made a cross with the bars, it would drive away the witch.

BOSWELL: By associating with you, sir, I am always getting an accession of wisdom. But perhaps a man, after knowing his own character—the limited strength of his own mind—should not be desirous of having too much wisdom, considering, *quid valeant humeri*, how little he can carry. JOHNSON: Sir, be as wise as you can; let a man be *aliis lætus, sapiens sibi*:

“ Though pleas’d to see the dolphins play,
I mind my compass and my way.”

You may be wise in your study in the morning, and gay in company at a tavern in the evening. Every man is to take care of his own wisdom and his own virtue, without minding too much what others think.

He said: “Dodsley first mentioned to me the scheme of an English dictionary; but I had long thought of it.” BOSWELL: You did not know what you were undertaking? JOHNSON: Yes, sir, I knew very well what I was undertaking—and very well how to do it—and have done it very well. BOSWELL: An excellent climax! and it *has* availed you. In your Preface you say: “What would it avail me in this gloom of solitude?” You have been agreeably mistaken.

In his *Life of Milton* he observes: “I cannot but remark a kind of respect, perhaps unconsciously, paid to this great man by his biographers: every house in which he resided is historically mentioned, as if it were an injury to neglect naming any place that he honoured by his presence.” I had, before I read this observation, been desirous of showing that respect to Johnson, by various inquiries. Finding him this evening in a very good humour, I prevailed on him

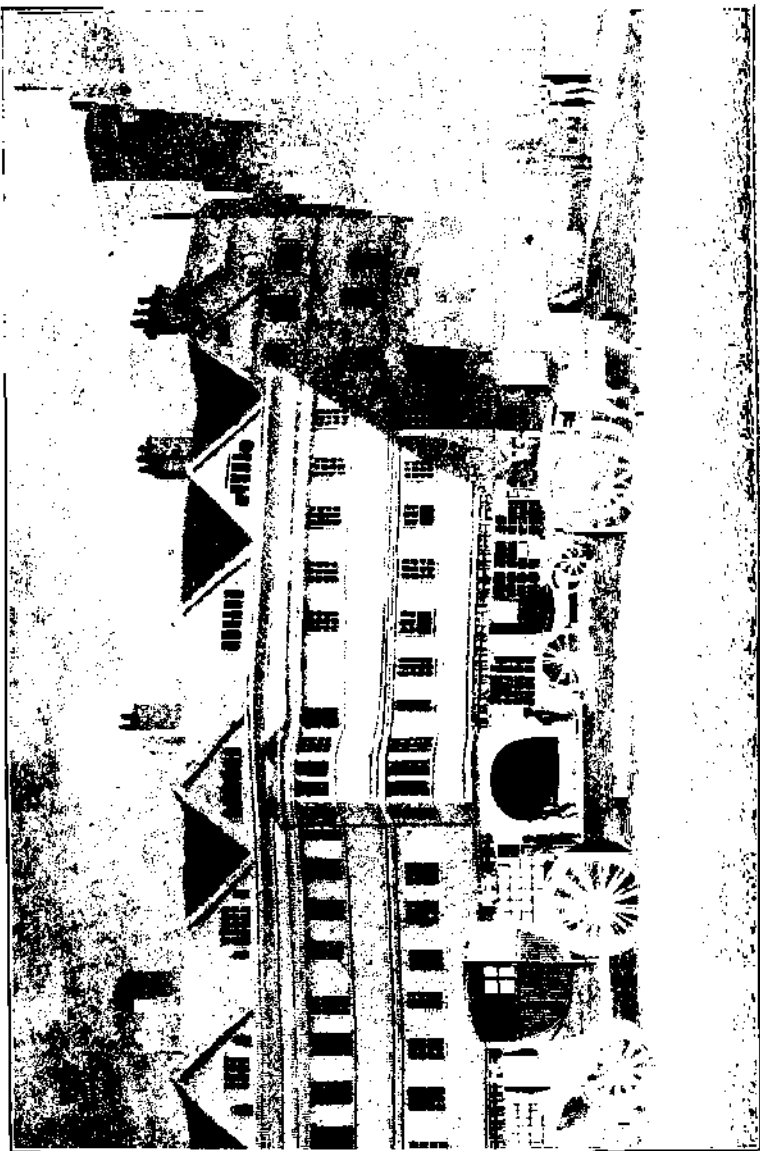
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to give me an exact list of his places of residence, since he entered the metropolis as an author, which I subjoin in a note.¹

I mentioned to him a dispute between a friend of mine and his lady concerning conjugal infidelity, which my friend had maintained was by no means so bad in the husband as in the wife. JOHNSON: Your friend was in the right, sir. Between a man and his Maker it is a different question; but between a man and his wife a husband's infidelity is nothing. They are connected by children, by fortune, by serious considerations of community. Wise married women don't trouble themselves about infidelity in their husbands. BOSWELL: To be sure there is a great difference between the offence of infidelity in a man and that of his wife. JOHNSON: The difference is boundless. The man imposes no bastards upon his wife.

Here it may be questioned whether Johnson was entirely in the right. I suppose it will not be controverted that the difference in the degree of criminality is very great, on account of consequences; but still it may be maintained, that, independent of moral obligation, infidelity is by no means a light offence in a husband; because it must hurt a delicate attachment, in which a mutual constancy is implied, with such refined sentiments as Massinger has exhibited in his play of *The Picture*. Johnson probably at another time would have admitted this opinion. And let it be kept in remembrance that he was very careful not to give any encouragement to irregular conduct. A gentleman, not

1. Exeter Street, off Catherine Street, Strand.	8. Bow Street.
2. Greenwich.	9. Holborn.
3. Woodstock Street, near Hanover Square.	10. Fetter Lane.
4. Castle Street, Cavendish Square.	11. Holborn, again.
5. Strand.	12. Gough Square.
6. Boswell Court.	13. Staple Inn.
7. Strand, again.	14. Gray's Inn.
	15. Inner Temple Lane, No. 1.
	16. Johnson's Court, No. 7.
	17. Bolt Court, No. 8.



STAPLE'S INN

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adverting to the distinction made by him upon this subject, supposed a case of singular perverseness in a wife, and heedlessly said "that then he thought a husband might do as he pleased with a safe conscience." JOHNSON: Nay, sir, this is wild indeed (smiling); you must consider that fornication is a crime in a single man; and you cannot have more liberty by being married.

He this evening expressed himself strongly against the Roman Catholics; observing: "In everything in which they differ from us they are wrong." He was even against the Invocation of Saints; in short, he was in the humour of opposition.

Having regretted to him that I had learned little Greek, as is too generally the case in Scotland, that I had for a long time hardly applied at all to the study of that noble language, and that I was desirous of being told by him what method to follow; he recommended to me as easy helps, *Sylvanus's First Book of the Iliad*; Dawson's *Lexicon to the Greek New Testament*; and *Hesiod*, with *Pasoris Lexicon* at the end of it.

On Tuesday, 12th October, I dined with him at Mr Ramsay's, with Lord Newhaven, and some other company, none of whom I recollect, but a beautiful Miss Graham, a relation of his lordship's, who asked Dr Johnson to hob or nob with her. He was flattered by such pleasing attention, and politely told her, he never drank wine; but if she would drink a glass of water, he was much at her service. She accepted. "Oho, sir!" said Lord Newhaven, "you are caught." JOHNSON: Nay, I do not see *how* I am caught; but if I am caught I don't want to get free again. If I am caught, I hope to be kept." Then when the two glasses of water were brought, smiling placidly to the young lady: "Madam, let us *reciprocate*."

Lord Newhaven and Johnson carried on an argument for some time concerning the Middlesex election. Johnson said: "Parliament may be considered as bound by law, as a man is bound where there is nobody to tie the knot. As it is clear that the House of Commons may expel, and

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expel again and again, why not allow of the power to incapacitate for that Parliament, rather than have a perpetual contest kept up between Parliament and the people." Lord Newhaven took the opposite side, but respectfully said: "I speak with great deference to you, Dr Johnson; I speak to be instructed." This had its full effect upon my friend. He bowed his head almost as low as the table to a complimenting nobleman, and called out; "My Lord, my Lord, I do not desire all this ceremony; let us tell our minds to one another quietly." After the debate was over, he said: "I have got lights on the subject to-day, which I had not before." This was a great deal from him, especially as he had written a pamphlet upon it.

He observed: "The House of Commons was originally not a privilege of the people, but a check for the Crown on the House of Lords. I remember Henry the Eighth wanted them to do something; they hesitated in the morning, but did it in the afternoon. He told them: 'It is well you did, or half your heads should have been upon Temple Bar.' But the House of Commons is now no longer under the power of the Crown, and therefore must be bribed." He added: "I have no delight in talking of public affairs."

Of his fellow-collegian, the celebrated Mr George Whitefield, he said: "Whitefield never drew as much attention as a mountebank does; he did not draw attention by doing better than others, but by doing what was strange. Were Astley to preach a sermon standing upon his head on a horse's back, he would collect a multitude to hear him; but no wise man would say he had made a better sermon for that. I never treated Whitefield's ministry with contempt; I believe he did good. He had devoted himself to the lower classes of mankind, and among them he was of use. But when familiarity and noise claim the praise due to knowledge, art, and elegance, we must beat down such pretensions."

What I have preserved of his conversation during the remainder of my stay in London at this time, is only what

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follows: I told him that when I objected to keeping company with a notorious infidel, a celebrated friend of ours said to me: "I do not think that men who live laxly in the world, as you and I do, can with propriety assume such an authority. Dr Johnson may, who is uniformly exemplary in his conduct. But it is not very consistent to shun an infidel to-day, and get drunk to-morrow." JOHNSON: Nay, sir, this is sad reasoning. Because a man cannot be right in all things, is he to be right in nothing? Because a man sometimes gets drunk, is he therefore to steal? This doctrine would very soon bring a man to the gallows.

"After all, however, it is a difficult question how far sincere Christians should associate with the avowed enemies of religion; for in the first place, almost every man's mind may be more or less 'corrupted by evil communications'; secondly, the world may very naturally suppose that they are not really in earnest in religion, who can easily bear its opponents; and thirdly, if the profane find themselves quite well received by the pious, one of the checks upon an open declaration of their infidelity, and one of the probable chances of obliging them seriously to reflect, which their being shunned would do, is removed."

He, I know not why, showed upon all occasions an aversion to go to Ireland, where I proposed to him that we should make a tour. JOHNSON: It is the last place where I should wish to travel. BOSWELL: Should you not like to see Dublin, sir? JOHNSON: No, sir; Dublin is only a worse capital. BOSWELL: Is not the Giant's Causeway worth seeing? JOHNSON: Worth seeing, yes; but not worth going to see.

Of an acquaintance of ours, whose manners and everything about him, though expensive, were coarse, he said: "Sir, you see in him vulgar prosperity."

A foreign minister of no very high talents, who had been in his company for a considerable time quite overlooked, happened luckily to mention that he had read some of his *Rambler* in Italian, and admired it much. This pleased him

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greatly: he observed that the title had been translated, *Il Genio errante*, though I have been told it was rendered more ludicrously, *Il Vagabondo*; and finding that this minister gave such a proof of his taste, he was all attention to him, and on the first remark which he made, however simple, exclaimed: "The Ambassador says well—His Excellency observes——" And then he expanded and enriched the little that had been said in so strong a manner, that it appeared something of consequence. This was exceedingly entertaining to the company who were present, and many a time afterwards it furnished a pleasant topic of merriment: "*The Ambassador says well*," became a laughable term of applause, when no mighty matter had been expressed.

I left London on Monday, 18th October, and accompanied Colonel Stuart to Chester, where his regiment was to lie for some time.

Mr BOSWELL to Dr JOHNSON

CHESTER, 22 October, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—It was not till one o'clock on Monday morning, that Colonel Stuart and I left London; for we chose to bid a cordial adieu to Lord Mountstuart, who was to set out on that day on his embassy to Turin. We drove on excellently, and reached Lichfield in good time enough that night. The Colonel had heard so preferable a character of the George, that he would not put up at the Three Crowns, so that I did not see our host, Wilkins. We found at the George as good accommodation as we could wish to have, and I fully enjoyed the comfortable thought that *I was in Lichfield again*. Next morning it rained very hard; and as I had much to do in a little time, I ordered a post-chaise, and between eight and nine sallied forth to make a round of visits. I first went to Mr Green, hoping to have had him to accompany me to all my other friends, but he was engaged to attend the Bishop of Sodor and Man,

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who was then lying at Lichfield very ill of the gout. Having taken a hasty glance at the additions to Green's museum, from which it was not easy to break away, I next went to the Friery, where I at first occasioned some tumult in the ladies, who were not prepared to receive *company* so early: but my *name*, which has by wonderful felicity come to be so closely associated with yours, soon made all easy; and Mrs Cobb and Miss Adey reassumed their seats at the breakfast-table, which they had quitted with some precipitation. They received me with the kindness of old acquaintance; and after we had joined in a cordial chorus to *your* praise, Mrs Cobb gave *me* the high satisfaction of hearing that you said: "Boswell is a man who I believe never left a house without leaving a wish for his return." And she afterwards added, that she bid you tell me, that if ever I came to Lichfield, she hoped I would take a bed at the Friery. From thence I drove to Peter Garrick's, where I also found a very flattering welcome. He appeared to me to enjoy his usual cheerfulness; and he very kindly asked me to come when I could, and pass a week with him. From Mr Garrick's I went to the Palace to wait on Mr Seward. I was first entertained by his lady and daughter, he himself being in bed with a cold, according to his valetudinary custom. But he desired to see me; and I found him dressed in his black gown, with a white flannel night-gown above it, so that he looked like a Dominican friar. He was good-humoured and polite; and under his roof too my reception was very pleasing. I then proceeded to Stowhill, and first paid my respects to Mrs Gastrell, whose conversation I was not willing to quit. But my sand-glass was now beginning to run low, as I could not trespass too long on the Colonel's kindness, who obligingly waited for me; so I hastened to Mrs Aston's, whom I found much better than I feared I should; and there I met a brother-in-law of these ladies, who talked much of you, and very well too, as it appeared to me. It then only remained to visit Mrs Lucy Porter, which I did, I really believe, with sincere satisfaction

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on both sides. I am sure I was glad to see her again; and, as I take her to be very honest, I trust she was glad to see me again; for she expressed herself so, that I could not doubt of her being in earnest. What a great keystone of kindness, my dear sir, was you that morning! for we were all held together by our common attachment to you. I cannot say that I ever passed two hours with more self-complacency than I did those two at Lichfield. Let me not entertain any suspicion that this is idle vanity. Will not you confirm me in my persuasion, that he who finds himself so regarded has just reason to be happy?

We got to Chester about midnight on Tuesday; and here again I am in a state of much enjoyment. Colonel Stuart and his officers treat me with all the civility I could wish; and I play my part admirably. *Lætus aliis, sapiens sibi*, the classical sentence which you, I imagine, invented the other day, is exemplified in my present existence. The Bishop, to whom I had the honour to be known several years ago, shows me much attention; and I am edified by his conversation. I must not omit to tell you that his lordship admires, very highly, your *Prefaces to the Poets*. I am daily obtaining an extension of agreeable acquaintance, so that I am kept in animated variety; and the study of the place itself, by the assistance of books, and of the Bishop, is sufficient occupation. Chester pleases my fancy more than any town I ever saw. But I will not enter upon it at all in this letter.

How long I shall stay here I cannot yet say. I told a very pleasing young lady, niece to one of the prebendaries, at whose house I saw her: "I have come to Chester, madam, I cannot tell how; and far less can I tell how I am to get away from it." Do not think me too juvenile. I beg it of you, my dear sir, to favour me with a letter while I am here, and add to the happiness of a happy friend, who is ever, with affectionate veneration, most sincerely yours,

JAMES BOSWELL.

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If you do not write directly, so as to catch me here, I shall be disappointed. Two lines from you will keep my lamp burning bright.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Why should you importune me so earnestly to write? Of what importance can it be to hear of distant friends, to a man who finds himself welcome wherever he goes, and makes new friends faster than he can want them? If, to the delight of such universal kindness of reception, anything can be added by knowing that you retain my good-will, you may indulge yourself in the full enjoyment of that small addition.

I am glad that you made the round of Lichfield with so much success: the oftener you are seen, the more you will be liked. It was pleasing to me to read that Mrs Aston was so well; and that Lucy Porter was so glad to see you.

In the place where you now are, there is much to be observed; and you will easily procure yourself skilful directors. But what will you do to keep away the *black dog* that worries you at home? If you would, in compliance with your father's advice, inquire into the old tenures, and old charters of Scotland, you would certainly open to yourself many striking scenes of the manners of the Middle Ages. The feudal system, in a country half-barbarous, is naturally productive of great anomalies in civil life. The knowledge of past times is naturally growing less in all cases not of public record; and the past time of Scotland is so unlike the present, that it is already difficult for a Scotchman to image the œconomy of his grandfather. Do not be tardy, nor negligent; but gather up eagerly what can yet be found.¹

¹ I have a valuable collection made by my father, which, with some additions and illustrations of my own, I intend to publish. I have some hereditary claim to be an antiquary; not only from my father, but as being descended, by the mother's side, of the able and learned Sir John Skene, whose merit bids defiance to all the attempts which have been made to lessen his fame.

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We have, I think, once talked of another project, a History of the late insurrection in Scotland, with all its incidents. Many falsehoods are passing into uncontradicted history. Voltaire, who loved a striking story, has told what we could not find to be true.

You may make collections for either of these projects, or for both, as opportunities occur, and digest your materials at leisure. The great direction which Burton has left to men disordered like you, *Be not solitary; be not idle*: which I would thus modify;—If you are idle, be not solitary; if you are solitary, be not idle.

There is a letter for you, from your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, Oct. 27, 1779.

To Dr SAMUEL JOHNSON

CARLISLE, Nov. 7, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—That I should importune you to write to me at Chester is not wonderful, when you consider what an avidity I have for delight; and that the *amor* of pleasure, like the *amor nummi*, increases in proportion with the quantity which we possess of it. Your letter, so full of polite kindness and masterly counsel, came like a large treasure upon me, while already glittering with riches. I was quite enchanted at Chester, so that I could with difficulty quit it. But the enchantment was the reverse of that of Circe; for so far was there from being anything sensual in it, that I was *all mind*. I do not mean all reason only; for my fancy was kept finely in play. And why not? If you please I will send you a copy, or an abridgment of my Chester journal, which is truly a log-book of felicity.

The Bishop treated me with a kindness which was very flattering. I told him, that you regretted you had seen so little of Chester. His lordship bid me tell you that he should be glad to show you more of it. I am proud to find

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the friendship with which you honour me is known in so many places.

I arrived here late last night. Our friend the Dean has been gone from hence some months; but I am told at my inn that he is very *populous* (popular). However, I found Mr Law, the Archdeacon, son to the Bishop, and with him I have breakfasted and dined very agreeably. I got acquainted with him at the assizes here, about a year and a half ago; he is a man of great variety of knowledge, uncommon genius, and I believe, sincere religion. I received the holy sacrament in the cathedral in the morning, this being the first Sunday of the month; and was at prayers there in the evening. It is divinely cheering to me to think that there is a cathedral so near Auchinleck; and I now leave Old England in such a state of mind as I am thankful to God for granting me.

The *black dog* that worries me at home I cannot but dread; yet as I have been for some time past in a military train, I trust I shall *repulse* him. To hear from you will animate me like the sound of a trumpet. I therefore hope that soon after my return to the Northern field, I shall receive a few lines from you.

Colonel Stuart did me the honour to escort me in his carriage to show me Liverpool, and from thence back again to Warrington, where we parted.¹ In justice to my valuable wife, I must inform you, that as I was so happy, she would not be so selfish as to wish me to return sooner than business absolutely required my presence. She made my clerk write to me a post or two after to the same purpose, by commission from her; and this day a kind letter from her met me at the Post Office here, acquainting me that she and the little ones were well, and expressing all their wishes for my return home. I am,

¹ His regiment was afterwards ordered to Jamaica, where he accompanied it, and almost lost his life by the climate. This impartial order I should think a sufficient refutation of the idle rumour that "there was still something behind the throne greater than the throne itself."

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more and more, my dear Sir, your affectionate and obliged humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Your last letter was not only kind but fond. But I wish you to get rid of all intellectual excesses, and neither to exalt your pleasures, nor aggravate your vexations, beyond their real and natural state. Why should you not be as happy at Edinburgh as at Chester, *In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit usquam*. Please yourself with your wife and children, and studies and practice.

I have sent a petition¹ from Lucy Porter, with which I leave it to your discretion whether it is proper to comply. Return me her letter, which I have sent that you may know the whole case, and not be seduced to anything that you may afterwards repent. Miss Doxy perhaps you know to be Mr Garrick's niece.

If Dean Percy can be popular at Carlisle, he may be very happy. He has in his disposal two livings, each equal, or almost equal, in value to the deanery; he may take one himself, and give the other to his son.

How near is the Cathedral to Auchinleck, that you are so much delighted with it? It is, I suppose, at least a hundred and fifty miles off. However, if you are pleased, it is so far well.

Let me know what reception you have from your father, and the state of his health. Please him as much as you can, and add no pain to his last years.

Of our friends here I can recollect nothing to tell you. I have neither seen nor heard of Langton. Beauclerk is just returned from Brighthelmston, I am told, much better. Mr Thrale and his family are still there; and his health is said to be visibly improved; he has not bathed, but hunted.

¹ Requesting me to inquire concerning the family of a gentleman who was then paying his addresses to Miss Doxy.

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At Bolt Court there is much malignity, but of late little open hostility. I have had a cold, but it is gone.

Make my compliments to Mrs Boswell, etc. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, Nov. 13, 1779.

On 22nd November and 21st December I wrote to him from Edinburgh, giving a very favourable report of the family of Miss Doxy's lover; that after a good deal of inquiry I had discovered the sister of Mr Francis Stewart, one of his amanuenses when writing his *Dictionary*; that I had, as desired by him, paid her a guinea for an old pocket-book of her brother's which he had retained; and that the good woman, who was in very moderate circumstances, but contented and placid, wondered at his scrupulous and liberal honesty, and received the guinea as if sent her by Providence. That I had repeatedly begged of him to keep his promise to send me his letter to Lord Chesterfield, and that this *memento*, like *Delenda est Carthago*, must be in every letter that I should write to him, till I had obtained my object.

1780. *Ætat.* 71. In 1780 the world was kept in impatience for the completion of his *Lives of the Poets*, upon which he was employed so far as his indolence allowed him to labour.

I wrote to him on 1st January and 13th March, sending him my notes of Lord Marchmont's information concerning Pope; complaining that I had not heard from him for almost four months, though he was two letters in my debt; that I had suffered again from melancholy; hoping that he had been in so much better company (the Poets) that he had not time to think of his distant friends; for if that were the case, I should have some recompense for my uneasiness; that the state of my affairs did not admit of my coming to London this year, and begging he would return me Goldsmith's two poems, with his lines marked.

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His friend Dr Lawrence having now suffered the greatest affliction to which a man is liable, and which Johnson himself had felt in the most severe manner, Johnson wrote to him in an admirable strain of sympathy and pious consolation.

To Dr LAWRENCE

DEAR SIR,—At a time when all your friends ought to show their kindness, and with a character which ought to make all that know you your friends, you may wonder that you have yet heard nothing from me.

I have been hindered by a vexatious and incessant cough, for which within these ten days I have been bled once, fasted four or five times, taken physic five times, and opiates, I think, six. This day it seems to remit.

The loss, dear sir, which you have lately suffered, I felt many years ago, and know therefore how much has been taken from you, and how little help can be had from consolation. He that outlives a wife whom he has long loved, sees himself disjoined from the only mind that has the same hopes, and fears, and interest; from the only companion with whom he has shared much good or evil; and with whom he could set his mind at liberty, to retrace the past, or anticipate the future. The continuity of being is lacerated; the settled course of sentiment and action is stopped; and life stands suspended and motionless, till it is driven by external causes into a new channel. But the time of suspense is dreadful.

Our first recourse in this distressful solitude, is, perhaps for want of habitual piety, to a gloomy acquiescence in necessity. Of two mortal beings, one must lose the other; but surely there is a higher and a better comfort to be drawn from the consideration of that Providence which watches over all, and a belief that the living and the dead are equally in the hands of God, who will reunite those whom He has separated, or who sees that it is best not to

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reunite them. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Jan. 20, 1780.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Well, I had resolved to send you the Chesterfield letter; but I will write once again without it. Never impose tasks upon mortals. To require two things is the way to have them both undone.

For the difficulties which you mention in your affairs I am sorry; but difficulty is now very general: it is not therefore less grievous, for there is less hope of help. I pretend not to give you advice, not knowing the state of your affairs; and general counsels about prudence and frugality would do you little good. You are, however, in the right not to increase your own perplexity by a journey hither; and I hope that by staying at home you will please your father.

Poor dear Beauclerk—*nec, ut soles, dabis joca*. His wit and his folly, his acuteness and maliciousness, his merriment and reasoning, are now over. Such another will not often be found among mankind. He directed himself to be buried by the side of his mother, an instance of tenderness which I hardly expected. He has left his children to the care of Lady Di, and if she dies, of Mr Langton, and of Mr Leicester, his relation, and a man of good character. His library has been offered to sale to the Russian ambassador.

Dr Percy, notwithstanding all the noise of the newspapers, has had no literary loss.¹ Clothes and moveables were burnt to the value of about one hundred pounds; but his papers, and I think his books, were all preserved.

Poor Mr Thrale has been in extreme danger from an apoplectical disorder, and recovered, beyond the expectation

¹ By a fire in Northumberland House, where he had an apartment, in which I have passed many an agreeable hour.

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of his physicians; he is now at Bath, that his mind may be quiet, and Mrs Thrale and Miss are with him.

Having told you what has happened to your friends, let me say something to you of yourself. You are always complaining of melancholy, and I conclude from those complaints that you are fond of it. No man talks of that which he is desirous to conceal, and every man desires to conceal that of which he is ashamed. Do not pretend to deny it; *manifestum habemus furem*; make it an invariable and obligatory law to yourself never to mention your own mental diseases. If you are never to speak of them you will think on them but little, and if you think little of them, they will molest you rarely. When you talk of them, it is plain that you want either praise or pity; for praise there is no room, and pity will do you no good; therefore from this hour speak no more, think no more about them.

Your transaction with Mrs Stuart gave me great satisfaction; I am much obliged to you for your attention. Do not lose sight of her, your countenance may be of great credit, and of consequence of great advantage to her. The memory of her brother is yet fresh in my mind; he was an ingenious and worthy man.

Please to make my compliments to your lady, and to the young ladies. I should like to see them, pretty loves. I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

April 8, 1780.

Mrs Thrale being now at Bath with her husband, the correspondence between Johnson and her was carried on briskly. I shall present my readers with one of her original letters to him at this time, which will amuse them probably more than those well-written but studied epistles which she has inserted in her collection, because it exhibits the easy vivacity of their literary intercourse. It is also of value as a key to Johnson's answer, which she has printed by itself, and of which I shall subjoin extracts.

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Mrs THRALE to Dr JOHNSON

I had a very kind letter from you yesterday, dear sir, with a most circumstantial date. You took trouble with my circulating letter, Mr Evans writes me word, and I thank you sincerely for so doing: one might do mischief else not being on the spot.

Yesterday's evening was passed at Mrs Montagu's: there was Mr Melmoth; I do not like him though, nor he me; it was expected we should have pleased each other; he is, however, just Tory enough to hate the Bishop of Peterborough for Whiggism, and Whig enough to abhor you for Toryism.

Mrs Montagu flattered him finely; so he had a good afternoon on't. This evening we spend at a concert. Poor Queeney's¹ sore eyes have just released her; she had a long confinement, and could neither read nor write, so my master² treated her very good-naturedly with the visits of a young woman in this town, a tailor's daughter, who professes music, and teaches so as to give six lessons a day to ladies, at five and threepence a lesson. Miss Burney says she is a great performer; and I respect the wench for getting her living so prettily; she is very modest and pretty mannered, and not seventeen years old.

You live in a fine whirl indeed, if I did not write regularly you would half forget me, and that would be very wrong, for I *felt* my regard for you in my *face* last night, when the criticisms were going on.

This morning it was all connoisseurship; we went to see some pictures painted by a gentleman artist, Mr Taylor, of this place; my master makes one everywhere, and he has got a dawling companion to ride with him now. * * *. He looks well enough, but I have no notion of health for a man whose mouth cannot be sewed up. Burney and I and Queeney tease him every meal he

¹ A kind of nickname given to Mrs Thrale's eldest daughter, whose name being *Esther*, she might be assimilated to a *Queen*.

² Mr Thrale.

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eats, and Mr Montagu is quite serious with him ; but what *can* one do? He will eat, I think, and if he does eat I know he will not live ; it makes me very unhappy, but I must bear it. Let me always have your friendship. I am, most sincerely, dear Sir, your faithful servant,

H. L. T.

BATH, Friday, April 28.

Dr JOHNSON to Mrs THRALE

DEAREST MADAM,—Mr Thrale never will live abstinently, till he can persuade himself to live by rule.¹ * * * Encourage, as you can, the musical girl.

Nothing is more common than mutual dislike where mutual approbation is particularly expected. There is often on both sides a vigilance not over-benevolent ; and as attention is strongly excited, so that nothing drops unheeded, any difference in taste or opinion, and some difference where there is no restraint, will commonly appear, it immediately generates dislike.

Never let criticisms operate upon your face or your mind ; it is very rarely that an author is hurt by his critics. The blaze of reputation cannot be blown out, but it often dies in the socket ; a very few names may be considered as perpetual lamps that shine unconsumed. From the author of *Fitzosborne's Letters* I cannot think myself in much danger. I met him only once about thirty years ago, and in some small dispute reduced him to whistle ; having not seen him since, that is the last impression. Poor Moore, the fabulist, was one of the company.

Mrs Montagu's long stay, against her own inclination, is very convenient. You would, by your own confession, want a companion ; and she is *par pluribus* ; conversing with her you may find *variety in one*.

LONDON, May 1, 1780.

¹ I have taken the liberty to leave out a few lines.

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On the 2nd of May I wrote to him, and requested that we might have another meeting somewhere in the North of England, in the autumn of this year.

From Mr Langton I received soon after this time a letter, of which I extract a passage, relative at once to Mr Beauclerk and Dr Johnson :

"The melancholy information you have received concerning Mr Beauclerk's death is true. Had his talents been directed in any sufficient degree as they ought, I have always been strongly of opinion that they were calculated to make an illustrious figure ; and that opinion, as it had been in part formed upon Dr Johnson's judgment, receives more and more confirmation by hearing, that since his death, Dr Johnson has said concerning them ; a few evenings ago he was at Mr Vesey's, where Lord Althorpe, who was one of a numerous company there, addressed Dr Johnson on the subject of Mr Beauclerk's death, saying : ' Our Club has had a great loss since we met last.' He replied : ' A loss that perhaps the whole nation could not repair ! ' The Doctor then went on to speak of his endowments, and particularly extolled the wonderful ease with which he uttered what was highly excellent. He said, that no man ever was so free when he was going to say a good thing, from a *look* that expressed that it was coming ; or, when he had said it, from a look that expressed that it *had* come. At Mr Thrale's, some days before, when we were talking on the same subject, he said, referring to the same idea of his wonderful facility, ' that Beauclerk's talents were those which he had felt himself more disposed to envy, than those of any whom he had known.'

"At the evening I have spoken of above, at Mr Vesey's, you would have been much gratified, as it exhibited an instance of the high importance in which Dr Johnson's character is held, I think even beyond any I ever before was witness to. The company consisted chiefly of ladies, among whom were the Duchess Dowager of Portland, the Duchess of Beaufort, whom I suppose from her rank I

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must name before her mother Mrs Boscawen, and her elder sister Mrs Lewson, who was likewise there; Lady Lucan, Lady Clermont, and others of note both for their station and understandings. Among the gentlemen were, Lord Althorpe, whom I have before named, Lord Macartney, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Lord Lucan, Mr Wrexal, whose book you have probably seen, *The Tour to the Northern Parts of Europe*; a very agreeable ingenious man; Dr Warren, Mr Pepys, the Master in Chancery, whom I believe you know, and Dr Barnard, the Provost of Eton. As soon as Dr Johnson was come in and had taken a chair, the company began to collect round him till they became not less than four if not five deep; those behind standing and listening over the heads of those that were sitting near him. The conversation for some time was chiefly between Dr Johnson and the Provost of Eton, while the others contributed occasionally their remarks. Without attempting to detail the particulars of the conversation, which perhaps if I did I should spin my account out to a tedious length, I thought, my dear sir, this general account of the respect with which our valued friend was attended to might be acceptable."

To the Reverend Dr FARMER

May 23, 1780.

SIR,—I know your disposition to second any literary attempt, and therefore venture upon the liberty of entreating you to procure from College or University registers, all the dates, or other informations which they can supply relating to Ambrose Philips, Broom, and Gray, who were all of Cambridge, and of whose lives I am to give such accounts as I can gather. Be pleased to forgive this trouble from, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

While Johnson was thus engaged in preparing a delightful literary entertainment for the world, the tranquillity of the

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metropolis of Great Britain was unexpectedly disturbed, by the most horrid series of outrage that ever disgraced a civilised country. A relaxation of some of the severe penal provisions against our fellow-subjects of the Catholic communion had been granted by the legislature, with an opposition so inconsiderable that the genuine mildness of Christianity, united with liberal policy, seemed to have become general in this island. But a dark and malignant spirit of persecution soon showed itself, in an unworthy petition for the repeal of the wise and humane statute. That petition was brought forward by a mob, with the evident purpose of intimidation, and was justly rejected. But the attempt was accompanied and followed by such daring violence as is unexampled in history. Of this extraordinary tumult, Dr Johnson has given the following concise, lively, and just account in his *Letters to Mrs Thrale*¹:

"On Friday, the good Protestants met in St George's Fields, at the summons of Lord George Gordon, and marching to Westminster, insulted the Lords and Commons, who all bore it with great tameness. At night the outrages began by the demolition of the mass-house by Lincoln's Inn."

"An exact journal of a week's defiance of Government I cannot give you. On Monday, Mr Strahan, who had been insulted, spoke to Lord Mansfield, who had I think been insulted too, of the licentiousness of the populace; and his lordship treated it as a very slight irregularity. On Tuesday night they pulled down Fielding's house, and burnt his goods in the street. They had gutted on Monday Sir George Savile's house, but the building was saved. On Tuesday evening, leaving Fielding's ruins, they went to Newgate to demand their companions who had been seized demolishing the chapel. The keeper could not release them but by the Mayor's permission, which he went to ask; at his return he found all the prisoners released, and Newgate

¹ Vol. ii., p. 143 *et seq.* I have selected passages from several letters, without mentioning dates.

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in a blaze. They then went to Bloomsbury, and fastened upon Lord Mansfield's house, which they pulled down; and as for his goods, they totally burnt them. They have since gone to Caen Wood, but a guard was there before them. They plundered some Papists, I think, and burnt a mass-house in Moorfields the same night."

"On Wednesday I walked with Dr Scot to look at Newgate, and found it in ruins, with the fire yet glowing. As I went by, the Protestants were plundering the Sessions House at the Old Bailey. There were not, I believe, a hundred; but they did their work at leisure, in full security, without sentinels, without trepidation, as men lawfully employed, in full day. Such is the cowardice of a commercial place. On Wednesday they broke open the Fleet, and the King's Bench, and the Marshalsea, and Wood Street Compter, and Clerkenwell Bridewell, and released all the prisoners."

"At night they set fire to the Fleet, and to the King's Bench, and I know not how many other places; and one might see the glare of conflagration fill the sky from many parts. The sight was dreadful. Some people were threatened: Mr Strahan advised me to take care of myself. Such a time of terror you have been happy in not seeing."

"The King said in council, 'that the magistrates had not done their duty, but that he would do his own'; and a proclamation was published, directing us to keep our servants within doors, as the peace was now to be preserved by force. The soldiers were sent out to different parts, and the town is now at quiet."

"The soldiers are stationed so as to be everywhere within call; there is no longer any body of rioters, and the individuals are haunted to their holes, and led to prison; Lord George was last night sent to the Tower. Mr John Wilkes was this day in my neighbourhood, to seize the publisher of a seditious paper."

"Several chapels have been destroyed, and several in-offensive Papists have been plundered; but the high sport was to burn the gaols. This was a good rabble trick. The

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debtors and the criminals were all set at liberty; but of the criminals, as has always happened, many are already retaken; and two pirates have surrendered themselves, and it is expected that they will be pardoned."

"Government now acts again with its proper force; and we are all again under the protection of the King and the law. I thought that it would be agreeable to you and my master to have my testimony to the public security; and that you would sleep more quietly when I told you that you are safe."

"There has, indeed, been a universal panic, from which the King was the first that recovered. Without the concurrence of his ministers, or the assistance of the civil magistrate, he put the soldiers in motion, and saved the town from calamities, such as a rabble's government must naturally produce."

"The public has escaped a very heavy calamity. The rioters attempted the Bank on Wednesday night, but in no great number, and like other thieves, with no great resolution. Jack Wilkes headed the party that drove them away. It is agreed, that if they had seized the Bank on Tuesday, at the height of the panic, when no resistance had been prepared, they might have carried irrecoverably away whatever they had found. Jack, who was always zealous for order and decency, declares that if he be trusted with power, he will not leave a rioter alive. There is, however, now no longer any need of heroism or bloodshed; no blue ribband is any longer worn."

Such was the end of this miserable sedition, from which London was delivered by the magnanimity of the Sovereign himself. Whatever some may maintain, I am satisfied that there was no combination or plan, either domestic or foreign; but that the mischief spread by a gradual contagion of frenzy, augmented by the quantities of fermented liquors, of which the deluded populace possessed themselves in the course of their depredations.

I should think myself very much to blame did I here

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neglect to do justice to my esteemed friend, Mr Akerman, the keeper of Newgate, who has long discharged a very important trust with a uniform intrepid firmness, and at the same time a tenderness and a liberal charity, which entitle him to be recorded with distinguished honour.

Upon this occasion, from the timidity and negligence of magistracy on the one hand, and the almost incredible exertions of the mob on the other, the first prison of this great country was laid open, and the prisoners set free; but that Mr Akerman, whose house was burnt, would have prevented all this, had proper aid been sent to him in due time, there can be no doubt.

Many years ago a fire broke out in the brick part which was built as an addition to the old gaol of Newgate. The prisoners were in consternation and tumult, calling out: "We shall be burnt—we shall be burnt! down with the gate—down with the gate!" Mr Akerman hastened to them, showed himself at the gate, and having, after some confused vociferation of "Hear him—hear him!" obtained a silent attention. He then calmly told them that the gate must not go down; that they were under his care, and that they should not be permitted to escape: but that he could assure them, they need not be afraid of being burnt, for that the fire was not in the prison, properly so called, which was strongly built with stone; and that if they would engage to be quiet, he himself would come in to them, and conduct them to the farther end of the building, and would not go out till they gave him leave. To this proposal they agreed; upon which Mr Akerman, having first made them fall back from the gate, went in, and with a determined resolution ordered the outer turnkey upon no account to open the gate, even though the prisoners (though he trusted they would not) should break their word, and by force bring himself to order it. "Never mind me," said he, "should that happen." The prisoners peaceably followed him, while he conducted them through passages, of which he had the keys, to the extremity of the gaol, which was most

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distant from the fire. Having, by this very judicious conduct, fully satisfied them that there was no immediate risk, if any at all, he then addressed them thus: "Gentlemen, you are now convinced that I told you true. I have no doubt that the engines will soon extinguish this fire: if they should not, a sufficient guard will come, and you shall all be taken out and lodged in the Compters. I assure you, upon my word and honour, that I have not a farthing insured. I have left my house that I might take care of you. I will keep my promise, and stay with you, if you insist upon it: but if you will allow me to go out and look after my family and property, I will be obliged to you." Struck with his behaviour, they called out: "Master Akerman, you have done bravely; it was very kind in you: by all means go and take care of your own concerns." He did so accordingly, while they remained and were all preserved.

Johnson has been heard to relate the substance of this story with high praise, in which he was joined by Mr Burke. My illustrious friend, speaking of Mr Akerman's kindness to his prisoners, pronounced this eulogy upon his character: "He who has long had constantly in his view the worst of mankind, and is yet eminent for the humanity of his disposition, must have had it originally in a great degree, and continued to cultivate it very carefully."

In the course of this month my brother David waited upon Dr Johnson with the following letter of introduction, which I had taken care should be lying ready on his arrival in London.

To Dr SAMUEL JOHNSON

EDINBURGH, *April 29, 1780.*

MY DEAR SIR,—This will be delivered to you by my brother David, on his return from Spain. You will be glad to see the man who vowed to "stand by the old castle of Auchinleck, with heart, purse, and sword"; that romantic family solemnity devised by me, of which you and I talked

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with complacency upon the spot. I trust that twelve years of absence have not lessened his feudal attachment; and that you will find him worthy of being introduced to your acquaintance.

I have the honour to be, with affectionate veneration, my dear Sir, your most faithful humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

Johnson received him very politely, and has thus mentioned him in a letter to Mrs Thrale¹: "I have had with me a brother of Boswell's, a Spanish merchant,² whom the war has driven from his residence at Valencia; he is gone to see his friends, and will find Scotland but a sorry place after twelve years' residence in a happier climate. He is a very agreeable man, and speaks no Scotch."

To Dr BEATTIE, at Aberdeen

SIR,—More years³ than I have any delight to reckon have passed since you and I saw one another; of this, however, there is no reason for making any reprehensory complaint, *Sic fata ferunt*. But methinks there might pass some small interchange of regard between us. If you say that I ought to have written, I now write, and I write to tell you that I have much kindness for you and Mrs Beattie; and that I wish your health better, and your life long. Try change of air, and come a few degrees southwards; a softer climate may do you both good; winter is coming on, and London will be warmer, and gayer, and busier, and more fertile of amusement than Aberdeen.

My health is better; but that will be little in the balance, when I tell you that Mrs Montagu has been very ill, and is I doubt now but weakly. Mr Thrale has been very dangerously disordered; but is much better, and I hope

¹ Vol. ii., p. 163. Mrs Piozzi has omitted the name, she best knows why.

² Now settled in London.

³ I had been five years absent from London.—BEATTIE.

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will totally recover. He has withdrawn himself from business the whole summer. Sir Joshua and his sister are well; and Mr Davies has had great success as an author,¹ generated by the corruption of a bookseller. More news I have not to tell you, and therefore you must be contented with hearing, what I know not whether you much wish to hear,² that I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET,
August 21, 1780.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I find you have taken one of your fits of taciturnity, and have resolved not to write till you are written to; it is but a peevish humour, but you shall have your way.

I have sat at home in Bolt Court all the summer, thinking to write the *Lives*, and a great part of the time only thinking. Several of them, however, are done, and I still think to do the rest.

Mr Thrale and his family have, since his illness, passed their time first at Bath, and then at Brighthelmston; but I have been at neither place. I would have gone to Lichfield, if I could have had time, and I might have had time if I had been active; but I have missed much, and done little.

In the late disturbances, Mr Thrale's house and stock

¹ Meaning his entertaining *Memoirs of David Garrick, Esq.*, of which Johnson (as Davies informed me) wrote the first sentence; thus giving, as it were, the keynote to the performance. It is, indeed, very characteristic of its author, beginning with a maxim, and proceeding to illustrate: "All excellence has a right to be recorded. I shall, therefore, think it superfluous to apologise for writing the life of a man, who by an uncommon assemblage of private virtues, adorned the highest eminence in a public profession."

² I wish he had omitted the suspicion expressed here, though I believe he meant nothing but jocularity; for though he and I differed sometimes in opinion, he well knew how much I loved and revered him.—BEATTIE.

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were in great danger; the mob was pacified at their first invasion with about fifty pounds in drink and meat; and at their second, were driven away by the soldiers. Mr Strahan got a garrison into his house, and maintained them a fortnight; he was so frightened that he removed part of his goods. Mrs Williams took shelter in the country.

I know not whether I shall get a ramble this autumn; it is now about the time when we were travelling. I have, however, better health than I had then, and hope you and I may yet show ourselves on some part of Europe, Asia, or Africa.¹ In the meantime let us play no trick, but keep each other's kindness by all means in our power.

The bearer of this is Dr Dunbar, of Aberdeen, who has written and published a very ingenious book,² and who I think has a kindness for me, and will when he knows you have a kindness for you.

I suppose your little ladies are grown tall; and your son is become a learned young man. I love them all, and I love your naughty lady, whom I never shall persuade to love me. When the *Lives* are done, I shall send them to complete her collection, but must send them in paper, as for want of a pattern I cannot bind them to fit the rest. I am, Sir, yours most affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *Aug.* 21, 1780.

This year he wrote to a young clergyman in the country the following very excellent letter, which contains valuable advice to divines in general :

¹ It will, no doubt, be remarked how he avoids the *rebellious* land of America. This puts me in mind of an anecdote, for which I am obliged to my worthy social friend, Governor Penn: "At one of Miss E. Hervey's assemblies, Dr Johnson was following her up and down the room; upon which Lord Abingdon observed to her, 'Your great friend is very fond of you; you can go nowhere without him.' 'Aye,' said she, 'he would follow me to any part of the world.' 'Then,' said the Earl, 'ask him to go with you to America.'"

² *Essays on the History of Mankind.*

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DEAR SIR,—Not many days ago Dr Lawrence showed me a letter, in which you make mention of me: I hope, therefore, you will not be displeased that I endeavour to preserve your good-will by some observations which your letter suggested to me.

You are afraid of falling into some improprieties in the daily service, by reading to an audience that requires no exactness. Your fear, I hope, secures you from danger. They who contract absurd habits are such as have no fear. It is impossible to do the same thing very often, without some peculiarity of manner: but that manner may be good or bad, and a little care will at least preserve it from being bad: to make it very good, there must, I think, be something of natural or casual felicity, which cannot be taught.

Your present method of making your sermons seems very judicious. Few frequent preachers can be supposed to have sermons more their own than yours will be. Take care to register, somewhere or other, the authors from whom your several discourses are borrowed; and do not imagine that you shall always remember even what perhaps you now think it impossible to forget.

My advice, however, is that you attempt, from time to time, an original sermon; and in the labour of composition do not burden your mind with too much at once; do not exact from yourself, at one effort of excogitation, propriety of thought and elegance of expression. Invent first, and then embellish. The production of something, where nothing was before, is an act of greater energy than the expansion or decoration of the thing produced. Set down diligently your thoughts as they rise, in the first words that occur; and, when you have matter, you will easily give it form: nor, perhaps, will this method be always necessary; for, by habit, your thoughts and diction will flow together.

The composition of sermons is not very difficult: the divisions not only help the memory of the hearer, but direct the judgment of the writer; they supply sources of invention, and keep every part in its proper place.

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What I like least in your letter is your account of the manners of your parish; from which I gather, that it has been long neglected by the parson. The Dean of Carlisle,¹ who was then a little rector in Northamptonshire, told me that it might be discerned whether or no there was a clergyman resident in a parish, by the civil or savage manner of the people. Such a congregation as yours stands in much need of reformation; and I would not have you think it impossible to reform them. A very savage parish was civilised by a decayed gentlewoman, who came among them to teach a petty school. My learned friend Dr Wheeler of Oxford, when he was a young man, had the care of a neighbouring parish for fifteen pounds a year, which he was never paid; but he counted it a convenience that it compelled him to make a sermon weekly. One woman he could not bring to the communion; and, when he reproved or exhorted her, she only answered, that she was no scholar. He was advised to set some good woman or man of the parish, a little wiser than herself, to talk to her in language level to her mind. Such honest, I may call them holy, artifices must be practised by every clergyman; for all means must be tried by which souls may be saved. Talk to your people, however, as much as you can; and you will find, that the more frequently you converse with them upon religious subjects, the more willingly they will attend, and the more submissively they will learn. A clergyman's diligence always makes him venerable. I think I have now only to say, that in the momentous work you have undertaken, I pray God to bless you. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

BOLT COURT, *Aug.* 30, 1780.

My next letters to him were of dates 24th August, 6th September, and 1st October, and from them I extract the following passages:

¹ Dr Percy, now Bishop of Dromore.

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“My brother David and I find the long-indulged fancy of our comfortable meeting again at Auchinleck, so well realised, that it in some degree confirms the pleasing hope of *O! præclarum diem!* in a future state.

“I beg that you may never again harbour a suspicion of my indulging a peevish humour, or playing tricks; you will recollect, that when I confessed to you that when I had once been intentionally silent to try your regard, I gave you my word and honour that I should not do so again.

“I rejoice to hear of your good state of health; I pray God to continue it long. I have often said that I would willingly have ten years added to my life, to have ten taken from yours; I mean, that I would be ten years older, to have you ten years younger. But let me be thankful for the years during which I have enjoyed your friendship, and please myself with the hopes of enjoying it many years to come in this state of being, trusting always, that in another state, we shall meet never to be separated. Of this we can form no notion; but the thought, though indistinct, is delightful, when the mind is calm and clear.

“The riots in London were certainly horrible; but you give me no account of your own situation, during the barbarous anarchy. A description of it by Dr Johnson would be a great painting¹: you might write another *London: a Poem*.

“I am charmed with your condescending affectionate expression, ‘let us keep each other’s kindness by all the means in our power’; my revered Friend! how elevating is it to my mind, that I am found worthy to be a companion to Dr Samuel Johnson! All that you have said in grateful praise of Mr Walmsley, I have long thought of you; but we are both Tories, which has a very general influence upon our sentiments. I hope that you will agree to meet me at York, about the end of this month; or if you will come to Carlisle, that would be better still, in case the Dean

¹ I had not then seen his *Letters to Mrs Thrale*.

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be there. Please to consider, that to keep each other's kindness, we should every year have that free and intimate communication of mind which can be had only when we are together. We should have both our solemn and our pleasant talk.

"I write now for the third time, to tell you that my desire for our meeting this autumn is much increased. I wrote to Squire Godfrey Bosville, my Yorkshire Chief, that I should, perhaps, pay him a visit, as I was to hold a conference with Dr Johnson, at York. I give you my word and honour that I said not a word of his inviting you; but he wrote to me as follows:

"I need not tell you I shall be happy to see you here the latter end of this month, as you propose; and I shall likewise be in hopes that you will persuade Dr Johnson to finish the conference here. It will add to the favour of your own company, if you prevail upon such an associate, to assist your observations. I have often been entertained with his writings, and I once belonged to a club of which he was a member, and I never spent an evening there, but I heard something from him well worth remembering."

"We have thus, my dear sir, good comfortable quarters in the neighbourhood of York, where you may be assured we shall be heartily welcome. I pray you then resolve to set out; and let not the year 1780 be a blank in our social calendar, and in that record of wisdom and wit, which I keep with so much diligence, to your honour, and the instruction and delight of others."

Mr Thrale had now another contest for the representation in Parliament of the borough of Southwark, and Johnson kindly lent him his assistance, by writing advertisements and letters for him. I shall insert one as a specimen * :

To the worthy ELECTORS of the Borough of SOUTHWARK

GENTLEMEN,—A new Parliament being now called, I again solicit the honour of being elected for one of your



MR THRALE

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representatives, and solicit it with the greater confidence, as I am not conscious of having neglected my duty, or of having acted otherwise than as becomes the independent representative of independent constituents, superior to fear, hope, and expectation, who has no private purposes to promote, and whose prosperity is involved in the prosperity of his country. As my recovery from a very severe distemper is not yet perfect, I have declined to attend the Hall, and hope an omission so necessary will not be harshly censured.

I can only send my respectful wishes, that all your deliberations may tend to the happiness of the kingdom, and the peace of the borough. I am, Gentlemen, your most faithful and obedient servant,

HENRY THRALE.

SOUTHWARK, Sept. 5, 1780.

On his birthday, Johnson has this note: "I am now beginning the seventy-second year of my life, with more strength of body, and greater vigour of mind, than I think is common at that age." But still he complains of sleepless nights and idle days, and forgetfulness, or neglect of resolutions. He thus pathetically expresses himself: "Surely I shall not spend my whole life with my own total disapprobation."¹

Mr Macbean, whom I have mentioned more than once, as one of Johnson's humble friends, a deserving but unfortunate man, being now oppressed by age and poverty, Johnson solicited the Lord Chancellor Thurlow, to have him admitted into the Charter-house. I take the liberty to insert his lordship's answer, as I am eager to embrace every occasion of augmenting the respectable notion which should ever be entertained of my illustrious friend:

¹ *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 185.

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To DR SAMUEL JOHNSON

LONDON, Oct. 24, 1780.

SIR,—I have this moment received your letter, dated the 19th, and returned from Bath.

In the beginning of the summer I placed one in the Chartreux, without the sanction of a recommendation so distinct, and so authoritative as yours of Macbean; and I am afraid, that according to the establishment of the House, the opportunity of making the charity so good amends will not soon recur. But whenever a vacancy shall happen, if you'll favour me with notice of it, I will try to recommend him to the place, even though it should not be my turn to nominate. I am, Sir, with great regard, your most faithful and obedient servant,

THURLOW.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to write you a letter that will not please you, and yet it is at last what I resolve to do. This year must pass without an interview; the summer has been foolishly lost, like many other of my summers and winters. I hardly saw a green field, but stayed in town to work, without working much.

Mr Thrale's loss of health has lost him the election; he is now going to Brighthelmston, and expects me to go with him, and how long I shall stay I cannot tell. I do not much like the place, but yet I shall go, and stay while my stay is desired. We must, therefore, content ourselves with knowing what we know as well as man can know the mind of man, that we love one another, and that we wish each other's happiness, and that the lapse of a year cannot lessen our mutual kindness.

I was pleased to be told that I accused Mrs Boswell unjustly, in supposing that she bears me ill-will. I love you so much, that I would be glad to love all that love you, and

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that you love ; and I have love very ready for Mrs Boswell, if she thinks it worthy of acceptance. I hope all the young ladies and gentlemen are well.

I take a great liking to your brother. He tells me that his father received him kindly, but not fondly ; however, you seem to have lived well enough at Auchinleck, while you stayed. Make your father as happy as you can.

You lately told me of your health : I can tell you in return, that my health has been for more than a year past better than it has been for many years before. Perhaps it may please God to give us some time together before we are parted. I am, dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Oct. 17, 1780.

Being disappointed in my hopes of meeting Johnson this year, so that I could hear none of his admirable sayings, I shall compensate for this want by inserting a collection of them, for which I am indebted to my worthy friend Mr Langton, whose kind communications have been separately interwoven in many parts of this work. A very few articles of this collection were committed to writing by himself, he not having that habit ; which he regrets, and which those who know the numerous opportunities he had of gathering the rich fruits of *Johnsonian* wit and wisdom must ever regret. I however found, in conversations with him, that a good store of *Johnsoniana* was treasured in his mind ; and I compared it to Herculaneum, or some old Roman field, which, when dug, fully rewards the labour employed. The authenticity of every article is unquestionable. For the expression, I, who wrote them down in his presence, am partly answerable :

“Theocritus is not deserving of very high respect as a writer ; as to the pastoral part, Virgil is very evidently superior. He wrote when there had been a larger influx of knowledge into the world than when Theocritus lived. Theocritus does not abound in description, though living

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in a beautiful country; the manners painted are coarse and gross. Virgil has much more description, more sentiment, more of Nature, and more of art. Some of the most excellent parts of Theocritus are where Castor and Pollux, going with the other Argonauts, land on the Bebrycian coast, and there fall into a dispute with Amycus, the king of that country; which is as well conducted as Euripides could have done it; and the battle is well related. Afterwards they carry off a woman, whose two brothers come to recover her, and expostulate with Castor and Pollux on their injustice; but they pay no regard to the brothers, and a battle ensues, where Castor and his brother are triumphant. Theocritus seems not to have seen that the brothers have the advantage in their argument over his Argonaut heroes. *The Sicilian Gossips* is a piece of merit."

"Callimachus is a writer of little excellence. The chief thing to be learned from him is his account of Rites and Mythology; which, though desirable to be known for the sake of understanding other parts of ancient authors, is the least pleasing or valuable part of their writings."

"Mattaire's account of the Stephani is a heavy book. He seems to have been a puzzle-headed man, with a large share of scholarship, but with little geometry or logic in his head, without method, and possessed of little genius. He wrote Latin verses from time to time, and published a set in his old age, which he called *Senilia*; in which he shows so little learning or taste in writing as to make *Carteret* a dactyl. In matters of genealogy it is necessary to give the bare names as they are; but in poetry, and in prose of any elegance in the writing, they require to have inflection given to them. His book of the Dialects is a sad heap of confusion; the only way to write on them is to tabulate them with Notes, added at the bottom of the page, and references."

"It may be questioned, whether there is not some mistake as to the methods of employing the poor, seemingly on a supposition that there is a certain portion of work left undone for want of persons to do it; but if that is otherwise,

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and all the materials we have are actually worked up, or all the manufactures we can use or dispose of are already executed, then what is given to the poor, who are to be set at work, must be taken from some who now have it, as time must be taken for learning, according to Sir William Petty's observation; a certain part of those very materials that, as it is, are properly worked up, must be spoiled by the unskilfulness of novices. We may apply to well-meaning, but misjudging persons in particular of this nature, what Giannone said to a monk, who wanted what he called to convert him: '*Tu ses santo ma Tu non ses Filosofo.*' It is an unhappy circumstance that one might give away five hundred pounds in a year to those that importune in the streets, and not do any good."

"There is nothing more likely to betray a man into absurdity than *condescension*; when he seems to suppose his understanding too powerful for his company."

"Having asked Mr Langton if his father and mother had sat for their pictures, which he thought it right for each generation of a family to do, and being told they had opposed it, he said: 'Sir, among the infractuosities of the human mind, I know not if it may not be one that there is a superstitious reluctance to sit for a picture.'"

"John Gilbert Cooper related, that soon after the publication of his *Dictionary*, Garrick, being asked by Johnson what people said of it, told him, that among other animadversions, it was objected that he cited authorities which were beneath the dignity of such a work, and mentioned Richardson. 'Nay,' said Johnson, 'I have done worse than that: I have cited thee, David.'"

"Talking of expense, he observed, with what munificence a great merchant will spend his money, both from his having it at command, and from his enlarged views by calculation of a good effect upon the whole. 'Whereas,' said he, 'you will hardly ever find a country gentleman who is not a good deal disconcerted at an unexpected occasion for his being obliged to lay out ten pounds.'"

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“When in good humour he would talk of his own writings with a wonderful frankness and candour, and would even criticise them with the closest severity. One day, having read over one of his *Ramblers*, Mr Langton asked him how he liked that paper; he shook his head and answered, ‘too wordy.’ And at another time, when one was reading his tragedy of *Irene* to a company at a house in the country, he left the room; and somebody having asked him the reason of this, he replied: ‘Sir, I thought it had been better.’”

“Talking of a point of delicate scrupulosity of moral conduct, he said to Mr Langton: ‘Men of harder minds than ours will do many things from which you and I would shrink; yet, sir, they will, perhaps, do more good in life than we. But let us try to help one another. If there be a wrong twist, it may be set right. It is not probable that two people can be wrong the same way.’”

“Of the Preface to Capel’s Shakspeare, he said: ‘If the man would have come to me, I would have endeavoured to “endow his purposes with words”; for, as it is, “he doth gabble monstrously.”’”

“He related, that he had once in a dream a contest of wit with some other person, and that he was very much mortified by imagining that his opponent had the better of him. ‘Now,’ said he, ‘one may mark here the effect of sleep in weakening the power of reflection; for had not my judgment failed me, I should have seen that the wit of this supposed antagonist, by whose superiority I felt myself depressed, was as much furnished by me, as that which I thought I had been uttering in my own character.’”

“One evening in company, an ingenious and learned gentleman read a letter of compliment to him from one of the professors of a foreign university. Johnson, in an irritable fit, thinking there was too much ostentation, said: ‘I never receive any of these tributes of applause from abroad. One instance I recollect of a foreign publication, in which mention is made of *l’illustre Lockman*.’”

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“Of Sir Joshua Reynolds he said: ‘Sir, I know no man who has passed through life with more observation than Reynolds.’”

“He repeated to Mr Langton, with great energy, in the Greek, our Saviour’s gracious expression concerning the forgiveness of Mary Magdalen: ‘*Ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκε σε· πορεύου εἰς εἰρήνην*—Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.’”
He said, ‘the manner of this dismissal is exceedingly affecting.’”

“He thus defined the difference between physical and moral truth: ‘Physical truth, is, when you tell a thing as it actually is. Moral truth, is, when you tell a thing sincerely and precisely as it appears to you. I say such a one walked across the street; if he really did so I told a physical truth. If I thought so, though I should have been mistaken, I told a moral truth.’”

“Huggins, the translator of Ariosto, and Mr Thomas Warton, in the early part of his literary life, had a dispute concerning that poet, of whom Mr Warton, in his *Observations on Spenser’s Faerie Queen*, gave some account, which Huggins attempted to answer with violence, and said: ‘I will *militate* no longer against his *nescience*.’ Huggins was master of the subject, but wanted expression. Mr Warton’s knowledge of it was then imperfect, but his manner lively and elegant. Johnson said: “It appears to me that Huggins has ball without powder, and Warton powder without ball.”

“Talking of the farce of *High Life below Stairs*, he said: ‘Here is a farce, which is really very diverting when you see it acted; and yet one may read it, and not know that one has been reading anything at all.’”

“He used at one time to go occasionally to the green-room of Drury Lane Theatre, where he was much regarded by the players, and was very easy and facetious with them. He had a very high opinion of Mrs Clive’s comic powers, and conversed more with her than with any of them. He

¹ Luke vii. 50.

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said: 'Clive, sir, is a good thing to sit by; she always understands what you say.' And she said of him: 'I love to sit by Dr Johnson; he always entertains me.' One night, when *The Recruiting Officer* was acted, he said to Mr Holland, who had been expressing an apprehension that Dr Johnson would disdain the works of Farquhar: 'No, sir, I think Farquhar a man whose writings have considerable merit.'"

"His friend Garrick was so busy in conducting the drama that they could not have so much intercourse as Mr Garrick used to profess an anxious wish that there should be. There might indeed be something in the contemptuous severity as to the merit of acting, which his old preceptor nourished in himself, that would mortify Garrick after the great applause which he received from the audience. For though Johnson said of him, 'Sir, a man who has a nation to admire him every night may well be expected to be somewhat elated,' yet he would treat theatrical matters with a ludicrous slight. He mentioned one evening, 'I met David coming off the stage, dressed in a woman's riding-hood, when he acted in *The Wonder*; I came full upon him, and I believe he was not pleased.'"

"Once he asked Tom Davies, whom he saw dressed in a fine suit of clothes, 'And what art thou to-night?' Tom answered: 'The Thane of Ross' (which it will be recollected is a very inconsiderable character). 'O brave!' said Johnson."

"Of Mr Longley, at Rochester, a gentleman of very considerable learning, whom Dr Johnson met there, he said: 'My heart warms towards him. I was surprised to find in him such a nice acquaintance with the metre in the learned languages; though I was somewhat mortified that I had it not so much to myself as I should have thought.'"

"Talking of the minuteness with which people will record the sayings of eminent persons, a story was told, that when Pope was on a visit to Spence at Oxford, as they looked from the window they saw a Gentleman Commoner, who was just come in from riding, amusing himself with whipping

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at a post. Pope took occasion to say: 'That young gentleman seems to have little to do.' Mr Beauclerk observed: 'Then, to be sure, Spence turned round and wrote that down'; and went on to say to Dr Johnson, 'Pope, sir, would have said the same of you if he had seen you distilling.' JOHNSON: Sir, if Pope had told me of my distilling, I would have told him of his grotto."

"He would allow no settled indulgence of idleness upon principle, and always repelled every attempt to urge excuses for it. A friend one day suggested, that it was not wholesome to study soon after dinner. JOHNSON: Ah, sir, don't give way to such a fancy. At one time of my life I had taken it into my head that it was not wholesome to study between breakfast and dinner."

"Mr Beauclerk one day repeated to Dr Johnson, Pope's lines:

'Let modest Foster, if he will, excel
Ten metropolitans in preaching well.'

Then asked the Doctor: 'Why did Pope say this?' JOHNSON: Sir, he hoped it would vex somebody."

"Dr Goldsmith, upon occasion of Mrs Lennox's bringing out a play, said to Dr Johnson at the Club, that a person had advised him to go and hiss it, because she had attacked Shakspeare in her book called *Shakspeare Illustrated*. JOHNSON: And did not you tell him that he was a rascal? GOLDSMITH: No, sir, I did not. Perhaps he might not mean what he said. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, if he lied it is a different thing.—Colman slyly said (but it is believed Dr Johnson did not hear him): 'Then the proper expression should have been—"Sir, if you don't lie, you're a rascal."'"

"His affection for Topham Beauclerk was so great, that when Beauclerk was labouring under that severe illness which at last occasioned his death, Johnson said (with a voice faltering with emotion): 'Sir, I would walk to the extent of the diameter of the earth to save Beauclerk.'"

"One night at the Club he produced a translation of an

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epitaph which Lord Elibank had written in English, for his Lady, and requested of Johnson to turn into Latin for him. Having read *Domina de North et Gray*, he said to Dyer : ' You see, sir, what barbarisms we are compelled to make use of, when modern titles are to be specifically mentioned in Latin inscriptions.' When he had read it once aloud, and there had been a general approbation expressed by the company, he addressed himself to Mr Dyer in particular, and said : ' Sir, I beg to have your judgment, for I know your nicety.' Dyer then very properly desired to read it over again ; which having done, he pointed out an incongruity in one of the sentences. Johnson immediately assented to the observation, and said : ' Sir, this is owing to an alteration of a part of the sentence, from the form in which I had first written it ; and I believe, sir, you may have remarked, that it is a very frequent cause of error in composition, when one has made a partial change, without a due regard to the general structure of the sentence.' "

" Johnson was well acquainted with Mr Dossie, author of a treatise on Agriculture ; and said of him : ' Sir, of the objects which the Society of Arts have chiefly in view, the chemical effects of bodies operating upon other bodies, he knows more than almost any man.' Johnson, in order to give Mr Dossie his vote to be a member of this Society, paid up an arrear which had run on for two years. On this occasion he mentioned a circumstance, as characteristic of the Scotch. ' One of that nation,' said he, ' who had been a candidate, against whom I had voted, came up to me with a civil salutation. Now, sir, this is their way. An Englishman would have stomached it, and been sulky, and never have taken further notice of you : but a Scotchman, sir, though you vote nineteen times against him, will accost you with equal complaisance after each time, and the twentieth time, sir, he will get your vote.' "

" Talking on the subject of toleration, one day when some friends were with him in his study, he made his usual remark, that the State has a right to regulate the religion

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of the people, who are the children of the State. A clergyman having readily acquiesced in this, Johnson, who loved discussion, observed: 'But, sir, you must go round to other States than our own. You do not know what a Bramin has to say for himself. In short, sir, I have got no further than this. Every man has a right to utter what he thinks truth, and every other man has a right to knock him down for it. Martyrdom is the test.' "

"A man, he observed, should begin to write soon; for if he waits till his judgment is matured, his inability, through want of practice to express his conceptions, will make the disproportion so great between what he sees, and what he can attain, that he will probably be discouraged from writing at all. As a proof of the justness of this remark, we may instance what is related of the great Lord Granville: that after he had written his letter, giving an account of the battle of Dettingen, he said: 'Here is a letter, expressed in terms not good enough for a tallow-chandler to have used.' "

"Talking of a court-martial that was sitting upon a very momentous public occasion, he expressed much doubt of an enlightened decision; and said, that perhaps there was not a member of it, who in the whole course of his life, had ever spent an hour by himself in balancing probabilities."

"Goldsmith one day brought to the Club a printed ode, which he, with others, had been hearing read by its author in a public room, at the rate of five shillings each for admission. One of the company having read it aloud, Dr Johnson said: 'Bolder words, and more timorous meaning, I think never were brought together.' "

"Talking of Gray's *Odes*, he said: 'They are forced plants, raised in a hot-bed; and they are poor plants; they are but cucumbers after all.' A gentleman present, who had been running down ode-writing in general, as a bad species of poetry, unluckily said: 'Had they been literally cucumbers, they had been better things than odes.' 'Yes, sir,' said Johnson, 'for a *hog*.' "

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"His distinction of the different degrees of attainment of learning was thus marked upon two occasions. Of Queen Elizabeth he said: 'She had learning enough to have given dignity to a Bishop': and of Mr Thomas Davies he said: 'Sir, Davies has learning enough to give credit to a clergyman.'"

"He used to quote, with great warmth, the saying of Aristotle recorded by Diogenes Laertius; that there was the same difference between one learned and unlearned, as between the living and the dead."

"It is very remarkable, that he retained in his memory very slight and trivial, as well as important things. As an instance of this, it seems that an inferior domestic of the Duke of Leeds had attempted to celebrate his Grace's marriage in such homely rhymes as he could make; and this curious composition having been sung to Dr Johnson, he got it by heart, and used to repeat it in a very pleasant manner. Two of the stanzas were these:

'When the Duke of Leeds shall married be
To a fine young lady of high quality,
How happy will that gentlewoman be
In his Grace of Leeds's good company.

She shall have all that's fine and fair,
And the best of silk and satin shall wear;
And ride in a coach to take the air,
And have a house in St James's Square.'

To hear a man, of the weight and dignity of Johnson, repeating such humble attempts at poetry, had a very amusing effect. He, however, seriously observed of the last stanza that it nearly comprised all the advantages that wealth can give.

"An eminent foreigner, when he was shown the British Museum, was very troublesome with many absurd inquiries. 'Now there, sir,' said he, 'is the difference between an

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Englishman and a Frenchman. A Frenchman must be always talking, whether he knows anything of the matter or not: an Englishman is content to say nothing, when he has nothing to say.”

“His unjust contempt for foreigners was, indeed, extreme. One evening, at Old Slaughter’s coffee-house, when a number of them were talking loud about little matters, he said: ‘Does not this confirm old Meynell’s observation—For anything I see, foreigners are fools.’”

“He said, that once, when he had a violent toothache, a Frenchman accosted him thus: ‘*Ah, Monsieur, vous etudiez trop.*’”

“Having spent an evening at Mr Langton’s, with the Reverend Dr Parr, he was much pleased with the conversation of that learned gentleman; and, after he was gone, said to Mr Langton: ‘Sir, I am obliged to you for having asked me this evening. Parr is a fair man. I do not know when I have had an occasion of such free controversy. It is remarkable how much of a man’s life may pass without meeting with any instance of this kind of open discussion.’”

“We may fairly institute a criticism between Shakspeare and Corneille, as they both had, though in a different degree, the lights of a latter age. It is not so just between the Greek dramatic writers and Shakspeare. It may be replied to what is said by one of the remarkers on Shakspeare, that though Darius’s shade had *prescience*, it does not necessarily follow that he had all *past* particulars revealed to him.”

“Spanish plays, being wildly and improbably farcical, would please children here, as children are entertained with stories full of prodigies; their experience not being sufficient to cause them to be so readily startled at deviations from the natural course of life. The machinery of the Pagans is uninteresting to us: when a goddess appears in Homer or Virgil, we grow weary; still more so in the Grecian tragedies, as in that kind of composition a nearer approach to Nature is intended. Yet there are good reasons for reading romances; as the fertility of invention, the beauty of style

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and expression, the curiosity of seeing with what kind of performances the age and country in which they were written was delighted: for it is to be apprehended that at the time when very wild improbable tales were well received, the people were in a barbarous state, and so on the footing of children, as has been explained."

"It is evident enough that no one who writes now can use the Pagan deities and mythology; the only machinery, therefore, seems that of ministering spirits, the ghosts of the departed, witches, and fairies, though these latter, as the vulgar superstition concerning them (which, while in its force, infected at least the imagination of those that had more advantage in education, and only their reason set them free from it) is every day wearing out, seem likely to be of little further assistance in the machinery of poetry. As I recollect Hammond introduces a hag or witch into one of his love elegies, where the effect is unmeaning and disgusting."

"The man who uses his talent of ridicule in creating or grossly exaggerating the instances he gives, who imputes absurdities that did not happen, or when a man was a little ridiculous, describes him as having been very much so, abuses his talents greatly. The great use of delineating absurdities is, that we may know how far human folly can go; the account, therefore, ought of absolute necessity to be faithful. A certain character (naming the person) as to the general cast of it is well described by Garrick, but a great deal of the phraseology he uses in it, is quite his own, particularly in the proverbial comparisons, 'obstinate as a pig,' etc., but I don't know whether it might not be true of him, that from a too great eagerness for praise and popularity, and a politeness carried to a ridiculous excess, he was likely, after asserting a thing in general, to give it up again in parts. For instance, if he had said Reynolds was the first of painters, he was capable enough of giving up, as objections might happen to be severally made; first, his outline—then the grace in form—then the colouring—

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and lastly, to have owned that he was such a mannerist that the disposition of his pictures was all alike."

"For hospitality, as formerly practised, there is no longer the same reason; heretofore the poorer people were more numerous, and from want of commerce their means of getting a livelihood more difficult; therefore the supporting them was an act of great benevolence; now that the poor can find maintenance for themselves, and their labour is wanted, a general undiscerning hospitality tends to ill, by withdrawing them from their work to idleness and drunkenness. Then formerly rents were received in kind, so that there was a great abundance of provisions in possession of the owners of the lands, which since the plenty of money afforded by commerce is no longer the case."

"Hospitality to strangers and foreigners in our country is now almost at an end, since from the increase of them that come to us, there have been a sufficient number of people that have found an interest in providing inns and proper accommodations, which is in general a more expedient method for the entertainment of travellers. Where the travellers and strangers are few, more of that hospitality subsists, as it has not been worth while to provide places of accommodation. In Ireland there is still hospitality to strangers, in some degree; in Hungary and Poland probably more."

"Colman, in a note on his translation of Terence, talking of Shakspeare's learning, asks: 'What says Farmer to this? What says Johnson?' Upon this he observed: 'Sir, let Farmer answer for himself: *I never engaged in this controversy. I always said Shakspeare had Latin enough to grammaticise his English.*'"

"A clergyman, whom he characterised as one who loved to say little oddities, was affecting one day, at a bishop's table, a sort of slyness and freedom not in character, and repeated, as if part of *The Old Man's Wish*, a song by Dr Walter Pope, a verse bordering on licentiousness. Johnson rebuked him in the finest manner, by first showing him

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that he did not know the passage he was aiming at, and thus humbling him: 'Sir, that is not the song: it is thus.' And he gave it right. Then looking steadfastly on him: 'Sir, there is a part of that song which I should wish to exemplify in my own life:

'May I govern my passions with absolute sway.'

"Being asked if Barnes knew a good deal of Greek, he answered: 'I doubt, sir, he was *unoculus inter cæcos*.'"

"He used frequently to observe, that men might be very eminent in a profession, without our perceiving any particular power of mind in them in conversation. 'It seems strange,' said he, 'that a man should see so far to the right, who sees so short a way to the left. Burke is the only man whose common conversation corresponds with the general fame which he had in the world. Take up whatever topic you please, he is ready to meet you.'"

"A gentleman, by no means deficient in literature, having discovered less acquaintance with one of the classics than Johnson expected, when the gentleman left the room he observed: 'You see, now, how little anybody reads.' Mr Langton happening to mention his having read a good deal in Clinardus's *Greek Grammar*: 'Why, sir,' said he, 'who is there in this town who knows anything of Clinardus but you and I?' And upon Mr Langton's mentioning that he had taken the pains to learn by heart the Epistle of St Basil, which is given in that *Grammar* as a praxis: 'Sir,' said he, 'I never made such an effort to attain Greek.'"

"Of Dodsley's *Public Virtue: a Poem*, he said: 'It was fine *blank*' (meaning to express his usual contempt for blank verse): however, this miserable poem did not sell, and my poor friend Doddy said, *Public Virtue* was not a subject to interest the age.'"

"Mr Langton, when a very young man, read Dodsley's *Cleone: a Tragedy*, to him, not aware of his extreme impatience to be read to. As it went on he turned his face to

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the back of his chair, and put himself into various attitudes, which marked his uneasiness. At the end of an act, however, he said: 'Come let's have some more, let's go into the slaughter-house again, Lanky. But I am afraid there is more blood than brains.' Yet he afterwards said: 'When I heard you read it, I thought higher of its power of language. When I read it myself, I was more sensible of its pathetic effect,' and then paid it a compliment which many will think very extravagant. 'Sir,' said he, 'if Otway had written this play, no other of his pieces would have been remembered.' Dodsley himself, upon this being repeated to him, said, 'It was too much': it must be remembered, that Johnson always appeared not to be sufficiently sensible of the merit of Otway."

" 'Snatches of reading,' said he, 'will not make a Bentley or a Clarke. They are, however, in a certain degree advantageous. I would put a child into a library (where no unfit books are) and let him read at his choice. A child should not be discouraged from reading anything that he takes a liking to, from a notion that it is above his reach. If that be the case, the child will soon find it out and desist; if not, he of course gains the instruction; which is so much the more likely to come, from the inclination with which he takes up the study.' "

" Though he used to censure carelessness with great vehemence, he owned that he once, to avoid the trouble of locking up five guineas, hid them, he forgot where, so that he could not find them."

" A gentleman who introduced his brother to Dr Johnson, was earnest to recommend him to the Doctor's notice, which he did by saying: 'When we have sat together some time, you'll find my brother grow very entertaining.' 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'I can wait.' "

" When the rumour was strong that we should have a war, because the French would assist the Americans, he rebuked a friend with some asperity for supposing it, saying: 'No, sir, national faith is not yet sunk so low.' "

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"In the latter part of his life, in order to satisfy himself whether his mental faculties were impaired, he resolved that he would try to learn a new language, and fixed upon the Low Dutch, for that purpose, and this he continued till he had read about one half of Thomas à Kempis; and finding that there appeared no abatement of his power of acquisition, he then desisted, as thinking the experiment had been duly tried. Mr Burke justly observed, that this was not the most vigorous trial, Low Dutch being a language so near to our own; had it been one of the languages entirely different, he might have been very soon satisfied."

"Mr Langton and he having gone to see a Freemason's funeral procession, when they were at Rochester, and some solemn music being played on French horns, he said: 'This is the first time that I have ever been affected by musical sounds': adding, 'that the impression made upon him was of a melancholy kind.' Mr Langton saying, that this effect was a fine one—JOHNSON: Yes, if it softens the mind so as to prepare it for the reception of salutary feelings, it may be good. But inasmuch as it is melancholy *per se*, it is bad."

"Goldsmith had long a visionary project that some time or other, when his circumstances should be easier, he would go to Aleppo, in order to acquire a knowledge, as far as might be, of any arts peculiar to the East, and introduce them into Britain. When this was talked of in Dr Johnson's company, he said: 'Of all men Goldsmith is the most unfit to go out upon such an inquiry, for he is utterly ignorant of such arts as we already possess, and consequently could not know what would be accessions to our present stock of mechanical knowledge. Sir, he would bring home a grinding-barrow, which you see in every street in London, and think that he had furnished a wonderful improvement.'"

"'Greek, sir,' said he, 'is like lace; every man gets as much of it as he can.'"

"When Lord Charles Hay, after his return from America, was preparing his defence to be offered to the court-martial

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which he had demanded, having heard Mr Langton as high in expressions of admiration of Johnson, as he usually was, he requested that Dr Johnson might be introduced to him; and Mr Langton having mentioned it to Johnson, he very kindly and readily agreed; and being presented to his lordship, while under arrest, by Mr Langton, he saw him several times; upon one of which occasions Lord Charles read to him what he had prepared, which Johnson signified his approbation of, saying: 'It is a very good soldierly defence.' Johnson said, that he had advised his lordship, that as it was in vain to contend with those who were in possession of power, if they would offer him the rank of Lieutenant-General, and a government, it would be better judged to desist from urging his complaints. It is well known that his lordship died before the trial came on."

"Johnson one day gave high praise to Dr Bentley's verses ¹

¹ Dr Johnson, in his *Life of Cowley*, says, that these are "the only English verses which Bentley is known to have written." I shall here insert them, and hope my readers will apply them.

"Who strives to mount Parnassus' hill,
And thence poetic laurels bring,
Must first acquire due force and skill,
Must fly with swan's or eagle's wing.

Who Nature's treasures would explore,
Her mysteries and arcana know;
Must high as lofty Newton soar,
Must stoop as delving Woodward low,

Who studies ancient laws and rites,
Tongues, arts, and arms, and history;
Must drudge, like Seldon, days and nights,
And in the endless labour die.

Who travels in religious jars,
(Truth mixt with error, shades with rays);
Like Whiston, wanting pyx or stars,
In ocean wide, or sinks or strays.

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in Dodsley's *Collection*, which he recited with his usual energy. Dr Adam Smith, who was present, observed in his decisive professorial manner: 'Very well—Very well.' Johnson however added: 'Yes, they *are* very well, sir, but you may observe in what manner they are well. They are the forcible verses of a man of a strong mind, but not accustomed to write verse; for there is some uncouthness in the expression.' "

"Drinking tea one day at Garrick's with Mr Langton, he was questioned if he was not somewhat of a heretic as to Shakspeare; said Garrick: 'I doubt he is a little of an infidel.' "Sir," said Johnson, 'I will stand by the lines I have written on Shakspeare, in my Prologue at the opening of your Theatre.' Mr Langton suggested, that in the line

'And panting Time toil'd after him in vain';

Johnson might have had in his eye the passage in *The Tempest*, where Prospero says of Miranda,

She will outstrip all praise,
And make it halt behind her.'

Johnson said nothing. Garrick then ventured to observe: 'I do not think that the happiest line in the praise of

But grant our hero's hope, long toil
And comprehensive genius crown,
All sciences, all arts his spoil,
Yet what reward, or what renown?

Envy, innate in vulgar souls,
Envy steps in and stops his rise,
Envy with poison'd tarnish fouls
His lustre and his worth decries.

He lives inglorious or in want,
To College and old books confin'd;
Instead of learn'd he's call'd pedant,
Dunces advanc'd, he's left behind:
Yet left content a genuine Stoic he,
Great without patron, rich without South Sea."

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Shakspeare.' Johnson exclaimed (smiling): 'Prosaical rogues; next time I write, I'll make both time and space pant.'"¹

"It is well known that there was formerly a rude custom for those who were sailing upon the Thames to accost each other as they passed in the most abusive language they could invent, generally, however, with as much satirical humour as they were capable of producing. Addison gives a specimen of this ribaldry, in No. 383 of *The Spectator*, when Sir Roger de Coverley and he are going to Spring Garden. Johnson was once eminently successful in this species of contest: a fellow having attacked him with some coarse raillery, Johnson answered thus: 'Sir, your wife (under pretence of keeping a bawdy-house) is a receiver of stolen goods.' One evening, when he and Mr Burke and Mr Langton were in company together, and the admirable scolding of Timon of Athens was mentioned, this instance of Johnson's was quoted, and thought to have at least equal excellence.

"As Johnson always allowed the extraordinary talents of Mr Burke, so Mr Burke was fully sensible of the wonderful powers of Johnson. Mr Langton recollects having passed an evening with both of them, when Mr Burke repeatedly entered upon topics which it was evident he would have

¹ I am sorry to see in *The Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. ii., "An Essay on the Character of Hamlet," written, I should suppose, by a very young man, though called "Reverend"; who speaks with presumptuous petulance of the first literary character of his age. Amidst a cloudy confusion of words (which hath of late too often passed in Scotland for *Metaphysics*), he thus ventures to criticise one of the noblest lines in our language: "Dr Johnson has remarked, that 'time toil'd after him in vain.' But I should apprehend, that this is *entirely to mistake the character*. Time toils after *every great man*, as well as after Shakspeare. The *workings* of an ordinary mind *keep pace*, indeed, with time; they move no faster; *they have their beginning, their middle, and their end*; but superior natures can *reduce these into a point*. They do not, indeed, *suppress* them; but they *suspend*, or they *lock them up in the breast*." The learned Society, under whose sanction such gabble is ushered into the world, would do well to offer a premium to anyone who will discover its meaning.

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illustrated with extensive knowledge and richness of expression; but Johnson always seized upon the conversation, in which, however, he acquitted himself in a most masterly manner. As Mr Burke and Mr Langton were walking home, Mr Burke observed that Johnson had been very great that night; Mr Langton joined in this, but added, he could have wished to hear more from another person (plainly intimating that he meant Mr Burke). 'Oh, no,' said Mr Burke, 'it is enough for me to have rung the bell to him.'"

"Talking of Dr Blagden's copiousness and precision of communication, Dr Johnson said: 'Blagden, sir, is a delightful fellow.'"

This year the Reverend Dr Franklin having published a translation of Lucian, inscribed to him the *Demonax* thus:

"To Dr SAMUEL JOHNSON, the *Demonax* of the present age, this piece is inscribed by a sincere admirer of his respectable talents.

"THE TRANSLATOR."

Though upon a particular comparison of *Demonax* and Johnson there does not seem to be a great deal of similarity between them, this Dedication is a just compliment from the general character given by Lucian of the ancient sage, "αριστων οὐδα εγω φιλοσοφων γενομενον, the best philosopher whom I have ever seen or known."

1781. *Ætat.* 72. In 1781 Johnson at last completed his *Lives of the Poets*, of which he gives this account: "Some time in March I finished the *Lives of the Poets*, which I wrote in my usual way, dilatorily and hastily, unwilling to work, and working with vigour and haste."¹ In a memorandum previous to this he says of them: "Written I hope, in such a manner as may tend to the promotion of piety."²

This is the work which of all Dr Johnson's writings will

¹ *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 190.

² *Ibid.*, 174.

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perhaps be read most generally, and with most pleasure. Philology and biography were his favourite pursuits, and those who lived most in intimacy with him, heard him upon all occasions, when there was a proper opportunity, take delight in expatiating upon the various merits of the English poets; upon the niceties of their characters, and the events of their progress through the world which they contributed to illuminate. His mind was so full of that kind of information, and it was so well arranged in his memory, that in performing what he had undertaken in this way he had little more to do than to put his thoughts upon paper, exhibiting first each Poet's life, and then subjoining a critical examination of his genius and works. But when he began to write, the subject swelled in such a manner, that instead of prefaces to each poet of no more than a few pages as he had originally intended,¹ he produced an ample, rich, and most entertaining view of them in every respect. In this he resembled Quintilian, who tells us, that in the composition of his *Institutions of Oratory*, "*Latius se tamen aperiende materiâ, plus quàm imponebatur oneris sponte suscepi.*" The booksellers, justly sensible of the great additional value of the copyright, presented him with another hundred pounds, over and above two hundred, for which his agreement was to furnish such prefaces as he thought fit.

This was, however, but a small recompense for such a collection of biography, and such principles and illustrations of criticism as, if digested and arranged in one system by some modern Aristotle or Longinus, might form a code upon that subject such as no other nation can show. As he

¹ His design is thus announced in his Advertisement; "The Booksellers having determined to publish a body of English Poetry, I was persuaded to promise them a Preface to the works of each author; an undertaking, as it was then presented to my mind, not very tedious or difficult.

"My purpose was only to have allotted to every poet an Advertisement, like that which we find in the French Miscellanies, containing a few dates, and a general character; but I have been led beyond my intention, I hope by the honest desire of giving useful pleasure."

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was so good as to make me a present of the greatest part of the original, and indeed only manuscript of this admirable work, I have an opportunity of observing with wonder the correctness with which he rapidly struck off such glowing composition. He may be assimilated to the lady in Waller, who could impress with "Love at first sight":

"Some other nymphs with colours faint,
And pencil slow may Cupid paint,
And a weak heart in time destroy;
She has a stamp and prints the boy."

That he, however, had a good deal of trouble and some anxiety in carrying on the work, we see from a series of his notes to Mr Nichols, the printer,¹ whose

¹ Thus: "In the *Life of Waller*, Mr Nichols will find a reference to the *Parliamentary History*, from which a long quotation is to be inserted. If Mr Nichols cannot easily find the book, Mr Johnson will send it from Streatham."

"Clarendon is here returned."

"By some accident, I laid your note upon Duke up so safely, that I cannot find it. Your informations have been of great use to me. I must beg it again; with another list of our authors, for I have laid that with the other. I have sent Stepney's Epitaph. Let me have the revises as soon as can be. Dec. 1778."

"I have sent Philips, with his Epitaphs, to be inserted. The fragment of a Preface is hardly worth the impression, but that we may seem to do something. It may be added to the *Life of Philips*. The Latin page is to be added to the *Life of Smith*. I shall be at home, to revise the two sheets of Milton. March 1, 1779."

"Please to get me the last edition of Hughes's *Letters*; and try to get Dennis upon Blackmore, and upon Cato, and anything of the same writer against Pope. Our materials are defective."

"As Waller professed to have imitated Fairfax, do you think a few pages of Fairfax would enrich our edition? Few readers have seen it, and it may please them. But it is not necessary."

"*An Account of the Lives and Works of some of the most eminent English Poets*. By, etc.—*The English Poets, biographically and critically considered*, by SAM. JOHNSON. Let Mr Nichols take his choice, or make another to his mind. May 1781."

"You somehow forgot the advertisement for the new edition. It was not inclosed. Of Gay's *Letters* I see not that any use can be made, for

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variety of literary inquiry and obliging disposition rendered him very useful to Johnson. Mr Steevens appears, from the papers in my possession, to have supplied him with some anecdotes and quotations; and I observe the fair hand of Mrs Thrale as one of his copyists of select passages.

It is not my intention to dwell upon each of Johnson's Lives of the Poets, or attempt an analysis of their merits, which, were I able to do it, would take up too much room in this work; yet I shall make a few observations upon some of them, and insert a few various readings:

The *Life of Cowley* he himself considered as the best of the whole, on account of the dissertation which it contains on the *Metaphysical Poets*. Dryden, whose critical abilities were equal to his poetical, had mentioned them in his excellent Dedication of his *Juvenal*, but had barely mentioned them. Johnson has exhibited them at large, with such happy illustration from their writings, and in so luminous a manner, that indeed he may be allowed the full merit of novelty, and to have discovered to us as it were, a new planet in the poetical hemisphere.

It is remarked by Johnson, in considering the works of a poet,¹ that "amendments are seldom made without some token of a rent"; but I do not find that this is applicable to prose. We shall see that though his amendments in this work are for the better, there is nothing of the *pannus assutus*; the texture is uniform, and indeed what has been there at first, is very seldom unfit to have remained.

they give no information of anything. That he was a member of the Philosophical Society is something; but surely he could be but a corresponding member. However, not having his Life here, I know not how to put it in, and it is of little importance."

See several more in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1785. The editor of that miscellany, in which Johnson wrote for several years, seems justly to think that every fragment of so great a man is worthy of being preserved.

¹ *Life of Sheffield.*

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Various readings¹ in the "Life of Cowley"

"All [future votaries of] *that may hereafter pant for solitude.*

To conceive and execute the [agitation or perception] *pains and the pleasures* of other minds.

The wide effulgence of [the blazing] *a summer noon.*"

In the *Life of Waller*, Johnson gives a distinct and animated narrative of public affairs in that variegated period, with strong yet nice touches of character, and having a fair opportunity to display his political principles, does it with an unqualified manly confidence, and satisfies his readers how nobly he might have executed a *Tory History* of his country.

So easy is his style in these Lives, that I do not recollect more than three uncommon or learned words: One, when giving an account of the approach of Waller's mortal disease, he says, "he found his legs grow *tumid*"; by using the expression his legs *swelled*, he would have avoided this; and there would have been no impropriety in its being followed by the interesting question to his physician: "What that *swelling* meant?" Another, when he mentions that Pope had *emitted* proposals; when *published* or *issued* would have been more readily understood; and a third, when he calls Orrery and Dr Delany, writers both undoubtedly *veracious*; when *true*, *honest*, or *faithful*, might have been used. Yet it must be owned, that none of these are *hard* or *too big* words; that custom would make them seem as easy as any others; and that a language is richer and capable of more beauty of expression, by having a greater variety of synonyms.

His dissertation upon the unfitness of poetry for the awful subjects of our holy religion, though I do not entirely agree with him, has all the merit of originality, with uncommon force of reasoning.

¹ The original reading is enclosed in brackets, and the present one is printed in italics.

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Various readings in the "Life of Waller"

"Consented to [the insertion of their names] *their own nomination.*

[After] *paying* a fine of ten thousand pounds.

Congratulating Charles the Second on his [coronation] *recovered right.*

He that has flattery ready for all whom the vicissitudes of the world happen to exalt, must be [confessed to degrade his powers] *scorned as a prostituted mind.*

The characters by which Waller intended to distinguish his writings are [elegance] *sprightliness* and dignity.

Blossoms to be valued only as they [fetch] *foretell* fruits.

Images such as the superficies of nature [easily] *readily* supplies.

[His] *Some* applications [are sometimes] *may be thought* too remote and unconsequential.

His images are [sometimes confused] *not always distinct."*

Against his *Life of Milton* the hounds of Whiggism have opened in full cry. But of Milton's great excellence as a poet, where shall we find such a blazon as by the hand of Johnson? I shall select only the following passage concerning *Paradise Lost*:

"Fancy can hardly forbear to conjecture with what temper Milton surveyed the silent progress of his work, and marked his reputation stealing its way in a kind of subterraneous current, through fear and silence. I cannot but conceive him calm and confident, little disappointed, not at all dejected, relying on his own merit with steady consciousness, and waiting without impatience, the vicissitudes of opinion, and the impartiality of a future generation."

Indeed even Dr Towers, who may be considered as one of the warmest zealots of *The Revolution Society* itself, allows, that "Johnson has spoken in the highest terms of the abilities of that great poet, and has bestowed on

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his principal poetical compositions, the most honourable encomiums."¹

That a man, who venerated the Church and Monarchy as Johnson did, should speak with a just abhorrence of Milton as a politician, or rather as a daring foe to good polity, was surely to be expected; and to those who censure him, I would recommend his commentary on Milton's celebrated complaint of his situation, when by the lenity of Charles the Second, "A lenity of which," as Johnson well observes, "the world has had perhaps no other example; he, who had written in justification of the murder of his Sovereign, was safe under an *Act of Oblivion*." No sooner is he safe than he finds himself in danger, *fallen on evil days and evil tongues, and with darkness and with danger compass'd round*. This darkness, had his eyes been better employed, had undoubtedly deserved compassion; but to add the mention of danger was ungrateful and unjust. He was fallen, indeed, on *evil days*; the time was come in which regicides could no longer boast their wickedness. But of *evil tongues* to complain, required impudence at least equal to his other powers: Milton, whose warmest advocates must allow, "that he never spared any asperity of reproach, or brutality of insolence."

¹ See *An Essay on the Life, Character, and Writings of Dr Samuel Johnson*, London, 1787; which is very well written, making a proper allowance for the democratical bigotry of its author; who I cannot however but admire for his liberality in speaking thus of my illustrious friend:

"He possessed extraordinary powers of understanding, which were much cultivated by study, and still more by meditation and reflection. His memory was remarkably retentive, his imagination uncommonly vigorous, and his judgment keen and penetrating. He had a strong sense of the importance of religion; his piety was sincere and sometimes ardent; and his zeal for the interests of virtue was often manifested in his conversation and in his writings. The same energy which was displayed in his literary productions was exhibited also in his conversation, which was various, striking, and instructive; and perhaps no man ever equalled him for nervous and pointed repartees.

"His *Dictionary*, his moral *Essays*, and his productions in polite literature, will convey useful instruction, and elegant entertainment, as long as the language in which they are written shall be understood."

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I have, indeed, often wondered how Milton, "an acrimonious and surly Republican," a man "who in his domestic relations was so severe and arbitrary," and whose head was filled with the hardest and most dismal tenets of Calvinism, should have been such a poet; should not only have written with sublimity, but with beauty, and even gaiety; should have exquisitely painted the sweetest sensations of which our nature is capable; imaged the delicate raptures of connubial love; nay, seemed to be animated with all the spirit of revelry. It is a proof that in the human mind the departments of judgment and imagination, perception and temper, may sometimes be divided by strong partitions; and that the light and shade in the same character may be kept so distinct as never to be blended.

In the *Life of Milton*, Johnson took occasion to maintain his own and the general opinion of the excellence of rhyme over blank verse in English poetry, and quotes this apposite illustration of it by "an ingenious critic," that *it seems to be verse only to the eye*.¹ The gentleman whom he thus characterises is (as he told Mr Seward) Mr Lock, of Norbury Park, in Surrey, whose knowledge and taste in the fine arts is universally celebrated; with whose elegance of manners the writer of the present work has felt himself much impressed, and to whose virtues a common friend, who has known him long, and is not much addicted to flattery, gives the highest testimony.

Various readings in the "Life of Milton"

"I cannot find any meaning but this which [his most bigoted advocates] *even kindness and reverence* can give.

[Perhaps no] *scarcely any* man ever wrote so much, and praised so few.

¹ One of the most natural instances of the effect of blank verse happened to the late Earl of Hopeton. His lordship observed one of his shepherds poring in the fields upon Milton's *Paradise Lost*; and having asked him what book it was, the man answered, "An't please your Lordship, this is a very odd sort of an author: he would fain rhyme, but cannot get at it."

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A certain [rescue] *preservative* from oblivion.

Let me not be censured for this digression, as [contracted] *pedantic* or paradoxical.

Socrates rather was of opinion, that what we had to learn was how to [obtain and communicate happiness] *do good and avoid evil*.

Its elegance [who can exhibit?] *is less attainable.*"

I could, with pleasure, expatiate upon the masterly execution of the *Life of Dryden*, which we have seen¹ was one of Johnson's literary projects at an early period, and which it is remarkable, that after desisting from it, from a supposed scantiness of materials, he should, at an advanced age, have performed so amply.

His defence of that great poet against the illiberal attacks upon him, as if his embracing the Roman Catholic communion had been a time-serving measure, is a piece of reasoning at once able and candid. Indeed, Dryden himself, in his *Hind and Panther*, hath given such a picture of his mind, that they who know the anxiety for repose as to the awful subject of our state beyond the grave, though they may think his opinion ill-founded, must think charitably of his sentiment :

" But, gracious God, how well dost thou provide
For erring judgments an unerring guide !
Thy throne is darkness in th'abyss of light,
A blaze of glory that forbids the sight.
O ! teach me to believe thee thus conceal'd,
And search no farther than thyself reveal'd ;
But Her alone for my director take,
Whom thou hast promis'd never to forsake.
My thoughtless youth was wing'd with vain desires ;
My manhood, long misled by wand'ring fires,
Followed false lights ; and when their glimpse was gone,
My pride struck out new sparkles of her own.

¹ See Vol. II., p. 321.

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Such was I, such by Nature still I am ;
Be thine the glory, and be mine the shame.
Good life be now my task : my doubts are done ;
What more could shock my faith than Three in One ? ”

In drawing Dryden's character, Johnson has given, though I suppose unintentionally, some touches of his own. Thus, "The power that predominated in his intellectual operations was rather strong reason than quick sensibility. Upon all occasions that were presented, he studied rather than felt ; and produced sentiments not such as Nature enforces, but meditation supplies. With the simple and elemental passions as they spring separate in the mind, he seems not much acquainted. He is, therefore, with all his variety of excellence, not often pathetic ; and had so little sensibility of the power of effusions purely natural, that he did not esteem them in others." It may indeed be observed that in all the numerous writings of Johnson, whether in prose or verse, and even in his tragedy, of which the subject is the distress of an unfortunate princess, there is not a single passage that ever drew a tear.

Various readings in the "Life of Dryden"

"The reason of this general perusal, Addison has attempted to [find in] *derive from* the delight which the mind feels in the investigation of secrets.

His best actions are but [convenient] *inability* of wickedness.

When once he had engaged himself in disputation, [matter] *thoughts* flowed in on either side.

The abyss of un-ideal [emptiness] *vacancy*.

These, like [many other harlots,] *the harlots of other men*, had his love though not his approbation.

He [sometimes displays] *descends to display* his knowledge with pedantic ostentation.

French words which [were then used in] *had then crept into* conversation."

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The *Life of Pope* was written by Johnson *con amore*, both from the early possession which that writer had taken of his mind, and from the pleasure which he must have felt in for ever silencing all attempts to lessen his poetical fame, by demonstrating his excellence, and pronouncing a triumphant apotheosis. "After all this, it is surely superfluous to answer the question that has once been asked—Whether Pope was a poet?—otherwise than by asking in return—If Pope be not a poet, where is poetry to be found? To circumscribe poetry by a definition will only show the narrowness of the definer; though a definition which shall exclude Pope will not easily be made. Let us look round upon the present time, and back upon the past; let us inquire to whom the voice of mankind has decreed the wreath of poetry; let their productions be examined, and their claims stated, and the pretensions of Pope will be no more disputed."

I remember once to have heard Johnson say: "Sir, a thousand years may elapse before there shall appear another man with a power of versification equal to that of Pope." That power must undoubtedly be allowed its due share in enhancing the value of his captivating composition.

Johnson, who had done liberal justice to Warburton in his edition of Shakspeare, which was published during the life of that powerful writer, with still greater liberality took an opportunity of paying the tribute due to him, when he was no longer in "high place," but numbered with the dead.¹

It seems strange, that two such men as Johnson and

¹ Of Johnson's conduct towards Warburton, a very honourable notice is taken by the editor of *Tracts by Warburton, and a Warburtonian, not admitted into the Collection of their respective Works*. After an able and "fond, though not undistinguishing," consideration of Warburton's character, he says, "In two immortal works, Johnson has stood forth in the foremost rank of his admirers. By the testimony of such a man, impertinence must be abashed, and malignity itself must be softened. Of literary merit, Johnson, as we all know, was a sagacious but a most severe judge. Such was his discernment, that he pierced into the most secret Springs of human actions; and such was his integrity, that he always weighed the moral characters of his fellow-creatures in the 'balance of the sanctuary.' He was too courageous to propitiate a rival, and too proud to truckle to a superior. Warburton he

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Warburton, who lived in the same age and country, should not only not have been in any degree of intimacy, but been almost personally unacquainted. But such instances, though me must wonder at them, are not rare. If I am rightly informed, after a careful inquiry, they never met but once, which was at the house of Mrs French, in London, well known for her elegant assemblies, and bringing eminent characters together. The interview proved to be mutually agreeable.

knew, as I know him, and as every man of sense and virtue would wish to be known—I mean, both from his own writings, and from the writings of those who dissented from his principles, or who envied his reputation. But, as to favours, he had never received or asked any from the Bishop of Gloucester; and, if my memory fails me not, he had seen him only once, when they met almost without design, conversed without much effort, and parted without any lasting impressions of hatred or affection. Yet, with all the ardour of sympathetic genius, Johnson has done that spontaneously and ably, which, by some writers, had been before attempted injudiciously, and which, by others, from whom more successful attempts might have been expected, has not *hitherto* been done at all. He spoke well of Warburton, without insulting those whom Warburton despised. He suppressed not the imperfections of this extraordinary man, while he endeavoured to do justice to his numerous and transcendental excellencies. He defended him when living, amidst the clamours of his enemies; and praised him when dead, amidst the *silence of his friends*."

Having availed myself of this editor's eulogy on my departed friend, for which I warmly thank him, let me not suffer the lustre of his reputation, honestly acquired by profound learning and vigorous eloquence, to be tarnished by a charge of illiberality. He has been accused of invidiously dragging again into light certain writings of a person respectable by his talents, his learning, his station, and his age, which were published a great many years ago, and have since, it is said, been silently given up by their author. But when it is considered that these writings were not *sins of youth*, but deliberate works of one well advanced in life, overflowing at once with flattery to a great man of great interest in the Church, and with unjust and acrimonious abuse of two men of eminent merit; and that, though it would have been unreasonable to expect an humiliating recantation, no apology whatever has been made in the cool of the evening, for the oppressive fervour of the heat of the day; no slight relenting indication has appeared in any note, or any corner of later publications; is it not fair to understand him as superciliously persevering? When he allows the shafts to remain in the wounds, and will not stretch forth a lenient hand, is it wrong, is it not generous to become an indignant avenger?

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I am well informed, that Warburton said of Johnson: "I admire him, but I cannot bear his style"; and that Johnson being told of this, said: "That is exactly my case as to him." The manner in which he expressed his admiration of the fertility of Warburton's genius and of the variety of his materials, was, "The table is always full, sir. He brings things from the north, and the south, and from every quarter. In his *Divine Legation*, you are always entertained. He carries you round and round, without carrying you forward to the point; but then you have no wish to be carried forward." He said to the Reverend Mr Strahan: "Warburton is perhaps the last man who has written with a mind full of reading and reflection."

It is remarkable, that in the *Life of Broome*, Johnson takes notice of Dr Warburton's using a mode of expression which he himself used, and that not seldom, to the great offence of those who did not know him. Having occasion to mention a note, stating the different parts which were executed by the associated translators of the *Odyssey*, he says: "Dr Warburton told me, in his warm language, that he thought the relation given in the note *a lie*." The language is *warm* indeed; and, I must own, cannot be justified in consistency with a decent regard to the established forms of speech. Johnson had accustomed himself to use the word *lie*, to express a mistake or an error in relation; in short, when the thing *was not so as told*, though the relator did not *mean* to deceive. When he thought there was intentional falsehood in the relator, his expression was: "He *lies*, and he *knows* he *lies*."

Speaking of Pope's not having been known to excel in conversation, Johnson observes, that "traditional memory retains no sallies of raillery, or sentences of observation; nothing either pointed or solid, wise or merry; and that one apophthegm only is recorded." In this respect, Pope differed widely from Johnson, whose conversation was, perhaps, more admirable than even his writings, however excellent. Mr Wilkes has, however, favoured me with

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one repartee of Pope, of which Johnson was not informed. Johnson, after justly censuring him for having "nursed in his mind a foolish disesteem of Kings," tells us, "yet a little regard shown him by the Prince of Wales melted his obduracy; and he had not much to say when he was asked by his Royal Highness, *how he could love a Prince, while he disliked Kings.*" The answer which Pope made, was: "The young lion is harmless, and even playful; but when his claws are full grown he becomes cruel, dreadful, and mischievous."

But although we have no collection of Pope's sayings, it is not therefore to be concluded that he was not agreeable in social intercourse; for Johnson himself has been heard to say, that "the happiest conversation is that of which nothing is distinctly remembered but a general effect of pleasing impression." The late Lord Somerville,¹ who saw much both of great and brilliant life, told me that he had dined in company with Pope, and that after dinner the *little man*, as he called him, drank his bottle of Burgundy, and was exceedingly gay and entertaining.

I cannot withhold from my great friend a censure of at least culpable inattention, to a nobleman, who, it has been shown, behaved to him with uncommon politeness. He says: "Except Lord Bathurst, none of Pope's noble friends were such as that a good man would wish to have his intimacy with them known to posterity." This will not apply to Lord Mansfield, who was not ennobled in Pope's lifetime; but Johnson should have recollected that Lord Marchmont

¹ Let me here express my grateful remembrance of Lord Somerville's kindness to me at a very early period. He was the first person of high rank that took particular notice of me in the way most flattering to a young man, fondly ambitious of being distinguished for his literary talents; and by the honour of his encouragement made me think well of myself, and aspire to deserve it better. He had a happy art of communicating his varied knowledge of the world, in short remarks and anecdotes, with a quiet pleasant gravity, that was exceedingly engaging. Never shall I forget the hours which I enjoyed with him at his apartments in the Royal Palace of Holyrood House, and at his seat near Edinburgh, which he himself had formed with an elegant taste.

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was one of those noble friends. He includes his lordship along with Lord Bolingbroke, in a charge of neglect of the papers which Pope left by his will; when, in truth, as I myself pointed out to him, before he wrote that poet's life, the papers were "committed to the sole care and judgment of Lord Bolingbroke, unless he (Lord Bolingbroke) shall not survive me"; so that Lord Marchmont had no concern whatever with them. After the first edition of the *Lives*, Mr Malone, whose love of justice is equal to his accuracy, made, in my hearing, the same remark to Johnson; yet he omitted to correct the erroneous statement. These particulars I mention, in the belief that there was only forgetfulness in my friend; but I owe this much to the Earl of Marchmont's reputation, who, were there no other memorials, will be immortalised by that line of Pope, in the verses on his Grotto:

"And the bright flame was shot through Marchmont's soul."

Various readings in the "Life of Pope"

"[Somewhat free] *sufficiently bold* in his criticisms.

All the gay [niceties] *varieties* of diction.

Strikes the imagination with far [more] *greater* force.

It is [probably] *certainly* the noblest version of poetry which the world has ever seen.

Every sheet enabled him to write the next with [less trouble] *more facility*.

No man sympathises with [vanity depressed] *the sorrows of vanity*.

It had been [criminal] *less easily excused*.

When he [threatened to lay down] *talked of laying down* his pen.

Society [is so named emphatically in opposition to] *politically regulated, is a state contra-distinguished from a state of nature*.

A fictitious life of an [absurd] *infatuated* scholar.

A foolish [contempt, disregard,] *disesteem* of Kings.

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His hopes and fears, his joys and sorrows [were like those of other mortals] *acted strongly upon his mind.*

Eager to pursue knowledge and attentive to [accumulate] *retain it.*

A mind [excursive] *active*, ambitious, and adventurous.

In its [noblest] *widest* searches still longing to go forward.

He wrote in such a manner as might expose him to few [neglects] *hazards.*

The [reasonableness] *justice* of my determination.

A [favourite] *delicious* employment of the poets.

More terrific and more powerful [beings] *phantoms* perform on the stormy ocean.

The inventor of [those] *this* petty [beings] *nation.*

The [mind] *heart* naturally loves truth."

In the *Life of Addison* we find an unpleasant account of his having lent Steele a hundred pounds, and "reclaimed his loan by an execution." In the new edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, the authenticity of this anecdote is denied. But Mr Malone has obliged me with the following note concerning it:

"Many persons having doubts concerning this fact, I applied to Dr Johnson to learn on what authority he asserted it. He told me, he had it from Savage, who lived in intimacy with Steele, and who informed him, that Steele told him the story with tears in his eyes. Ben Victor, Dr Johnson said, likewise informed him of this remarkable transaction, from the relation of Mr Wilkes the comedian, who was also an intimate of Steele's. Some, in defence of Addison, have said, that 'the act was done with the good-natured view of rousing Steele, and correcting that profusion which always made him necessitous.' 'If that were the case,' said Johnson, 'and that he only wanted to alarm Steele, he would afterwards have *returned* the money to his friend, which it is not pretended he did.' 'This, too,' he added, 'might be retorted by an advocate for Steele, who

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might allege, that he did not repay the loan *intentionally*, merely to see whether Addison would be mean and ungenerous enough to make use of legal process to recover it. But of such speculations there is no end: we cannot dive into the hearts of men; but their actions are open to observation.'

"I then mentioned to him that some people thought that Mr Addison's character was so pure, that the fact, *though true*, ought to have been suppressed. He saw no reason for this. 'If nothing but the bright side of characters should be shown, we should sit down in despondency, and think it utterly impossible to imitate them in *anything*. The sacred writers (he observed) related the vicious as well as the virtuous actions of men; which had this moral effect, that it kept mankind from *despair*, into which otherwise they would naturally fall, were they not supported by the recollection that others had offended like themselves, and by penitence and amendment of life had been restored to the favour of Heaven.'

E. M.

"*March 15, 1782.*"

The last paragraph of this note is of great importance; and I request that my readers may consider it with particular attention. It will be afterwards referred to in this work.

Various readings in the "Life of Addison"

"[But he was our first great example] *He was, however, one of our earliest examples* of correctness.

And [overlook] *despise* their masters.

His instructions were such as the [state] *character* of his [own time] *readers* made [necessary] *proper*.

His purpose was to [diffuse] *infuse* literary curiosity by gentle and unsuspected conveyance [among] *into* the gay, the idle, and the wealthy.

Framed rather for those that [wish] *are learning* to write.
Domestic [manners] *scenes.*"

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In his *Life of Parnell*, I wonder that Johnson omitted to insert an epitaph which he had long before composed for that amiable man, without ever writing it down, but which he was so good as, at my request, to dictate me, by which means it has been preserved.

Hic requiescit THOMAS PARNELL, S. T. P.

*Qui sacerdos pariter et Poeta,
Utrasque partes ita implevit,
Ut neque sacerdoti suavitas poetæ,
Nec poetæ sacerdotis sanctitas deesset.*

Various readings in the "Life of Parnell"

"About three years [after] afterwards.

[Did not much want] *was in no great need* of improvement.

But his prosperity *did not last long* [was clouded by that which took away all his powers of enjoying either profit or pleasure, the death of his wife, whom he is said to have lamented with such sorrow, as hastened his end.¹] His end, whatever was the cause, was now approaching.

In the Hermit, the [composition] *narrative*, as it is less airy, is less pleasing."

In the *Life of Blackmore*, we find that writer's reputation generously cleared by Johnson from the cloud of prejudice which the malignity of contemporary wits had raised around it. In this spirited exertion of justice, he has been imitated by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in his praise of the architecture of Vanbrugh.

We trace Johnson's own character in his observation on Blackmore's "magnanimity as an author." "The incessant attacks of his enemies, whether serious or merry, are never discovered to have disturbed his quiet, or to have lessened

¹ I should have thought that Johnson, who had felt the severe affliction from which Parnell never recovered, would have preserved this passage.

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his confidence in himself." Johnson, I recollect, once told me, laughing heartily, that he understood it had been said of him, "He *appears* not to feel; but, when he is *alone*, depend upon it, he *suffers sadly*." I am as certain as I can be of any man's real sentiments that he *enjoyed* the perpetual shower of little hostile arrows, as evidences of his fame.

Various readings in the "Life of Blackmore"

"To [set] *engage* poetry [on the side] *in the cause* of virtue.

He likewise [established] *enforced* the truth of Revelation.
[Kindness] *benevolence* was ashamed to favour.

His practice, which was once [very extensive] *invidiously great*.

There is scarcely any distemper of dreadful name [of] which he has not [shown] *taught his reader* how [it is] to [be opposed] *oppose*.

Of this [contemptuous] *indecent* arrogance.

[He wrote] *but produced* likewise a work of a different kind.

At least [written] *compiled* with integrity.

Faults which many tongues [were desirous] *would have made haste* to publish.

But though he [had not] *could not boast of* much critical knowledge.

He [used] *waited for* no felicities of fancy.

Or had ever elevated his [mind] *views* to that ideal perfection which every [mind] *genius* born to excel is condemned always to pursue and never overtake.

The [first great] *fundamental* principle of wisdom and of virtue."

Various readings in the "Life of Philips"

"His dreaded [rival] *antagonist* Pope.

They [have not often much] *are not loaded with* thought.

In his translations from Pindar, he [will not be denied

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to have reached] *found the art of reaching* all the obscurity of the Theban bard."

Various readings in the "Life of Congreve"

"Congreve's conversation must surely have been *at least* equally pleasing with his writings.

It apparently [requires] *presupposes* a familiar knowledge of many characters.

Reciprocation of [similes] *conceits*.

The dialogue is quick and [various] *sparkling*.

Love for Love; a comedy [more drawn from life] of *nearer alliance to life*.

The general character of his miscellanies is, that they show little wit and [no] *little* virtue.

[Perhaps] *certainly* he had not the fire requisite for the higher species of lyric poetry."

Various readings in the "Life of Tickell"

"[Longed] *long wished* to peruse it.

At the [accession] *arrival* of King George.

Fiction [unnaturally] *unskillfully* compounded of Grecian deities and Gothic fairies."

Various readings in the "Life of Akenside"

"For [another] *a different* purpose.

[A furious] *an unnecessary* and outrageous zeal.

[Something which] *what* he called and thought liberty.

A [favourer of innovation] *lover of contradiction*.

Warburton's [censure] *objections*.

His rage [for liberty] *of patriotism*.

Mr Dyson with [a zeal] *an ardour* of friendship."

In the *Life of Lyttleton*, Johnson seems to have been not favourably disposed towards that nobleman. Mrs Thrale suggests that he was offended by Molly Aston's preference

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of his lordship to him.¹ I can by no means join the censure bestowed by Johnson on his lordship, whom he calls "poor Lyttleton," for returning thanks to the Critical Reviewers, for having "kindly commended" his *Dialogues of the Dead*. Such "acknowledgments," says my friend, "never can be proper, since they must be paid either for flattery or for justice." In my opinion, the most upright man, who has been tried on a false accusation, may, when he is acquitted, make a bow to his jury. And when those who, no matter by what right, are so much the arbiters of literary merit, as in a considerable degree to influence the public opinion, review an author's work, *placido lumine*, when I am afraid mankind in general are better pleased with severity, he may surely express a grateful sense of their civility.

Various readings in the "Life of Lyttelton"

"He solaced [himself] *his grief* by writing a long poem to her memory.

The production rather [of a mind that means well than

¹ Let not my readers smile to think of Johnson's being a candidate for female favour; Mr Peter Garrick assured me, that he was told by a lady, that in her opinion Johnson was "a very *seducing man*." Disadvantages of person and manner may be forgotten, where intellectual pleasure is communicated to a susceptible mind; and that Johnson was capable of feeling the most delicate and disinterested attachment, appears from the following letter, which is published by Mrs Thrale, with some others to the same person, of which the excellence is not so apparent:

To Miss BOOTHBY

January, 1755.

DEAREST MADAM,—Though I am afraid your illness leaves you little leisure for the reception of airy civilities, yet I cannot forbear to pay you my congratulations on the new year; and to declare my wishes that your years to come may be many and happy. In this wish, indeed, I include myself, who have none but you on whom my heart reposes; yet surely I wish your good, even though your situation were such as should permit you to communicate no gratifications to, dearest, dearest Madam, your, etc.,

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thinks vigorously] *as it seems of leisure than of study, rather effusions than compositions.*

His last literary [work] *production.*

[Found the way] *undertook to persuade."*

As the introduction to his critical examination of the genius and writings of Young, he did Mr Herbert Croft, then a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, now a clergyman, the honour to adopt a *Life of Young* written by that gentleman, who was the friend of Dr Young's son, and wished to vindicate him from some very mistaken remarks to his prejudice. Mr Croft's performance was subjected to the revision of Dr Johnson, as appears from the following note to Mr John Nichols :

"This *Life of Dr Young* was written by a friend of his son. What is crossed with black is expunged by the author, what is crossed with red is expunged by me. If you find anything more that can be well omitted, I shall not be sorry to see it yet shorter."

It has always appeared to me to have a considerable share of merit, and to display a pretty successful imitation of Johnson's style. When I mentioned this to a very eminent literary character, he opposed me vehemently, exclaiming : "No, no, it is *not* a good imitation of Johnson ; it has all his pomp without his force ; it has all the nodosities of the oak without its strength." This was an image so happy, that one might have thought he would have been satisfied with it ; but he was not. And setting his mind again to work, he added, with exquisite felicity, "It has all the contortions of the Sybil, without the inspiration."

Mr Croft very properly guards us against supposing that Young was a gloomy man ; and mentions, that "his parish was indebted to the good humour of the author of the *Night Thoughts* for an Assembly and a Bowling Green." A letter from a noble foreigner is quoted, in which he is said to have been "very pleasant in conversation."

Mr Langton, who frequently visited him, informs me,

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that there was an air of benevolence in his manner, but that he could obtain from him less information than he had hoped to receive from one who had lived so much in intercourse with the brightest men of what has been called the Augustan age of England; and that he showed a degree of eager curiosity concerning the common occurrences that were then passing, which appeared somewhat remarkable in a man of such intellectual stores, of such an advanced age, and who had retired from life with declared disappointment in his expectations.

An instance at once of his pensive turn of mind, and his cheerfulness of temper, appeared in a little story which he himself told to Mr Langton, when they were walking in his garden: "Here," said he, "I had put a handsome sundial, with this inscription, *Eheu fugaces!* which" (speaking with a smile) "was sadly verified, for by the next morning my dial had been carried off."

It gives me much pleasure to observe, that however Johnson may have casually talked, yet when he sits, as "an ardent judge zealous to his trust, giving sentence," upon the excellent works of Young, he allows them the high praise to which they are justly entitled. "*The Universal Passion*," says he, "is indeed a very great performance—his distichs have the weight of solid sentiment, and his points the sharpness of resistless truth."

But I was most anxious concerning Johnson's decision upon *Night Thoughts*, which I esteem as a mass of the grandest and richest poetry that human genius has ever produced; and was delighted to find this character of that work: "In his *Night Thoughts* he has exhibited a very wide display of original poetry, variegated with deep reflections and striking allusions; a wilderness of thought, in which the fertility of fancy scatters flowers of every hue and of every odour. This is one of the few poems in which blank verse could not be changed for rhyme but with disadvantage." And afterwards: "Particular lines are not to be regarded, the power is in the whole, and in the whole there is a

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magnificence like that ascribed to Chinese plantation, the magnificence of vast extent and endless diversity."

But there is in this poem not only all that Johnson so well brings in view, but a power of the *pathetic* beyond almost any example that I have seen. He who does not feel his nerves shaken, and his heart pierced by many passages in this extraordinary work, particularly by that most affecting one, which describes the gradual torment suffered by the contemplation of an object of affectionate attachment, visibly and certainly decaying into dissolution, must be of a hard and obstinate frame.

To all the other excellencies of *Night Thoughts* let me add the great and peculiar one, that they contain not only the noblest sentiments of virtue, and the immortality of the soul, but the *Christian Sacrifice*, the *Divine Propitiation*, with all its interesting circumstances, and consolations to "a wounded spirit," solemnly and poetically displayed in such imagery and language, as cannot fail to exalt, animate, and soothe the truly pious. No book whatever can be recommended to young persons, with better hopes of seasoning their minds with *vital religion* than Young's *Night Thoughts*.

In the *Life of Swift*, it appears to me that Johnson had a certain degree of prejudice against that extraordinary man, of which I have elsewhere had occasion to speak. Mr Thomas Sheridan imputed it to a supposed apprehension in Johnson that Swift had not been sufficiently active in obtaining for him an Irish degree when it was solicited,¹ but of this there was not sufficient evidence; and let me not presume to charge Johnson with injustice, because he did not think so highly of the writings of this author as I have done from my youth upwards. Yet that he had an unfavourable bias is evident, were it only from that passage in which he speaks of Swift's practice of saving, as, "first ridiculous and at last detestable"; and yet after some examination of circumstances, finds himself obliged to own, that "it

¹ See Vol. I., p. 74.

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will perhaps appear that he only liked one mode of expense better than another, and saved merely that he might have something to give."

One observation which Johnson makes in Swift's Life should be often inculcated: "It may be justly supposed, that there was in his conversation what appears so frequently in his letters, an affectation of familiarity with the great, an ambition of momentary equality, sought and enjoyed by the neglect of those ceremonies which custom has established as the barriers between one order of society and another. This transgression of regularity was by himself and his admirers termed greatness of soul; but a great mind disdains to hold anything by courtesy, and therefore never usurps what a lawful claimant may take away. He that encroaches on another's dignity puts himself in his power; he is either repelled with helpless indignity, or endured by clemency and condescension."

Various readings in the "Life of Swift"

"Charity may be persuaded to think that it might be written by a man of a peculiar [opinions] *character*, without ill intention.

He did not [disown] *deny* it.

[To] *by* whose kindness it is not unlikely that he was [indebted for] *advanced to* his benefices.

[With] *for* this purpose he had recourse to Mr Harley.

Sharpe, whom he [represents] *describes* as "the harmless tool of others' hate."

Harley was slow because he was [irresolute] *doubtful*.

When [readers were not many] *we were not yet a nation of readers*.

[Every man who] *he that could say he knew him*.

Every man of known influence has so many [more] petitions [than] *which* he [can] *cannot* grant, that he must necessarily offend more than he [can gratify] *gratifies*.

Ecclesiastical [preferments] *benefices*.

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Swift [procured] *contrived* an interview.

[As a writer] *In his works* he has given very different specimens.

On all common occasions he habitually [assumes] *affects* a style of [superiority] *arrogance*.

By the [omission] *neglect* of those ceremonies.

That their merits filled the world [and] *or that* there was no [room for] *hope of more*."

I have not confined myself to the order of the *Lives* in making my few remarks. Indeed a different order is observed in the original publication, and in the collection of Johnson's Works. And should it be objected that many of my various readings are inconsiderable, those who make the objection will be pleased to consider, that such small particulars are intended for those who are nicely critical in composition, to whom they will be an acceptable selection.

"Spence's Anecdotes," which are frequently quoted and referred to in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, are in a manuscript collection, made by the Reverend Dr Joseph Spence, containing a number of particulars concerning eminent men. To each anecdote is marked the name of the person on whose authority it is mentioned. This valuable collection is the property of the Duke of Newcastle, who upon the application of Sir Lucas Pepys, was pleased to permit it to be put into the hands of Dr Johnson, who I am sorry to think made but an awkward return. "Great assistance," says he, "has been given me by Mr Spence's Collection, of which I consider the communication as a favour worthy of public acknowledgment"; but he has not owned to whom he was obliged; so that the acknowledgment is unappropriated to his Grace.

While the world in general was filled with admiration of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, there were narrow circles in which prejudice and resentment were fostered, and from whence attacks of different sorts issued against him. By some violent Whigs he was arraigned of injustice to Milton;

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by some Cambridge men of depreciating Gray; and his expressing with a dignified freedom what he really thought of George, Lord Lyttelton, gave offence to some of the friends of that nobleman, and particularly produced a declaration of war against him from Mrs Montague, the ingenious essayist on Shakspeare, between whom and his lordship a commerce of reciprocal compliments had long been carried on. In this war the smaller powers in alliance with him were of course led to engage, at least on the defensive, and thus I for one, was excluded from the enjoyment of "A Feast of Reason," such as Mr Cumberland has described, with a keen yet just and delicate pen, in his *Observer*. These minute inconveniencies gave not the least disturbance to Johnson. He nobly said, when I talked to him of the feeble, though shrill outcry which had been raised: "Sir, I considered myself as entrusted with a certain portion of truth. I have given my opinion sincerely; let them show where they think me wrong."

While my friend is thus contemplated in the splendour derived from his last and perhaps most admirable work, I introduce him with peculiar propriety as the correspondent of Warren Hastings, a man whose regard reflects dignity even upon Johnson; a man, the extent of whose abilities was equal to that of his power; and who, by those who are fortunate enough to know him in private life, is admired for his literature and taste, and beloved for the candour, moderation, and mildness of his character. Were I capable of paying a suitable tribute of admiration to him, I should certainly not withhold it at a moment¹ when it is not possible that I should be suspected of being an interested flatterer. But how weak would be my voice after that of the millions whom he governed. His condescending and obliging compliance with my solicitation, I with humble gratitude acknowledge; and while by publishing his letter to me, accompanying the valuable communication, I do eminent honour to my great friend, I shall entirely disregard any

¹ January, 1791.

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invidious suggestions, that as I in some degree participate in the honour, I have, at the same time, the gratification of my own vanity in view.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

PARK LANE, Dec. 2, 1790.

SIR,—I have been fortunately spared the troublesome suspense of a long search, to which, in performance of my promise, I had devoted this morning, by lighting upon the objects of it among the first papers that I laid my hands on : my veneration for your great and good friend, Dr Johnson, and the pride, or I hope something of a better sentiment, which I indulged in possessing such memorials of his goodwill towards me, having induced me to bind them in a parcel containing other select papers, and labelled with the titles appertaining to them. They consist but of three letters, which I believe were all that I ever received from Dr Johnson. Of these, one, which was written in quadruplicate, under the different dates of its respective dispatches, has already been made public, but not from any communication of mine. This, however, I have joined to the rest ; and have now the pleasure of sending them to you for the use to which you informed me it was your desire to destine them.

My promise was pledged with the condition, that if the letters were found to contain anything which should render them improper for the public eye, you would dispense with the performance of it. You will have the goodness, I am sure, to pardon my recalling this stipulation to your recollection, as I should be loth to appear negligent of that obligation which is always implied in an epistolary confidence. In the reservation of that right I have read them over with the most scrupulous attention, but have not seen in them the slightest cause on that ground to withhold them from you. But, though not on that, yet on another ground I own I feel a little, yet but a little, reluctance to part with them : I mean on that of my own credit, which I fear will suffer by the

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information conveyed by them, that I was early in the possession of such valuable instructions for the beneficial employment of the influence of my late station, and (as it may seem) have so little availed myself of them. Whether I could, if it were necessary, defend myself against such an imputation, it little concerns the world to know. I look only to the effect which these relics may produce, considered as evidences of the virtues of their author: and believing that they will be found to display an uncommon warmth of private friendship, and a mind ever attentive to the improvement and extension of useful knowledge, and solicitous for the interests of mankind, I can cheerfully submit to the little sacrifice of my own fame to contribute to the illustration of so great and venerable a character. They cannot be better applied, for that end, than by being entrusted to your hands. Allow me, with this offering, to infer from it a proof of the very great esteem with which I have the honour to profess myself, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

P.S.—At some future time, and when you have no further occasion for these papers, I shall be obliged to you if you would return them.

The last of the three letters thus graciously put into my hands, and which has already appeared in public, belongs to this year; but I shall previously insert the two first in the order of their dates. They altogether form a grand group in my biographical picture.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

SIR,—Though I have had but little personal knowledge of you, I have had enough to make me wish for more; and though it be now a long time since I was honoured by your visit, I had too much pleasure from it to forget it. By those

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whom we delight to remember, we are unwilling to be forgotten; and therefore I cannot omit this opportunity of reviving myself in your memory by a letter which you will receive from the hands of my friend Mr Chambers¹; a man, whose purity of manners and vigour of mind are sufficient to make everything welcome that he brings.

That this is my only reason for writing, will be too apparent by the uselessness of my letter to any other purpose. I have no questions to ask; not that I want curiosity after either the ancient or present state of regions, in which have been seen all the power and splendour of wide extended empire; and which, as by some grant of natural superiority, supply the rest of the world with almost all that pride desires, and luxury enjoys. But my knowledge of them is too scanty to furnish me with proper topics of inquiry; I can only wish for information; and hope, that a mind comprehensive like yours will find leisure, amidst the cares of your important station, to inquire into many subjects of which the European world either thinks not at all, or thinks with deficient intelligence and uncertain conjecture. I shall hope, that he who once intended to increase the learning of his country by the introduction of the Persian language, will examine nicely the traditions and histories of the East; that he will survey the wonders of its ancient edifices, and trace the vestiges of its ruined cities; and that, at his return, we shall know the arts and opinions of a race of men, from whom very little has been hitherto derived.

You, sir, have no need of being told by me how much may be added by your attention and patronage to experimental knowledge and natural history. There are arts of manufacture practised in the countries in which you preside, which are yet very imperfectly known here, either to artificers or philosophers. Of the natural productions, animate and inanimate, we yet have so little intelligence, that our books are filled, I fear, with conjectures about things which an Indian peasant knows by his senses.

¹ Now Sir Robert Chambers, one of his Majesty's Judges in India.

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Many of those things my first wish is to see; my second to know by such accounts as a man like you will be able to give.

As I have not skill to ask proper questions, I have likewise no such access to great men as can enable me to send you any political information. Of the agitations of an unsettled government, and the struggles of a feeble ministry, care is doubtless taken to give you more exact accounts than I can obtain. If you are inclined to interest yourself much in public transactions, it is no misfortune to you to be so distant from them.

That literature is not totally forsaking us, and that your favourite language is not neglected, will appear from the book,¹ which I should have pleased myself more with sending, if I could have presented it bound; but time was wanting. I beg, however, sir, that you will accept it from a man very desirous of your regard; and that if you think me able to gratify you by anything more important, you will employ me.

I am now going to take leave, perhaps a very long leave, of my dear Mr Chambers. That he is going to live where you govern, may justly alleviate the regret of parting; and the hope of seeing both him and you again, which I am not willing to mingle with doubt, must at present comfort as it can, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

March 30, 1774.

To the Same

SIR,—Being informed that by the departure of a ship there is now an opportunity of writing to Bengal, I am unwilling to slip out of your memory by my own negligence, and therefore take the liberty of reminding you of my existence, by sending you a book which is not yet made public.

¹ Jones's *Persian Grammar*.

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I have lately visited a region less remote, and less illustrious than India, which afforded some occasions for speculation; what occurred to me, I have put into the volume,¹ of which I beg your acceptance.

Men in your station seldom have presents totally disinterested; my book is received, let me now make my request.

There is, sir, somewhere within your government, a young adventurer, one Chauncy Lawrence, whose father is one of my oldest friends. Be pleased to show the young man what countenance is fit, whether he wants to be restrained by your authority, or encouraged by your favour. His father is now President of the College of Physicians, a man venerable for his knowledge, and more venerable for his virtue.

I wish you a prosperous government, a safe return, and a long enjoyment of plenty and tranquillity. I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, Dec. 20, 1774.

To the Same

Jan. 9, 1781.

SIR,—Amidst the importance and multiplicity of affairs in which your great office engages you, I take the liberty of recalling your attention for a moment to literature, and will not prolong the interruption by an apology, which your character makes needless.

Mr Hoole, a gentleman long known, and long esteemed in the India House, after having translated Tasso, has undertaken Ariosto. How well he is qualified for his undertaking he has already shown. He is desirous, sir, of your favour in promoting his proposals, and flatters me by supposing that my testimony may advance his interest.

It is a new thing for a clerk of the India House to translate

¹ *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland.*

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poets—it is new for a Governor of Bengal to patronise learning. That he may find his ingenuity rewarded, and that learning may flourish under your protection, is the wish of, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

I wrote to him in February, complaining of having been troubled by a recurrence of the perplexing question of Liberty and Necessity—and mentioning that I hoped soon to meet him again in London.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I hoped you had got rid of all this hypocrisy of misery. What have you to do with Liberty and Necessity? Or what more than to hold your tongue about it? Do not doubt but I shall be most heartily glad to see you here again, for I love every part about you but your affectation of distress.

I have at last finished my *Lives*, and have laid up for you a load of copy, all out of order, so that it will amuse you a long time to set it right. Come to me, my dear Bozzy, and let us be as happy as we can. We will go again to the Mitre, and talk old times over. I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

March 14, 1781.

On Monday, 19th March, I arrived in London, and on Tuesday, the 20th, met him in Fleet Street, walking, or rather indeed moving along; for his march is thus described in a very just and picturesque manner, in a short *Life*¹

¹ With this well-chosen motto:

“————— From his cradle
He was a SCHOLAR, and a ripe and good one;
And to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him, he died fearing Heaven.”
SHAKESPEARE.

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of him published by Kearsley, very soon after his death : " When he walked the streets, what with the constant roll of his head, and the concomitant motion of his body, he appeared to make his way by that motion, independent of his feet." That he was often much stared at while he advanced in this manner may easily be believed ; but it was not safe to make sport of one so robust as he was. Mr Langton saw him one day, in a fit of absence, by a sudden start, drive the load off a porter's back, and walk forward briskly, without being conscious of what he had done. The porter was very angry, but stood still, and eyed the huge figure with much earnestness, till he was satisfied that his wisest course was to be quiet and take up his burden again.

Our accidental meeting in the street after a long separation was a pleasing surprise to us both. He stepped aside with me into Falcon Court, and made kind inquiries about my family, and as we were in a hurry going different ways, I promised to call on him next day ; he said he was engaged to go out in the morning. " Early, sir ? " said I. JOHNSON : Why, sir, a London morning does not go with the sun.

I waited on him next evening, and he gave me a quantity of his original manuscript of his *Lives of the Poets*, which he had preserved for me.

I found that his friend, Mr Thrale, was now very ill, and had removed, I suppose by the solicitation of Mrs Thrale, to a house in Grosvenor Square. I was sorry to find him sadly changed in his appearance.

He told me I might now have the pleasure to see Dr Johnson drink wine again, for he had lately returned to it. When I mentioned this to Johnson, he said : " I drink it now sometimes, but not socially." The first evening that I was with him at Thrale's I observed he poured a quantity of it into a large glass, and swallowed it greedily. Everything about his character and manners was forcible and violent ; there never was any moderation : many a day did he fast, many a year did he refrain from wine ; but when he did eat,

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it was voraciously ; when he did drink wine, it was copiously. He could practise abstinence, but not temperance.

Mrs Thrale and I had a dispute whether Shakspeare or Milton had drawn the most admirable picture of a man.¹ I was for Shakspeare ; Mrs Thrale for Milton ; and upon a fair hearing, Johnson decided for my opinion.

I told him of one of Mr Burke's playful sallies upon Dean Marlay. "I don't like the Deanery of *Ferns*, it sounds so like a *barren* title." "Dr *Heath* should have it," said I. Johnson laughed, and condescending to trifle in the same mode of conceit, suggested Dr *Moss*.

He said : "Mrs Montagu has dropped me. Now, sir, there are people whom one should like very well to drop, but would not wish to be dropped by." He certainly was vain of the society of ladies, and could make himself very agreeable to them when he chose it ; Sir Joshua Reynolds agreed with me that he could. Mr Gibbon, with his usual sneer, controverted it, perhaps in resentment of Johnson's having talked with some disgust of his ugliness, which one should think a *philosopher* would not mind. Dean Marlay wittily observed : "A lady may be vain when she can turn a wolf-dog into a lap-dog."

The election for Ayrshire, my own county, was this spring tried upon a petition, before a Committee of the

¹ Shakspeare makes Hamlet thus describe his father :

"See what a grace was seated on this brow,
Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove himself,
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command,
A station like the herald, Mercury,
New lighted on a Heaven-kissing hill :
A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man."

Milton thus portrays our first parent, Adam :

"His fair large front and eye sublime declar'd
Absolute rule ; and hyacinthin locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Clust'ring, but not beneath his shoulders broad."

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House of Commons. I was one of the counsel for the sitting member, and took the liberty of previously stating different points to Johnson, who never failed to see them clearly, and to supply me with some good hints. He dictated to me the following note upon the registration of deeds :

“ All laws are made for the convenience of the community ; what is legally done, should be legally recorded, that the state of things may be known, and that wherever evidence is requisite, evidence may be had. For this reason, the obligation to frame and establish a legal register is enforced by a legal penalty, which penalty is the want of that perfection and plenitude of right which a register would give. Thence it follows, that this is not an objection merely legal ; for the reason on which the law stands being equitable, makes it an equitable objection.”

“ This,” said he, “ you must enlarge on when speaking to the Committee. You must not argue there, as if you were arguing in the schools ; close reasoning will not fix their attention ; you must say the same thing over and over again, in different words. If you say it but once, they miss it in a moment of inattention. It is unjust, sir, to censure lawyers for multiplying words when they argue ; it is *necessary* for them to multiply words.”

His notion of the duty of a member of Parliament sitting upon an election committee was very high ; and when he was told of a gentleman upon one of those committees, who read the newspapers part of the time, and slept the rest, while the merits of a vote were examined by the counsel, and as an excuse, when challenged by the chairman for such behaviour, bluntly answered : “ I had made up my mind upon that case ”—Johnson, with an indignant contempt, said : “ If he was such a rogue as to make up his mind upon a case without hearing it, he should not have been such a fool as to tell it.” “ I think,” said Mr Dudley Long, “ the Doctor has pretty plainly made him out to be both rogue and fool.”

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Johnson's profound reverence for the hierarchy made him expect from bishops the highest degree of decorum; he was offended even at their going to taverns; "A bishop," said he, "has nothing to do at a tipping-house. It is not indeed immoral in him to go to a tavern; neither would it be immoral in him to whip a top in Grosvenor Square. But, if he did, I hope the boys would fall upon him and apply the whip to *him*. There are gradations in conduct; there is morality — decency — propriety. None of these should be violated by a bishop. A bishop should not go to a house where he may meet a young fellow leading out a wench." BOSWELL: But, sir, every tavern does not admit women. JOHNSON: Depend upon it, sir, any tavern will admit a well-dressed man and a well-dressed woman; they will not perhaps admit a woman whom they see every night walking by their door, in the street. But a well-dressed man may lead in a well-dressed woman to any tavern in London. Taverns sell meat and drink, and will sell them to anybody who can eat and can drink. You may as well say that a mercer will not sell silks to a woman of the town.

He also disapproved of bishops going to routs, at least of their staying at them longer than their presence commanded respect. He mentioned a particular bishop. "Poh!" said Mrs Thrale, "the Bishop of ——— is never minded at a rout." BOSWELL: When a bishop places himself in a situation where he has no distinct character, and is of no consequence, he degrades the dignity of his order. JOHNSON: Mr Boswell, madam, has said it as correctly as could be.

Nor was it only in the dignitaries of the Church that Johnson required a particular decorum and delicacy of behaviour; he justly considered that the clergy, as men set apart for the sacred office of serving at the altar, and impressing the minds of men with the awful concerns of a future state, should be somewhat more serious than the generality of mankind, and have a suitable composure of

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manners. A due sense of the dignity of their profession, independent of higher motives, will ever prevent them from losing their distinction in an indiscriminate sociality; and did such as affect this, know how much it lessens them in the eyes of those whom they think to please by it, they would feel themselves much mortified.

Johnson, and his friend, Beauclerk, were once together in company with several clergymen, who thought they should appear to advantage by assuming the lax jollity of *men of the world*; which, as it may be observed in similar cases, they carried to noisy excess. Johnson, who they expected would be *entertained*, sate grave and silent for some time; at last, turning to Beauclerk, he said, by no means in a whisper: "This merriment of parsons is mighty offensive."

Even the dress of a clergyman should be in character, and nothing can be more despicable than conceited attempts at avoiding the appearance of the clerical order; attempts, which are as ineffectual as they are pitiful. Dr Porteus, now Bishop of London, in his excellent charge when presiding over the diocese of Chester, justly animadverts upon this subject; and observes of a reverend fop, that he "can be but *half a beau*."

Addison, in *The Spectator*, has given us a fine portrait of a clergyman who is supposed to be a member of his Club; and Johnson has exhibited a model, in the character of Mr Mudge,¹ which has escaped the collectors of his works, but which he owned to me, and which indeed he showed to Sir Joshua Reynolds at the time when it was written. It bears the genuine marks of Johnson's best manner, and is as follows:

"The Reverend Mr *Zachariah Mudge*, Prebendary of Exeter, and Vicar of St Andrews in Plymouth; a man equally eminent for his virtues and abilities, and at once beloved as a companion and revered as a pastor. He had that general curiosity to which no kind of knowledge

¹ See Vol. I., p. 249.

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is indifferent or superfluous; and that general benevolence by which no order of men is hated or despised.

"His principles both of thought and action were great and comprehensive. By a solicitous examination of objections, and judicious comparison of opposite arguments, he attained what inquiry never gives but to industry and perspicuity, a firm and unshaken settlement of conviction. But his firmness was without asperity; for, knowing with how much difficulty truth was sometimes found, he did not wonder that many missed it.

"The general course of his life was determined by his profession; he studied the sacred volumes in the original languages; with what diligence and success, his *Notes upon the Psalms* give sufficient evidence. He once endeavoured to add the knowledge of Arabic to that of Hebrew; but finding his thoughts too much diverted from other studies, after some time, desisted from his purpose.

"His discharge of parochial duties was exemplary. How his *Sermons* were composed, may be learned from the excellent volume which he has given to the public; but how they were delivered, can be known only to those that heard them, for as he appeared in the pulpit, words will not easily describe him. His delivery, though unconstrained was not negligent, and though forcible was not turbulent; disdaining anxious nicety of emphasis, and laboured artifice of action, it captivated the hearer by its natural dignity, it roused the sluggish, and fixed the volatile, and detained the mind upon the subject, without directing it to the speaker.

"The grandeur and solemnity of the preacher did not intrude upon his general behaviour; at the table of his friends he was a companion communicative and attentive, of unaffected manners, of manly cheerfulness, willing to please, and easy to be pleased. His acquaintance was universally solicited, and his presence obstructed no enjoyment which religion did not forbid. Though studious he was popular; though argumentative he was modest; though

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inflexible he was candid; and though metaphysical yet orthodox.”¹

On Friday, 30th March, I dined with him at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, with the Earl of Charlemont, Sir Annesley Stewart, Mr Eliot, of Port Eliot, Mr Burke, Dean Marlay, now Bishop of Clonfert, Mr Langton; a most agreeable day, of which I regret that every circumstance is not preserved; but it is unreasonable to require such a multiplication of felicity.

Mr Eliot, with whom Dr Walter Harte had travelled, talked to us of his *History of Gustavus Adolphus*, which he said was a very good book in the German translation. JOHNSON: Harte was excessively vain. He put copies of his book in manuscript into the hands of Lord Chesterfield and Lord Granville, that they might revise it. Now, how absurd was it to suppose that two such noblemen would revise so big a manuscript. Poor man! he left London the day of the publication of his book, that he might be out of the way of the great praise he was to receive; and he was ashamed to return when he found how ill his book had succeeded. It was unlucky in coming out on the same day with Robertson's *History of Scotland*. His husbandry, however, is good. BOSWELL: So he was fitter for that than for heroic history. He did well when he turned his sword into a ploughshare.

Mr Eliot mentioned a curious liquor peculiar to his country, which the Cornish fishermen drink. They call it *Mahogany*; and it is made of two parts gin and one part treacle, well beaten together. I begged to have some of it made, which was done with proper skill by Mr Eliot. I thought it very good liquor; and said it was a counterpart of what is called *Athol Porridge* in the Highlands of Scotland, which is a mixture of whisky and honey. Johnson said, “that must be a better liquor than the Cornish, for both

¹ *London Chronicle*, 2nd May 1769. This respectable man is there mentioned to have died on the 3rd of April, that year, at Cockett, the seat of Thomas Veale, Esq., in his way to London.

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its component parts are better." He also observed: "*Mahogany* must be a modern name; for it was not long since the wood called mahogany was known in this country." I mentioned his scale of liquors: claret for boys—port for men—brandy for heroes. "Then," said Mr Burke, "let me have claret: I love to be a boy; to have the careless gaiety of boyish days." JOHNSON: I should drink claret too, if it would give me that; but it does not: it neither makes boys men, nor men boys. You'll be drowned by it before it has any effect upon you.

I ventured to mention a ludicrous paragraph in the newspapers, that Dr Johnson was learning to dance of Vestris. Lord Charlemont, wishing to excite him to talk, proposed, in a whisper, that he should be asked, whether it was true. "Shall I ask him?" said his lordship. We were, by a great majority, clear for the experiment. Upon which his lordship very gravely and with a courteous air said: "Pray, sir, is it true that you are taking lessons of Vestris?" This was risking a good deal, and required the boldness of a General of Irish Volunteers to make the attempt. Johnson was at first startled, and in some heat answered: "How can your lordship ask so simple a question?" But immediately recovering himself, whether from unwillingness to be deceived, or to appear deceived, or whether from real good humour, he kept up the joke: "Nay, but if anybody were to answer the paragraph, and contradict it, I'd have a reply, and would say, that he who contradicted it was no friend either to Vestris or me. For why should not Dr Johnson add to his other powers a little corporeal agility? Socrates learned to dance at an advanced age, and Cato learned Greek at an advanced age. Then it might proceed to say, that this Johnson, not content with dancing on the ground, might dance on the rope; and they might introduce the elephant dancing on the rope. A nobleman wrote a play, called *Love in a Hollow Tree*. He found out that it was a bad one, and therefore wished to buy up all the copies, and burn them. The Duchess of Marlborough had kept one;

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and when he was against her at an election, she had a new edition of it printed, and prefixed to it, as a frontispiece, an elephant dancing on a rope; to show, that his lordship's writing comedy was as awkward as an elephant dancing on a rope."

On Sunday, 1st April, I dined with him at Mr Thrale's, with Sir Philip Jennings Clerk and Mr Perkins, who had the superintendence of Mr Thrale's brewery, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year. Sir Philip had the appearance of a gentleman of ancient family, well advanced in life. He wore his own white hair in a bag of goodly size, a black velvet coat, with an embroidered waistcoat, and very rich laced ruffles; which Mrs Thrale said were old-fashioned, but which, for that reason, I thought the more respectable, more like a Tory; yet Sir Philip was then in opposition in Parliament. "Ah, sir," said Johnson, "ancient ruffles and modern principles do not agree." Sir Philip defended the opposition to the American war ably and with temper, and I joined him. He said, the majority of the nation was against the ministry. JOHNSON: *I*, sir, am against the ministry; but it is for having too little of that of which opposition thinks they have too much. Were I minister, if any man wagged his finger against me, he should be turned out; for that which it is in the power of Government to give at pleasure to one or to another, should be given to the supporters of Government. If you will not oppose at the expense of losing your place, your opposition will not be honest, you will feel no serious grievance; and the present opposition is only a contest to get what others have. Sir Robert Walpole acted as I would do. As to the American war, the *sense* of the nation is *with* the ministry. The majority of those who can *understand* is with it; the majority of those who can only *hear* is against it; and as those who can only hear are more numerous than those who can understand, and opposition is always loudest, a majority of the rabble will be for opposition.

This boisterous vivacity entertained us; but the fact

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really was, that those who could understand the best were against the American war, as almost every man now is, when the question has been coolly considered.

Mrs Thrale gave high praise to a gentleman of our acquaintance. JOHNSON: Nay, my dear lady, don't talk so. Mr ****'s character is very *short*. It is nothing. He fills a chair. He is a man of a genteel appearance, and that is all. I know nobody who blasts by praise as you do: for whenever there is exaggerated praise, everybody is set against a character. They are provoked to attack it. Now there is *****: you praised that man with such disproportion, that I was incited to lessen him, perhaps more than he deserves. His blood is upon your head. By the same principle, your malice defeats itself; for your censure is too violent. And yet (looking to her with a leering smile) she is the first woman in the world could she but restrain that wicked tongue of hers—she would be the only woman could she but command that little whirligig.

Upon the subject of exaggerated praise I took the liberty to say, that I thought there might be very high praise given to a known character which deserved it, and therefore it would not be exaggerated. Thus, one might say of Mr Edmund Burke, He is a very wonderful man. JOHNSON: No, sir, you would not be safe if another man had a mind perversely to contradict. He might answer, Where is all the wonder? Burke is, to be sure, a man of uncommon abilities, with a great quantity of matter in his mind, and a great fluency of language in his mouth. But we are not to be stunned and astonished by him. So you see, sir, even Burke would suffer, not from any fault of his own, but from your folly.

Mrs Thrale mentioned a gentleman who had acquired a fortune of four thousand a year in trade, but was absolutely miserable, because he could not talk in company; so miserable, that he was impelled to lament his situation in the street to *****, whom he hates, and who he knows despises him. "I am a most unhappy man," said he. "I



EDMUND BURKE

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am invited to conversations. I go to conversations; but, alas! I have no conversation." JOHNSON: Man commonly cannot be successful in different ways. This gentleman has spent, in getting four thousand pounds a year, the time in which he might have learnt to talk; and now he cannot talk.—Mr Perkins made a shrewd and droll remark: "If he had got his four thousand a year as a mountebank, he might have learnt to talk at the same time that he was getting his fortune."

Some other gentlemen came in. The conversation concerning the person whose character Dr Johnson had treated so slightly, as he did not know his merit, was resumed. Mrs Thrale said: "You think so of him, sir, because he is quiet, and does not exert himself with force. You'll be saying the same thing of Mr ***** there, who sits as quiet——" This was not well bred; and Johnson did not let it pass without correction. "Nay, madam, what right have you to talk thus? Both Mr ***** and I have reason to take it ill. *You* may talk so of Mr *****; but why do you make *me* do it. Have I said anything against Mr *****? You have *set* him, that I might shoot him: but I have not shot him."

One of the gentlemen said, he had seen three folio volumes of Dr Johnson's sayings collected by me. "I must put you right, sir," said I, "for I am very exact in authenticity. You could not see folio volumes, for I have none: you might have seen some in quarto and octavo. This is inattention which one should guard against." JOHNSON: Sir, it is a want of concern about veracity. He does not know that he saw *any* volumes. If he had seen them he could have remembered their size.

Mr Thrale appeared very lethargic to-day. I saw him again on Monday evening, at which time he was not thought to be in immediate danger; but early in the morning of Wednesday the 4th, he expired. Johnson was in the house, and thus mentions the event: "I felt almost the last flutter of his pulse, and looked for the last time upon the face that

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for fifteen years had never been turned upon me but with respect and benignity.”¹ Upon that day there was a *Call* of the Literary Club; but Johnson apologised for his absence by the following note :

“ Mr Johnson knows that Sir Joshua Reynolds and the other Gentlemen will excuse his incomppliance with the *Call*, when they are told that Mr Thrale died this morning.

“ *Wednesday.*”

Mr Thrale's death was a very essential loss to Johnson, who, although he did not foresee all that afterwards happened, was sufficiently convinced that the comforts which Mr Thrale's family afforded him would now in a great measure cease. He, however, continued to show a kind attention to his widow and children as long as it was acceptable; and he took upon him, with a very earnest concern, the office of one of his executors, the importance of which seemed greater than usual to him, from his circumstances having been always such that he had scarcely any share in the real business of life. His friends of the Club were in hopes that Mr Thrale might have made a liberal provision for him for his life, which, as Mr Thrale left no son, and a very large fortune, it would have been highly to his honour to have done; and, considering Dr Johnson's age, could not have been of long duration: but he bequeathed him only two hundred pounds, which was the legacy given to each of his executors. I could not but be somewhat diverted by hearing Johnson talk in a pompous manner of his new office, and particularly of the concerns of the brewery, which it was at last resolved should be sold. Lord Lucan tells a very good story, which, if not precisely exact, is certainly characteristic: that when the sale of Thrale's brewery was going forward, Johnson appeared bustling about, with an ink-horn and pen in his button-hole, like an exciseman; and on being asked what he really considered to be the

¹ *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 191.

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value of the property which was to be disposed of, answered : " We are not here to sell a parcel of boilers and vats, but the potentiality of growing rich, beyond the dreams of avarice."

On Friday, 6th April, he carried me to dine at a club, which, at his desire, had been lately formed at the Queen's Arms, in St Paul's Churchyard. He told Mr Hoole, that he wished to have a *City Club*, and asked him to collect one ; but, said he, " Don't let them be *patriots*." The company to-day were very sensible well-behaved men. I have preserved only two particulars of his conversation. He said, he was glad Lord George Gordon had escaped, rather than that a precedent should be established for hanging a man for *constructive treason* ; which, in consistency with his true, manly, constitutional Toryism, he considered would be a dangerous engine of arbitrary power. And upon its being mentioned that an opulent and very indolent Scotch nobleman, who totally resigned the management of his affairs to a man of knowledge and abilities, had claimed some merit by saying, " The next best thing to managing a man's own affairs well, is being sensible of incapacity, and not attempting it, but having full confidence in one who can do it." JOHNSON : Nay, sir, this is paltry. There is a middle course. Let a man give application, and depend upon it he will soon get above a despicable state of helplessness, and attain the power of acting for himself.

On Saturday, 7th April, I dined with him at Mr Hoole's, with Governor Boucher and Captain Orme, both of whom had been long in the East Indies ; and being men of good sense and observation, were very entertaining. Johnson defended the oriental regulation of different *castes* of men, which was objected to as totally destructive of the hopes of rising in society by personal merit. He showed that there was a *principle* in it sufficiently plausible by analogy. " We see," said he, " in metals that there are different species ; and so likewise in animals, though one species may not differ very widely from another, as in the species of dogs

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—the cur, the spaniel, the mastiff. The Bramins are the mastiffs of mankind."

On Thursday, 12th April, I dined with him at a bishop's, where were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr Berrenger, and some more company. He had dined the day before at another bishop's. I have unfortunately recorded none of his conversation at the bishop's where we dined together; but I have preserved his ingenious defence of his dining twice abroad in Passion Week; a laxity in which I am convinced he would not have indulged himself at the time when he wrote his solemn paper in *The Rambler*, upon that awful season. It appeared to me, that by being much more in company, and enjoying more luxurious living, he had contracted a keener relish of pleasure, and was consequently less rigorous in his religious rites. This he would not acknowledge; but he reasoned, with admirable sophistry, as follows: "Why, sir, a bishop's calling company together in this week, is, to use the vulgar phrase, not *the thing*. But you must consider laxity is a bad thing; but preciseness is also a bad thing; and your general character may be more hurt by preciseness than by dining with a bishop in Passion Week. There might be a handle for reflection. It might be said: 'He refused to dine with a bishop in Passion Week, but was three Sundays absent from church.'"

BOSWELL: Very true, sir. But suppose a man to be uniformly of good conduct, would it not be better that he should refuse to dine with a bishop in this week, and so not encourage a bad practice by his example? JOHNSON: Why, sir, you are to consider whether you might not do more harm by lessening the influence of a bishop's character by your disapprobation in refusing him, than by going to him.

To Mrs Lucy Porter, in Lichfield

DEAR MADAM,—Life is full of troubles. I have just lost my dear friend Thrale. I hope he is happy; but I have had a great loss. I am otherwise pretty well. I require some care

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myself, but that care is not ineffectual; and when I am out of order I think it often my own fault.

The spring is now making quick advances. As it is the season in which the whole world is enlivened and invigorated, I hope that both you and I shall partake of its benefits. My desire is to see Lichfield; but being left executor to my friend, I know not whether I can be spared; but I will try, for it is now long since we saw one another, and how little we can promise ourselves many more interviews, we are taught by hourly examples of mortality. Let us try to live so as that mortality may not be an evil. Write to me soon, my dearest; your letters will give me great pleasure.

I am sorry that Mr Porter has not had his box; but by sending it to Mr Mathias, who very readily undertook its conveyance, I did the best I could, and perhaps before now he has it.

Be so kind as to make my compliments to my friends; I have a great value for their kindness, and hope to enjoy it before summer is past. Do write to me. I am, dearest love, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *April 12, 1781.*

On Friday, 13th April, being Good Friday, I went to St Clement's Church with him, as usual. There I saw again his old fellow-collegian, Edwards, to whom I said: "I think, sir, Dr Johnson and you meet only at church." "Sir," said he, "it is the best place we can meet in except Heaven, and I hope we shall meet there too." Dr Johnson told me that there was very little communication between Edwards and him, after their unexpected renewal of acquaintance. "But," said he, smiling, "he met me once, and said: 'I am told you have written a very pretty book called *The Rambler*.' I was unwilling that he should leave the world in total darkness, and sent him a set."

Mr Berrenger visited him to-day, and was very pleasing.

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We talked of an evening society for conversation at a house in town, of which we were all members, but of which Johnson said: "It will never do, sir. There is nothing served about there, neither tea, nor coffee, nor lemonade, nor anything whatever; and depend upon it, sir, a man does not love to go to a place from whence he comes out exactly as he went in." I endeavoured, for argument's sake, to maintain that men of learning and talents might have very good intellectual society without the aid of any little gratifications of the senses. Berrenger joined with Johnson, and said that without these any meeting would be dull and insipid. He would therefore have all the slight refreshments; nay, it would not be amiss to have some cold meat and a bottle of wine upon a sideboard. "Sir," said Johnson to me, with an air of triumph, "Mr Berrenger knows the world. Everybody loves to have good things furnished to them without any trouble. I told Mrs Thrale once, that as she did not choose to have card-tables, she should have a profusion of the best sweetmeats, and she would be sure to have company enough come to her." The event proved the justice of Johnson's opinion, as to the impracticability of getting people to meet, when they know there is absolutely nothing to touch the palate; for this society, though held at the house of a person deservedly much esteemed, and composed of very eminent men, could not be preserved from gradual decay.

On Sunday, 15th April, being Easter Day, after solemn worship in St Paul's Church, I found him alone; Dr Scott, of the Commons, came. He talked of its having been said, that Addison wrote some of his best papers in *The Spectator*, when warm with wine. Dr Johnson did not seem willing to admit this. Dr Scott, as a confirmation of it, related that Blackstone composed his *Commentaries* with a bottle of port before him.

I told him, that in a company where I had lately been, a desire was expressed to know his authority for the shocking story of Addison's sending an execution into Steele's house.

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"Sir," said he, "it is generally known, it is known to all who are acquainted with the literary history of that period. It is as well known, as that he wrote *Cato*." Mr Thomas Sheridan once defended Addison to me, by alleging that he did it in order to cover Steele's goods from other creditors, who were going to seize them.

We talked of the difference between the mode of education at Oxford, and that in the Colleges, where instruction is chiefly conveyed by lectures. JOHNSON: Lectures were once useful; but now, when all can read, and books are so numerous, lectures are unnecessary. If your attention fails, and you miss a part of a lecture, it is lost; you cannot go back as you do upon a book.—Dr Scott agreed with him. "But yet," said I, "Dr Scott, you yourself gave lectures at Oxford." He smiled. "You laughed," then said I, "at those who came to you."

Dr Scott left us, and soon afterwards we went to dinner. Our company consisted of Mrs Williams, Mrs Desmoulins, Mr Levett, Mr Allen, the printer, and Mrs Hall, sister of the Reverend Mr John Wesley, and resembling him, as I thought, both in figure and manner. Johnson produced now, for the first time, some handsome silver salvers, which he told me he had bought fourteen years ago; so it was a great day. I was not a little amused by observing Allen perpetually struggling to talk in the manner of Johnson, like the little frog in the fable, blowing himself up to resemble the stately ox.

I mentioned a kind of religious Robinhood Society, which met every Sunday evening, at Coachmakers' Hall, for free debate; and that the subject for this night was the text which relates, with other miracles, which happened at our Saviour's death: "And the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many." Mrs Hall said it was a very curious subject, and she should like to hear it discussed. JOHNSON (somewhat warmly): One would not go to such

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a place to hear it—one would not be seen in such a place—to give countenance to such a meeting.—I, however, resolved that I would go. “But, sir,” said she to Johnson, “I should like to hear *you* discuss it.” He seemed reluctant to engage in it. She talked of the resurrection of the human race in general, and maintained that we shall be raised with the same bodies. JOHNSON: Nay, madam, we see that it is not to be the same body; for the Scripture uses the illustration of grain sown, and we know that the grain which grows is not the same with what is sown. You cannot suppose that we shall rise with a diseased body; it is enough if there be such a sameness as to distinguish identity of person.—She seemed desirous of knowing more, but he left the question in obscurity.

Of apparitions, he observed: “A total disbelief of them is adverse to the opinion of the existence of the soul between death and the last day; the question simply is, whether departed spirits ever have the power of making themselves perceptible to us: a man who thinks he has seen an apparition can only be convinced himself; his authority will not convince another, and his conviction, if rational, must be founded on being told something which cannot be known but by supernatural means.”

He mentioned a thing as not unfrequent, of which I had never heard before—being *called*, that is, hearing one's name pronounced by the voice of a known person at a great distance, far beyond the possibility of being reached by any sound, uttered by human organs. “An acquaintance, on whose veracity I can depend, told me, that walking home one evening to Kilmarnock, he heard himself called from a wood, by the voice of a brother who had gone to America; and the next packet brought accounts of that brother's death.” Macbean asserted that this inexplicable *calling* was a thing very well known. Dr Johnson said, that one day at Oxford, as he was turning the key of his chamber, he heard his mother distinctly call *Sam*. She was then at Lichfield; but nothing ensued. This phenomenon is, I

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think, as wonderful as any other mysterious fact, which many people are very slow to believe, or, rather, indeed, reject with an obstinate contempt.

Some time after this, upon his making a remark which escaped my attention, Mrs Williams and Mrs Hall were both together striving to answer him. He grew angry, and called out loudly: "Nay, when you both speak at once it is intolerable." But checking himself, and softening, he said: "This one may say, though you *are* ladies." Then he brightened into gay humour, and addressed them in the words of one of the songs in *The Beggar's Opera*:

"But two at a time there's no mortal can bear."

"What, sir," said I, "are you going to turn Captain Macheath?" There was something as pleasantly ludicrous in this scene as can be imagined. The contrast between Macheath, Polly, and Lucy—and Dr Samuel Johnson, blind, peevish Mrs Williams, and lean, lank, preaching Mrs Hall, was exquisite.

I stole away to Coachmakers' Hall, and heard the difficult text of which we had talked, discussed with great decency, and some intelligence, by several speakers. There was a difference of opinion as to the appearance of ghosts in modern times, though the arguments for it, supported by Mr Addison's authority, preponderated. The immediate subject of debate was embarrassed by the *bodies* of the saints having been said to rise, and by the question what became of them afterwards; did they return again to their graves? Or were they translated to heaven? Only one evangelist mentions the fact,¹ and the commentators whom I have looked at, do not make the passage clear. There is, however, no occasion for our understanding it further, than to know that it was one of the extraordinary manifestations of divine power, which accompanied the most important event that ever happened.

¹ St Matthew, chap. xxvii. 52, 53.

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On Friday, 20th April, I spent with him one of the happiest days that I remember to have enjoyed in the whole course of my life. Mrs Garrick, whose grief for the loss of her husband was, I believe, as sincere as wounded affection and admiration could produce, had this day, for the first time since his death, a select party of his friends to dine with her. The company was Miss Hannah More, who lived with her, and whom she called her Chaplain; Mrs Boscawen, Mrs Elizabeth Carter, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr Burney, Dr Johnson, and myself. We found ourselves very elegantly entertained at her house in the Adelphi, where I have passed many a pleasing hour with him "who gladdened life." She looked very well, talked of her husband with complacency, and while she cast her eyes on his portrait, which hung over the chimney-piece, said, that "death was now the most agreeable object to her." The very semblance of David Garrick was cheering. Mr Beauclerk, with happy propriety, inscribed under that fine portrait of him, which by Lady Diana's kindness is now the property of my friend Mr Langton, the following passage from his beloved Shakspeare:

A merrier man,
Within the limit of becoming mirth,
I never spent an hour's talk withal.
His eye begets occasion for his wit;
For ev'ry object that the one doth catch,
The other turns to a mirth-moving jest;
Which his fair tongue (Conceit's expositor)
Delivers in such apt and gracious words,
That aged ears play truant at his tales,
And younger hearings are quite ravished;
So sweet and voluble is his discourse."

We were all in fine spirits; and I whispered to Mrs Boscawen: "I believe this is as much as can be made of life." In addition to a splendid entertainment, we were

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regaled with Lichfield ale, which had a peculiar appropriated value. Sir Joshua, and Dr Burney, and I, drank cordially of it to Dr Johnson's health; and though he would not join us, he as cordially answered: "Gentlemen, I wish you all as well as you do me."

The general effect of this day dwells upon my mind in fond remembrance; but I do not find much conversation recorded. What I have preserved shall be faithfully given.

Somebody mentioned M^r Thomas Hollis, the strenuous Whig, who used to send over Europe presents of democratical books, with their boards stamped with daggers and caps of liberty. Mrs Carter said: "He was a bad man. He used to talk uncharitably." JOHNSON: Poh! poh! madam; who is the worse for being talked of uncharitably? Besides, he was a dull poor creature as ever lived. And I believe he would not have done harm to a man whom he knew to be of very opposite principles to his own. I remember once at the Society of Arts, when an advertisement was to be drawn up, he pointed me out as the man who could do it best. This, you will observe, was kindness to me. I however slipt away and escaped it.

Mrs Carter having said of a certain person, "I doubt he was an Atheist"—JOHNSON: I don't know that. He might perhaps have become one, if he had had time to ripen (smiling). He might have *exuberated* into an Atheist.

Sir Joshua Reynolds praised Mudge's *Sermons*. JOHNSON: Mudge's *Sermons* are good, but not practical. He grasps more sense than he can hold; he takes more corn than he can make into meal; he opens a wide prospect, but it is so distant it is indistinct. I love Blair's *Sermons*. Though the dog is a Scotchman, and a Presbyterian, and everything he should not be, I was the first to praise them. Such was my candour (smiling). Mrs BOSCAWEN: Such his great merit to get the better of all your prejudices. JOHNSON: Why, madam, let us compound the matter; let us ascribe it to my candour, and his merit.

In the evening we had a large company in the drawing-

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room, several ladies, the Bishop of Killaloe, D. Percy, Mr Chamberlayne, of the Treasury, etc., etc. Somebody said the life of a mere literary man could not be very entertaining. JOHNSON: But it certainly may. This is a remark which has been made, and repeated, without justice; why should the life of a literary man be less entertaining than the life of any other man? Are there not as interesting varieties in such a life? As a *literary life* it may be very entertaining. BOSWELL: But it must be better, surely, when it is diversified with a little active variety—such as his having gone to Jamaica—or—his having gone to the Hebrides.—Johnson was not displeased at this.

Talking of a very respectable author, he told us a curious circumstance in his life, which was, that he had married a printer's devil. REYNOLDS: A printer's devil, sir! Why, I thought a printer's devil was a creature with a black face and in rags. JOHNSON: Yes, sir. But I suppose he had her face washed, and put clean clothes on her. (Then looking very serious, and very earnest:) And she did not disgrace him—the woman had a bottom of good sense.—The word *bottom* thus introduced, was so ludicrous, when contrasted with his gravity, that most of us could not forbear tittering and laughing, though I recollect that the Bishop of Killaloe kept his countenance with perfect steadiness, while Miss Hannah More slyly hid her face behind a lady's back who sate on the same settee with her. His pride could not bear that any expression of his should excite ridicule, when he did not intend it; he therefore resolved to assume and exercise despotic power, glanced sternly around, and called out in a strong tone: "Where's the merriment?" Then collecting himself, and looking awful, to make us feel how he could impose restraint, and as it were searching his mind for a still more ludicrous word, he slowly pronounced: "I say the *woman* was *fundamentally* sensible"; as if he had said, "Hear this now, and laugh if you dare." We all sat composed as at a funeral.

He and I walked away together; we stopped a little

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while by the rails of the Adelphi, looking on the Thames, and I said to him with tenderness, that I thought of two friends we had lost, who once lived in the buildings behind us, Beauclerk and Garrick. "Aye, sir," said he tenderly, "and two such friends as cannot be supplied."

For some time after this day I did not see him very often, and of the conversation which I did enjoy, I am sorry to find I have preserved but little. I was at this time engaged in a variety of other matters, which required exertion and assiduity, and necessarily occupied almost all my time.

One day having spoken very freely of those who were then in power, he said to me: "Between ourselves, sir, I do not like to give opposition the satisfaction of knowing how much I disapprove of the ministry." And when I mentioned that Mr Burke had boasted how quiet the nation was in George the Second's reign, when Whigs were in power, compared with the present reign, when Tories governed—"Why, sir," said he, "you are to consider that Tories having more reverence for Government, will not oppose with the same violence as Whigs, who being unrestrained by that principle, will oppose by any means."

This month he lost not only Mr Thrale, but another friend, Mr William Strahan, Junior, printer, the eldest son of his old and constant friend, Printer to his Majesty.

To Mrs STRAHAN

DEAR MADAM,—The grief which I feel for the loss of a very kind friend is sufficient to make me know how much you must suffer by the death of an amiable son; a man, of whom I think it may truly be said, that no one knew him who does not lament him. I look upon myself as having a friend, another friend, taken from me.

Comfort, dear madam, I would give you if I could, but I know how little the forms of consolation can avail. Let me, however, counsel you not to waste your health in unprofitable sorrow, but go to Bath, and endeavour to prolong

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your own life, but when we have all done all that we can, one friend must in time lose the other. I am, dear Madam, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

April 23, 1781.

On Tuesday, 8th May, I had the pleasure of again dining with him and Mr Wilkes, at Mr Dilly's. No *negotiation* was now required to bring them together; for Johnson was so well satisfied with the former interview, that he was very glad to meet Wilkes again, who was this day seated between Dr Beattie and Dr Johnson (between Truth and Reason, as General Paoli said, when I told him of it). WILKES: I have been thinking, Dr Johnson, that there should be a Bill brought into Parliament that the controverted elections for Scotland should be tried in that country, at their own Abbey of Holyrood House, and not here; for the consequence of trying them here is that we have an inundation of Scotchmen, who come up and never go back again. Now here is Boswell, who has come up upon the election for his own county, which will not last a fortnight. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, I see no reason why they should be tried at all; for, you know, one Scotchman is as good as another. WILKES: Pray, Boswell, how much may be got in a year by an advocate at the Scotch bar? BOSWELL: I believe two thousand pounds. WILKES: How can it be possible to spend that money in Scotland? JOHNSON: Why, sir, the money may be spent in England: but there is a harder question. If one man in Scotland gets possession of two thousand pounds, what remains for all the rest of the nation? WILKES: You know, in the last war, the immense booty which Thurot carried off from the complete plunder of seven Scotch isles. Here-embarked with *three-and-sixpence*. —Here again Johnson and Wilkes joined in extravagant sportive raillery upon the supposed poverty of Scotland, which Dr Beattie and I did not think it worth our while to dispute.

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The subject of quotation being introduced, Mr Wilkes censured it as pedantry. JOHNSON: No, sir, it is a good thing; there is a community of mind in it. Classical quotation is the *parole* of literary men all over the world. WILKES: Upon the continent they all quote the vulgate Bible. Shakspeare is chiefly quoted here; and we quote also Pope, Prior, Butler, Waller, and sometimes Cowley.

We talked of letter-writing. JOHNSON: It is now become so much the fashion to publish letters, that in order to avoid it, I put as little into mine as I can. BOSWELL: Do what you will, sir, you cannot avoid it. Should you even write as ill as you can, your letters would be published as curiosities.

“Behold a miracle! instead of wit
See two dull lines with Stanhope’s pencil writ.”

He gave us an entertaining account of Bet Flint, a woman of the town, who, with some eccentric talents and much effrontery, forced herself upon his acquaintance. “Bet,” said he, “wrote her own Life in verse,¹ which she brought to me, wishing that I would furnish her with a Preface to it” (laughing). “I used to say of her that she was generally slut and drunkard—occasionally, whore and thief. She had, however, genteel lodgings, a spinnet on which she played, and a boy that walked before her chair. Poor Bet was taken up on a charge of stealing a counterpane, and tried at the Old Bailey. Chief Justice —, who loved a wench, summed up favourably, and she was acquitted. After which, Bet said, with a gay and satisfied air: ‘Now that the counterpane is *my own*, I shall make a petticoat of it.’”

¹ Johnson, whose memory was wonderfully retentive, remembered the first four lines of this curious production, which have been communicated to me by a young lady of his acquaintance:

“When first I drew my vital breath,
A little minikin I came upon earth;
And then I came from a dark abode,
Into this gay and gaudy world.”

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Talking of oratory, Mr Wilkes described it as accompanied with all the charms of poetical expression. JOHNSON: No, sir; oratory is the power of beating down your adversary's arguments, and putting better in their place. WILKES: But this does not move the passions. JOHNSON: He must be a weak man who is to be so moved. WILKES (naming a celebrated orator): Amidst all the brilliancy of ———'s imagination, and the exuberance of his wit, there is a strange want of *taste*. It was observed of Apelles's *Venus*, that her flesh seemed as if she had been nourished by roses: his oratory would sometimes make one suspect that he eats potatoes and drinks whisky.

Mr Wilkes observed, how tenacious we are of forms in this country, and gave us an instance, the vote of the House of Commons for remitting money to pay the army in America *in Portugal pieces*, when, in reality, the remittance is made not in Portugal money but in our own specie. JOHNSON: Is there not a law, sir, against exporting the current coin of the realm? WILKES: Yes, sir: but might not the House of Commons, in case of real evident necessity, order our own current coin to be sent into our own colonies?—Here Johnson, with that quickness of recollection which distinguished him so eminently, gave the "Middlesex Patriot" an admirable retort upon his own ground. "Sure, sir, you don't think a *resolution of the House of Commons* equal to the *law of the land*." WILKES (at once perceiving the application): God forbid, sir.—To hear what had been treated with such violence in *The False Alarm*, now turned into pleasant repartee, was extremely agreeable. Johnson went on: "Locke observes well, that a prohibition to export the current coin is impolitic; for when the balance of trade happens to be against a state, the current coin *must* be exported."

Mr Beauclerk's great library was this season sold in London by auction. Mr Wilkes said, he wondered to find in it such a numerous collection of sermons, seeming to think it strange that a gentleman of Mr Beauclerk's



John Walter H. P.

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character in the gay world should have chosen to have many compositions of that kind. JOHNSON: Why, sir, you are to consider that sermons make a considerable branch of English literature; so that a library must be very imperfect if it has not a numerous collection of sermons¹:

¹ Mr Wilkes probably did not know that there is in an English sermon the most comprehensive and lively account of that entertaining faculty, for which he himself is so much admired. It is in Dr Barrow's first volume, and fourteenth sermon, "Against foolish Talking and Jesting." My old acquaintance, the late Corbyn Morris, in his ingenious *Essay on Wit, Humour, and Ridicule*, calls it "a profuse description of Wit": but I do not see how it could be curtailed, without leaving out some good circumstance of discrimination. As it is not generally known, and may perhaps dispose some to read sermons, from which they may receive real advantage, while looking only for entertainment, I shall here quote it.

"But first," says the learned preacher, "it may be demanded, what the thing we speak of is? Or what this facetiousness [or *wit*, as he calls it before] doth import? To which questions I might reply, as Democritus did to him that asked the definition of a man, 'Tis that which we all see and know.' Anyone better apprehends what it is by acquaintance, than I can inform him by description. It is, indeed, a thing so versatile and multi-form, appearing in so many shapes, so many postures, so many garbs, so variously apprehended by several eyes and judgments, that it seemeth no less hard to settle a clear and certain notion thereof, than to make a portrait of Proteus, or to define the figure of the fleeting air. Sometimes it lieth in pat allusion to a known story, or in seasonable application of a trivial saying, or in forging an apposite tale: sometimes it playeth in words and phrases, taking advantage from the ambiguity of their sense, or the affinity of their sound: sometimes it is wrapped in a dress of humorous expression: sometimes it lurketh under an odd similitude: sometimes it is lodged in a sly question, in a smart answer, in a quirkish reason, in a shrewd intimation, in cunningly diverting or cleverly retorting an objection: sometimes it is couched in a bold scheme of speech, in a tart irony, in a lusty hyperbole, in a startling metaphor, in a plausible reconciling of contradictions, or in acute nonsense: sometimes a scenical representation of persons or things, a counterfeit speech, a mimical look or gesture, passeth for it: sometimes an affected simplicity, sometimes a presumptuous bluntness giveth it being: sometimes it riseth only from a lucky hitting upon what is strange, sometimes from a crafty wresting obvious matter to the purpose. Often it consisteth in one knows not what, and springeth up one can hardly tell how. Its ways are unaccountable, and inexplicable; being answerable to the numberless roivings of fancy, and windings of language. It is, in short, a manner of speaking out of the simple and plain way (such as reason teacheth and proveth things by), which by a pretty surprising uncouthness in conceit or expression, doth affect and amuse

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and in all collections, sir, the desire of augmenting it grows stronger in proportion to the advance in acquisition; as motion is accelerated by the continuance of the impetus. Besides, sir (looking at Mr Wilkes with a placid but significant smile), a man may collect sermons with intention of making himself better by them. I hope Mr Beauclerk intended, that some time or other that should be the case with him.

Mr Wilkes said to me, loud enough for Dr Johnson to hear: "Dr Johnson should make me a present of his *Lives of the Poets*, as I am a poor patriot who cannot afford to buy them." Johnson seemed to take no notice of this hint; but in a little while he called to Mr Dilly: "Pray, sir, be so good as to send a set of my *Lives* to Mr Wilkes, with my compliments." This was accordingly done; and Mr Wilkes paid Dr Johnson a visit, was courteously received, and sat with him a long time.

The company gradually dropped away. Mr Dilly himself was called downstairs upon business. I left the room for some time; when I returned, I was struck with observing Dr Samuel Johnson and John Wilkes, Esq., literally *tête-à-tête*; for they were reclined upon their chairs, with their heads leaning almost close to each other, and talking earnestly, in a

the fancy, stirring in it some wonder, and breeding some delight thereto. It raiseth admiration, as signifying a nimble sagacity of apprehension, a special felicity of invention, a vivacity of spirit, and reach of wit more than vulgar; it seeming to argue a rare quickness of parts, that one can fetch in remote conceits applicable; a notable skill, that he can dexterously accommodate them to the purpose before him; together with a lively briskness of humour, not apt to damp those sportful flashes of imagination. (Whence in Aristotle such persons are termed *επιδείοι*, dexterous men, and *εὐτροποι*, men of facile or versatile manners, who can easily turn themselves to all things, or turn all things to themselves.) It also procureth delight, by gratifying curiosity with its rareness, as semblance of difficulty (as monsters, not for their beauty, but their rarity; as juggling tricks, not for their use, but their abstruseness, are beheld with pleasure): by diverting the mind from its road of serious thoughts; by instilling gaiety and airiness of spirit; by provoking to such dispositions of spirit in way of emulation or complaisance; and by seasoning matters, otherwise distasteful or insipid, with an unusual and thence grateful tang."

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kind of confidential whisper, of the personal quarrel between George the Second and the King of Prussia. Such a scene of perfectly easy sociality between two such opponents in the war of political controversy, as that which I now beheld, would have been an excellent subject for a picture. It presented to my mind the happy days which are foretold in Scripture, when the lion shall lie down with the kid.¹

After this day there was another pretty long interval, during which Dr Johnson and I did not meet. When I mentioned it to him with regret, he was pleased to say: "Then, sir, let us live double."

About this time it was much the fashion for several ladies to have evening assemblies, where the fair sex might participate in conversation with literary and ingenious men, animated by a desire to please. These societies were denominated "Blue-stocking Clubs," the origin of which title being little known, it may be worth while to relate it. One of the most eminent members of those societies, when they first commenced, was Mr Stillingfleet, whose dress was remarkably grave, and in particular it was observed that he wore blue stockings. Such was the excellence of his conversation, that his absence was felt as so great a loss, that it used to be said: "We can do nothing without the *blue stockings*"; and thus by degrees the title was established. Miss Hannah More has admirably described a "Blue-stocking Club" in her *Bas Bleu*, a poem in which many of the persons who were most conspicuous there are mentioned.

Johnson was prevailed with to come sometimes into these circles, and did not think himself too grave even for the lively Miss Monckton (now Countess of Corke), who used to have the finest *bit of blue* at the house of her mother, Lady Galway. Her vivacity enchanted the Sage, and they

¹ When I mentioned this to the Bishop of Killaloe, "With the *goat*," said his lordship. Such, however, is the engaging politeness and pleasantry of Mr Wilkes, and such the social good humour of the Bishop, that when they dined together at Mr Dilly's, where I also was, they were mutually agreeable.

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used to talk together with all imaginable ease. A singular instance happened one evening, when she insisted that some of Sterne's writings were very pathetic. Johnson bluntly denied it. "I am sure," said she, "they have affected *me*." "Why," said Johnson, smiling, and rolling himself about, "that is, because, dearest, you're a dunce." When she some time afterwards mentioned this to him, he said with equal truth and politeness: "Madam, if I had thought so, I certainly should not have said it."

Another evening Johnson's kind indulgence towards me had a pretty difficult trial. I had dined at the Duke of Montrose's, with a very agreeable party, and his Grace, according to his usual custom, had circulated the bottle very freely. Lord Graham and I went together to Miss Monckton's, where I certainly was in extraordinary spirits, and above all fear or awe. In the midst of a great number of persons of the first rank, amongst whom I recollect with confusion a noble lady of the most stately decorum, I placed myself next to Johnson, and thinking myself now fully his match, talked to him in a loud and boisterous manner, desirous to let the company know how I could contend with *Ajax*. I particularly remember pressing him upon the value of the pleasures of the imagination, and as an illustration of my argument, asking him: "What, sir, supposing I were to fancy that the [naming the most charming duchess in his Majesty's dominions] were in love with me, should I not be very happy?" My friend with much address evaded my interrogatories, and kept me as quiet as possible; but it may easily be conceived how he must have felt.¹ When a few days afterwards I waited upon him

¹ Next day I endeavoured to give what had happened the most ingenious turn I could, by the following verses:

TO THE HONOURABLE MISS MONCKTON

Not that with th'excellent Montrose

I had the happiness to dine;

Not that I late from table rose,

From Graham's wit, from generous wine.

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and made an apology, he behaved with the most friendly gentleness.

While I remained in London this year, Johnson and I dined together at several places. I recollect a placid day at Dr Butters's, who was now removed from Derby to Lower Grosvenor Street, London; but of his conversation on that and other occasions during this period, I neglected to keep any regular record, and shall therefore insert here some miscellaneous articles which I find in my Johnsonian notes.

His disorderly habits, when "making provision for the day that was passing over him," appear from the following anecdote, communicated to me by Mr John Nichols: "In the year 1763, a young bookseller, who was an apprentice to Mr Whiston, waited on him with a subscription to his Shakspeare; and observing that the Doctor made no entry in any book of the subscriber's name, ventured diffidently to ask whether he would please to have the gentleman's address, that it might be properly inserted in the printed

It was not these alone which led
On sacred manners to encroach;
And made me feel what most I dread,
Johnson's just frown, and self-reproach.

But when I enter'd, not abash'd,
From your bright eyes were shot such rays,
At once intoxication flash'd,
And all my frame was in a blaze!

But not a brilliant blaze I own,
Of the dull smoke I'm yet asham'd;
I was a dreary ruin grown,
And not enlighten'd though inflam'd.

Victim at once to wine and love,
I hope, Maria, you'll forgive;
While I invoke the powers above,
That henceforth I may wiser live.

The lady was generously forgiving, returned me an obliging answer, and I thus obtained an Act of Oblivion, and took care never to offend again.

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list of subscribers. "*I shall print no List of Subscribers,*" said Johnson, with great abruptness; but almost immediately recollecting himself, added, very complacently: "Sir, I have two very cogent reasons for not printing any list of subscribers—one, that I have lost all the names—the other, that I have spent all the money."

Johnson could not brook appearing to be worsted in argument, even when he had taken the wrong side, to show the force and dexterity of his talents. When, therefore, he perceived that his opponent gained ground, he had recourse to some sudden mode of robust sophistry. Once when I was pressing upon him with visible advantage, he stopped me thus: "My dear Boswell, let's have no more of this; you'll make nothing of it. I'd rather have you whistle a Scotch tune."

Care, however, must be taken to distinguish between Johnson when he "talked for victory," and Johnson when he had no desire but to inform and illustrate. "One of Johnson's principal talents," says an eminent friend, "was shown in maintaining the wrong side of an argument, and in a splendid perversion of the truth. If you could contrive to have his fair opinion on a subject, and without any bias from personal prejudice, or from a wish to be victorious in argument, it was wisdom itself, not only convincing, but overpowering."

He had, however, all his life habituated himself to consider conversation as a trial of intellectual vigour and skill; and to this, I think, we may venture to ascribe that unexampled richness and brilliancy which appeared in his own. As a proof at once of his eagerness for colloquial distinction, and his high notion of this eminent friend, he once addressed him thus: "——, we now have been several hours together, and you have said but one thing for which I envied you."

He disliked much all speculative desponding considerations, which tended to discourage men from diligence and exertion. He was in this like Dr Shaw, the great traveller,

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who, Mr Daines Barrington told me, used to say : " I hate a *cui bono* man." Upon being asked by a friend what he should think of one who was apt to say, *non est tanti*—" That he's a stupid fellow, sir," answered Johnson. " What would these *tanti* men be doing the while?" When I, in a low-spirited fit, was talking to him with indifference of the pursuits which generally engage us in a course of action, and inquiring a *reason* for taking so much trouble—" Sir," said he, in an animated tone, " it is driving on the system of life."

He told me, that he was glad that I had, by General Oglethorpe's means, become acquainted with Dr Shebbeare. Indeed that gentleman, whatever objections were made to him, had knowledge and abilities much above the class of ordinary writers, and deserves to be remembered as a respectable name in literature, were it only for his admirable *Letters on the English Nation*, under the name of " Battista Angeloni, a Jesuit."

Johnson and Shebbeare¹ were frequently named together, as having in former reigns had no predilection for the family of Hanover. The author of the celebrated *Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers* introduces them in one line, in a list of those who " tasted the sweets of his present Majesty's reign." Such was Johnson's fair taste of the merit of that satire, that he allowed Dr Goldsmith, as he told me, to read it to him from beginning to end, and did not refuse his praise to its execution.

Goldsmith could sometimes take adventurous liberties with him, and escape unpunished. Beauclerk told me that when Goldsmith talked of a project for having a third theatre in London, solely for the exhibition of new plays, in order to deliver authors from the supposed tyranny of managers, Johnson treated it slightly; upon which Goldsmith said : " Aye, aye, this may be nothing to you, who can now shelter yourself behind the corner of a pension "; and that Johnson bore this with good humour.

¹ I recollect a ludicrous paragraph in the newspapers, that the King had pensioned both a *He*-bear and a *She*-bear.

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Johnson praised the Earl of Carlisle's *Poems*, which his lordship had published with his name, as not disdaining to be a candidate for literary fame. My friend was of opinion, that when a man of rank appeared in that character, he deserved to have his merit handsomely allowed.¹ In this I think he was more liberal than Mr William Whitehead, in his *Elegy to Lord Villiers*, in which, under the pretext of "superior toils, demanding all their care," he discovers a jealousy of the great paying their court to the Muses.

"—————To the chosen few
Who dare excel, thy fost'ring aid afford,
Their arts, their magic powers, with honours due
Exalt;—but be thyself what they record."

Johnson had called twice on the Bishop of Killaloe before

¹ Men of rank and fortune, however, should be pretty well assured of having a real claim to the approbation of the public as writers before they venture to stand forth. Dryden, in his Preface to *All for Love*, thus expresses himself:

"Men of pleasant conversation (at least esteemed so) and endued with a trifling kind of fancy, perhaps helped out by a smattering of Latin, are ambitious to distinguish themselves from the herd of gentlemen by their poetry:

*'Rarus enim fermè sensus communis in illi
Fortunâ.'*—————

And is not this a wretched affectation, not to be contented with what fortune has done for them, and sit down quietly with their estates, but they must call their wits in question, and needlessly expose their nakedness to public view? Not considering that they are not to expect the same approbation from sober men, which they have found from their flatterers after the third bottle: If a little glittering in discourse has passed them on us for witty men, where was the necessity of undeceiving the world? Would a man who has an ill title to an estate, but yet is in possession of it, would he bring it of his own accord to be tried at Westminster? We who write, if we want the talents, yet have the excuse that we do it for a poor subsistence; but what can be urged in their defence, who not having the vocation of poverty to scribble, out of mere wantonness take pains to make themselves ridiculous? Horace was certainly in the right where he said, 'That no man is satisfied with his own condition.' A poet is not pleased, because he is not rich; and the rich are discontented because the poets will not admit them of their number."

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his lordship set out for Ireland, having missed him the first time. He said: "It would have hung heavy on my heart if I had not seen him. No man ever paid more attention to another than he has done to me¹; and I have neglected him, not wilfully, but from being otherwise occupied. Always, sir, set a high value on spontaneous kindness. He whose inclination prompts him to cultivate your friendship of his own accord, will love you more than one whom you have been at pains to attach to you."

Johnson told me, that he was once much pleased to find that a carpenter, who lived near him, was very ready to show him some things in his business which he wished to see. "It was paying," said he, "respect to literature."

I asked him if he was not dissatisfied with having so small a share of wealth, and none of those distinctions in the state which are the objects of ambition. He had only a pension of three hundred a year. Why was he not in such circumstances as to keep his coach? Why had he not some considerable office? JOHNSON: Sir, I have never complained of the world; nor do I think that I have reason to complain. It is rather to be wondered at that I have so much. My pension is more out of the usual course of things than any instance that I have known. Here, sir, was a man avowedly no friend to the Government at the time, gets a pension

¹ This gave me a very great pleasure, for there had been once a pretty smart altercation between Dr Barnard and him, upon a question whether a man could improve himself after the age of forty-five; when Johnson in a hasty humour, expressed himself in a manner not quite civil. Dr Barnard made it the subject of a copy of pleasant verses, in which he supposed himself to learn different perfections from different men. They concluded with delicate irony:

"Johnson shall teach me how to place,
In fairest light each borrow'd grace;
From him I'll learn to write:
Copy his clear familiar style,
And by the roughness of his file,
Grow—like *himself*—*polite*."

I know not if Johnson ever saw the poem, but I had occasion to find that as Dr Barnard and he knew each other better, their mutual regard increased.

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without asking for it. I never courted the great; they sent for me: but I think they now give me up. They are satisfied. They have seen enough of me.—Upon my observing that I could not believe this, for they must certainly be highly pleased by his conversation; conscious of his own superiority, he answered: “No, sir; great lords and great ladies don’t love to have their mouths stopped.” This was very expressive of the effect which the force of his understanding and brilliancy of his fancy could not but produce; and, to be sure, they must have found themselves strangely diminished in his company. When I warmly declared how happy I was at all times to hear him—“Yes, sir,” said he. “But if you were Lord Chancellor, it would not be so: you would then consider your own dignity.”

There was much truth and knowledge of human nature in this remark. But certainly one should think, that in whatever elevated state of life a man who *knew* the value of the conversation of Johnson might be placed, though he might prudently avoid a situation in which he might appear lessened by comparison, yet he would frequently gratify himself in private with the participation of the rich intellectual entertainment which Johnson could furnish. Strange, however, it is, to consider how few of the great sought his society; so that if one were disposed to take occasion for satire on that account, very conspicuous objects present themselves. His noble friend, Lord Elibank, well observed, that if a great man procured an interview with Johnson, and did not wish to see him more, it showed a mere idle curiosity, and a wretched want of relish for extraordinary powers of mind. Mrs Thrale justly and wittily accounted for such conduct by saying, that Johnson’s conversation was by much too strong for a person accustomed to obsequiousness and flattery; it was *mustard in a young child’s mouth*!

One day, when I told him that I was a zealous Tory, but not enough “according to knowledge,” and should be obliged to him for “a reason,” he was so candid, and

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expressed himself so well, that I begged of him to repeat what he had said, and I wrote down as follows :

Of TORY and WHIG

“ A wise Tory and a wise Whig, I believe, will agree. Their principles are the same, though their modes of thinking are different. A high Tory makes Government unintelligible : it is lost in the clouds. A violent Whig makes it impracticable : he is for allowing so much liberty to every man, that there is not power enough to govern any man. The prejudice of the Tory is for establishment : the prejudice of the Whig is for innovation. A Tory does not wish to give more real power to Government ; but that Government should have more reverence. Then they differ as to the Church. The Tory is not for giving more legal power to the Clergy, but wishes they should have a considerable influence, founded on the opinion of mankind : the Whig is for limiting and watching them with a narrow jealousy.”

On Saturday, 2nd June, I set out for Scotland, and had engaged, as I sometimes did, to pay a visit, in my way, at Southill, in Bedfordshire, at the hospitable mansion of Squire Dilly, the elder brother of my worthy friends the booksellers in the Poultry. Dr Johnson agreed to be of the party this year, with Mr Charles Dilly and me, and to go and see Lord Bute's seat at Luton Hoe. He talked little to us in the carriage, being chiefly occupied in reading Dr Watson's second volume of *Chemical Essays*, which he liked very well, and his own *Prince of Abyssinia*, on which he seemed to be intensely fixed ; having told us, that he had not looked at it since it was first published. I happened to take it out of my pocket to-day, and he seized upon it with avidity. He pointed out to me the following remarkable passage : “ By what means (said the Prince) are the Europeans thus powerful ; or why, since they can so easily visit Asia and Africa for trade or conquest, cannot the

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Asiatics and Africans invade their coasts, plant colonies in their ports, and give laws to their natural princes? The same wind that carries them back would bring us hither." "They are more powerful, sir, than we (answered Imlac), because they are wiser. Knowledge will always predominate over ignorance, as man governs the other animals. But why their knowledge is more than ours, I know not what reason can be given, but the unsearchable will of the Supreme Being." He said: "This, sir, no man can explain otherwise."

We stopped at Welwyn, where I wished much to see, in company with Dr Johnson, the residence of the author of *Night Thoughts*, which was then possessed by his son, Mr Young. Here some address was requisite, for I was not acquainted with Mr Young, and had I proposed to Dr Johnson that we should send to him, he would have checked my wish, and perhaps been offended. I therefore concerted with Mr Dilly, that I should steal away from Dr Johnson and him, and try what reception I could procure from Mr Young; if unfavourable, nothing was to be said; but if agreeable, I should return and notify it to them. I hastened to Mr Young's, found he was at home, sent in word that a gentleman desired to wait upon him, and was shown into a parlour, where he and a young lady, his daughter, were sitting. He appeared to be a plain, civil, country gentleman; and when I begged pardon for presuming to trouble him, but said I wished much to see his place, if he would give me leave, he behaved very courteously, and answered: "By all means, sir; we are just going to drink tea; will you sit down?" I thanked him, but said, that Dr Johnson had come with me from London, and I must return to the inn and drink tea with him; that my name was Boswell; I had travelled with him in the Hebrides. "Sir," said he, "I should think it a great honour to see Dr Johnson here. Will you allow me to send for him?" Availing myself of this opening, I said that "I would go myself and bring him when he had drunk tea; he knew nothing of

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my calling here." Having been thus successful, I hastened back to the inn, and informed Dr Johnson that "Mr Young, son of Dr Young, the author of *Night Thoughts*, whom I had just left, desired to have the honour of seeing him at the house where his father lived." Dr Johnson luckily made no inquiry how this invitation had arisen, but agreed to go; and when we entered Mr Young's parlour, he addressed him with a very polite bow, "Sir, I had a curiosity to come and see this place. I had the honour to know that great man, your father." We went into the garden, where we found a gravel walk, on each side of which was a row of trees, planted by Dr Young, which formed a handsome Gothic arch; Dr Johnson called it a fine grove. I beheld it with reverence.

We sat some time in the summer-house, on the outside wall of which was inscribed, "*Ambulantes in horto audiebant vocem Dei.*" And in reference to a brook by which it is situated, "*Vivendi rectè qui prorogat horam,*" etc. I said to Mr Young, that I had been told his father was cheerful. "Sir," said he, "he was too well-bred a man not to be cheerful in company; but he was gloomy when alone. He never was cheerful after my mother's death, and he had met with many disappointments." Dr Johnson observed to me afterwards, "That this was no favourable account of Dr Young; for it is not becoming in a man to have so little acquiescence in the ways of Providence as to be gloomy because he has not obtained as much preferment as he expected; nor to continue gloomy for the loss of his wife. Grief has its time." The last part of this censure was theoretically made. Practically, we know that grief for the loss of a wife may be continued very long, in proportion as affection has been sincere. No man knew this better than Dr Johnson.

We went into the church, and looked at the monument erected by Mr Young, to his father. Mr Young mentioned an anecdote, that his father had received several thousand pounds of subscription money for his *Universal Passion*,

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but had lost it in the South Sea. Dr Johnson thought this must be a mistake; for he had never seen a subscription-book.

Upon the road we talked of the uncertainty of profit with which authors and booksellers engage in the publication of literary works. JOHNSON: My judgment I have found is no certain rule as to the sale of a book. BOSWELL: Pray, sir, have you been much plagued with authors sending you their works to revise? JOHNSON: No, sir; I have been thought a sour surly fellow. BOSWELL: Very lucky for you, sir—in that respect.—I must however observe, that notwithstanding what he now said, which he no doubt imagined at the time to be the fact, there was, perhaps, no man who more frequently yielded to the solicitations even of very obscure authors, to read their manuscripts, or more liberally assisted them with advice and correction.

He found himself very happy at Mr Dilly's, where there is always abundance of excellent fare and hearty welcome.

On Sunday, 3rd June, we all went to Southill church, which is very near to Mr Dilly's house. It being the first Sunday of the month, the holy sacrament was administered, and I stayed to partake of it. When I came afterwards into Dr Johnson's room, he said: "You did right to stay and receive the communion; I had not thought of it." This seemed to imply that he did not choose to approach the altar without a previous preparation, as to which good men entertain different opinions, some holding that it is irreverent to partake of that ordinance without considerable premeditation; others, that whoever is a sincere Christian, and in a proper frame to discharge any other ritual duty of our religion, may, without scruple, discharge this most solemn one. A middle notion I believe to be the just one, which is, that communicants need not think a long train of preparatory forms indispensably necessary; but neither should they rashly and lightly venture upon so awful and mysterious an institution. Christians must judge each for

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himself, what degree of retirement and self-examination is necessary upon each occasion.

Being in a frame, which, I hope for the felicity of human nature, many experience—in fine weather—at the country house of a friend—consoled and elevated by pious exercises—I expressed myself with an unrestrained fervour to my “Guide, Philosopher, and Friend”: “My dear sir, I would fain be a good man; and I am very good now. I fear God, and honour the King, I wish to do no ill, and to be benevolent to all mankind.” He looked at me with a benignant indulgence; but took occasion to give me able and salutary caution. “Do not, sir, accustom yourself to trust to *impressions*. There is a middle state of mind between conviction and hypocrisy, of which many are conscious. By trusting to impressions, a man may gradually come to yield to them, and at length be subject to them, so as not to be a free agent, or what is the same thing in effect, to *suppose* that he is not a free agent. A man who is in that state, should not be suffered to live; if he declares he cannot help acting in a particular way, but is irresistibly impelled, there can be no confidence in him, no more than in a tiger. But, sir, no man believes himself to be impelled irresistibly; we know that he who says he believes it, lies. Favourable impressions at particular moments, as to the state of our souls, may be deceitful and dangerous. In general no man can be sure of his acceptance with God; some, indeed, may have had it revealed to them. St Paul, who wrought miracles, may have had a miracle wrought on himself, and may have obtained supernatural assurance of pardon, and mercy, and beatitude; yet St Paul, though he expresses strong hope, also expresses fear, lest having preached to others, he himself should be a castaway.”

The opinion of a learned bishop of our acquaintance, as to there being merit in religious faith, being mentioned—JOHNSON: Why, yes, sir, the most licentious man, were hell open before him, would not take the most beautiful

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strumpet to his arms. We must, as the Apostle says, live by faith, not by sight.

I talked to him of original sin,¹ in consequence of the fall of man, and of the atonement made by our Saviour. After some conversation, which he desired me to remember, he at my request dictated to me as follows :

“ With respect to original sin, the inquiry is not necessary ; for whatever is the cause of human corruption, men are evidently and confessedly so corrupt, that all the laws of heaven and earth are insufficient to restrain them from crimes.

“ Whatever difficulty there may be in the conception of vicarious punishments, it is an opinion which has had possession of mankind in all ages. There is no nation that has not used the practice of sacrifices. Whoever, therefore, denies the propriety of vicarious punishments, holds an opinion which the sentiments and practice of mankind have contradicted, from the beginning of the world. The great sacrifice for the sins of mankind was offered at the death of the Messiah, who is called in Scripture, ‘ The Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.’ To judge of the reasonableness of the scheme of redemption, it must be considered as necessary to the government of the universe, that God should make known His perpetual and irreconcilable detestation of moral evil. He might indeed punish, and punish only the offenders : but as the end of punishment is not revenge of crimes, but propagation of virtue, it was more becoming the Divine clemency to find another

¹ Dr Ogden, in his second sermon, “ On the Articles of the Christian Faith,” with admirable acuteness thus addresses the opposers of that doctrine, which accounts for the confusion, sin, and misery, which we find in this life : “ It would be severe in God, you think, to *degrade* us to such a sad state as this, for the offence of our first parents ; but you can allow him to *place* us in it, without any inducement. Are our calamities lessened for not being ascribed to Adam ? If your condition be unhappy, is it not still unhappy, whatever was the occasion ? With the aggravation of this reflection, that if it was as good as it was at first designed, there seems to be somewhat the less reason to look for its amendment.”

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manner of proceeding, less destructive to man, and at least equally powerful to promote goodness. The end of punishment is to reclaim and warn. *That* punishment will both reclaim and warn, which shows evidently such abhorrence of sin in God, as may deter us from it, or strike us with dread of vengeance when we have committed it. This is effected by vicarious punishment. Nothing could more testify the opposition between the nature of God and moral evil, or more amply display His justice, to men and angels, to all orders and successions of beings, than that it was necessary for the highest and purest nature, even for Divinity itself, to pacify the demands of vengeance, by a painful death; of which the natural effect will be, that when justice is appeased, there is a proper place for the exercise of mercy; and that such propitiation shall supply, in some degree, the imperfections of our obedience, and the inefficacy of our repentance. For, obedience and repentance, such as we can perform, are still necessary. Our Saviour has told us that He did not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil: to fulfil the typical law, by the performance of what those types had foreshown; and the moral law, by precepts of greater purity and higher exaltation."

[Here he said: "God bless you with it." I acknowledged myself much obliged to him; but I begged that he would go on as to the propitiation being the chief object of our most holy faith. He then dictated this one other paragraph.]

"The peculiar doctrine of Christianity is, that of an universal sacrifice, and perpetual propitiation. Other prophets only proclaimed the will and the threatenings of God. Christ satisfied His justice."

The Reverend Mr Palmer, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, dined with us. He expressed a wish that a better provision were made for parish clerks. JOHNSON: Yes, sir; a parish clerk should be a man who is able to make a will, or write a letter for anybody in the parish.

I mentioned Lord Monboddo's notion that the ancient Egyptians, with all their learning, and all their arts, were

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not only black, but woolly-haired. Mr Palmer asked how did it appear upon examining the mummies? Dr Johnson approved of this test.

Although upon most occasions I never heard a more strenuous advocate for the advantages of wealth, than Dr Johnson; he this day, I know not from what caprice, took the other side. "I have not observed," said he, "that men of very large fortunes enjoy anything extraordinary that makes happiness. What has the Duke of Bedford? What has the Duke of Devonshire? The only great instance that I have ever known of the enjoyment of wealth was, that of Jamaica Dawkins, who going to visit Palmyra, and hearing that the way was infested by robbers, hired a troop of Turkish horse to guard him."

Dr Gibbons, the Dissenting minister, being mentioned, he said: "I took to Dr Gibbons." And addressing himself to Mr Charles Dilly, added: "I shall be glad to see him. Tell him, if he'll call on me, and dawdle over a dish of tea in an afternoon, I shall take it kind."

The Reverend Mr Smith, Vicar of Southill, a very respectable man, with a very agreeable family, sent an invitation to us to drink tea. I remarked Dr Johnson's very formal politeness. Though always fond of changing the scene, he said: "We must have Mr Dilly's leave. We cannot go from your house, sir, without your permission." We all went, and were well satisfied with our visit. I however remember nothing particular, except a nice distinction which Dr Johnson made with respect to the power of memory, maintaining that forgetfulness was a man's own fault. "To remember and to recollect," said he, "are different things. A man has not the power to recollect what is not in his mind; but when a thing is in his mind he may remember it." The remark was occasioned by my leaning back on a chair, which a little before I had perceived to be broken, and pleading forgetfulness as an excuse. "Sir," said he, "its being broken was certainly in your mind."

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When I observed that a housebreaker was in general very timorous—JOHNSON: No wonder, sir; he is afraid of being shot getting *into* a house, or hanged when he has got *out* of it.

He told us, that he had in one day written six sheets of a translation from the French; adding: "I should be glad to see it now. I wish that I had copies of all the pamphlets written against me, as it is said Pope had. Had I known that I should make so much noise in the world, I should have been at pains to collect them. I believe there is hardly a day in which there is not something about me in the newspapers."

On Monday, 4th June, we all went to Luton Hoe, to see Lord Bute's magnificent seat, for which I had obtained a ticket. As we entered the park, I talked in a high style of my old friendship with Lord Mountstuart, and said: "I shall probably be much at this place." The Sage, aware of human vicissitudes, gently checked me: "Don't you be too sure of that." He made two or three peculiar observations; as when shown the botanical garden: "Is not *every* garden a botanical garden?" When told that there was a shrubbery to the extent of several miles: "That is making a very foolish use of the ground; a little of it is very well." When it was proposed that we should walk on the pleasure-ground: "Don't let us fatigue ourselves. Why should we walk there? Here's a fine tree, let's get to the top of it." But upon the whole, he was very much pleased. He said: "This is one of the places I do not regret having come to see. It is a very stately place, indeed; in the house magnificence is not sacrificed to convenience, nor convenience to magnificence. The library is very splendid; the dignity of the rooms is very great; and the quantity of pictures is beyond expectation, beyond hope."

It happened without any previous concert, that we visited the seat of Lord Bute upon the King's birthday; we dined and drank his Majesty's health at an inn, in the village of Luton.

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In the evening I put him in mind of his promise to favour me with a copy of his celebrated letter to the Earl of Chesterfield,¹ and he was at last pleased to comply with this earnest request, by dictating it to me from his memory; for he believed that he himself had no copy. There was an animated glow in his countenance while he thus recalled his high-minded indignation.

He laughed heartily at a ludicrous action in the Court of Session, in which I was counsel. The Society of *Procurators*, or Attornies, entitled to practise in the inferior Courts at Edinburgh, had obtained a Royal Charter, in which they had taken care to have their ancient designation of *Procurators* changed into that of *Solicitors*, from a notion, as they supposed, that it was more genteel; and this new title they displayed by a public advertisement for a *General Meeting* at their Hall.

It has been said, that the Scottish nation is not distinguished for humour; and indeed what happened on this occasion may in some degree justify the remark; for although this society had contrived to make themselves a very prominent object for the ridicule of such as might stoop to it, the only joke that appeared was the following paragraph, sent as a card to the newspaper called *The Caledonian Mercury*:

“A correspondent informs us, that the Worshipful Society of *Chaldeans*, *Cadies*, or *Running Stationers* of this city, are resolved, in imitation, and encouraged by the singular success of their brethren, of an *equally respectable* Society, to apply for a Charter of their Privileges, particularly of the sole privilege of *PROCURING*, in the most extensive sense of the word, exclusive of chairmen, porters, penny-post men, and other *inferior* ranks; their brethren the R—Y—L S—LL—RS, *alias* P—C—RS, *before the* INFERIOR Courts of this City, always excepted.

“Should the Worshipful Society be successful, they are farther resolved not to be *puffed up* thereby, but to

¹ See Vol. I., p. 167.

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demean themselves with more equanimity and decency than their *R—y—l*, learned, and very modest brethren above-mentioned have done, upon their late dignification and exaltation."

A majority of the members of the Society prosecuted Mr Robertson, the publisher of the paper, for damages; and the first judgment of the whole Court very wisely dismissed the action, *Solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis*. But a new trial or review was granted upon a petition, according to the forms in Scotland. This petition I was engaged to answer, and Dr Johnson, with great alacrity, furnished to-night what follows:

"All injury is either of the person, the fortune, or the fame. Now, it is a certain thing, it is proverbially known, that *a jest breaks no bones*. They never have gained half-a-crown less in the whole profession since this mischievous paragraph has appeared: and, as to their reputation, What is their reputation but an instrument of getting money? If, therefore, they have lost no money, the question upon reputation may be answered by a very old position, *De minimis non curat Prætor*.

"Whether there was, or was not, an *animus injuriandi*, is not worth inquiring, if no *injuria* can be proved. But the truth is, there was no *animus injuriandi*. It was only an *animus irritandi*,¹ which, happening to be exercised upon a *genus irritabile*, produced unexpected violence of resentment. Their irritability arose only from an opinion of their own importance, and their delight in their new exaltation. What might have been borne by a *Procurator* could not be borne by a *Solicitor*. Your Lordships well know that *honores mutant mores*. Titles and dignities play strongly upon the fancy. As a madman is apt to think himself grown suddenly great; so he that grows suddenly great is apt to borrow a little from the madman. To co-operate with their resentment would be to promote their frenzy; nor is it possible to guess

¹ Mr Robertson altered this word to *jocandi*, he having found in Blackstone that to *irritate* is actionable.

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to what they might proceed, if to the new title of Solicitor should be added the elation of victory and triumph.

"We consider your Lordships as the protectors of our rights, and the guardians of our virtues; but believe it not included in your high office that you should flatter our vices, or solace our vanity: and, as vanity only dictates this prosecution, it is humbly hoped your Lordships will dismiss it.

"If every attempt, however light or ludicrous, to lessen another's reputation, is to be punished by a judicial sentence, what punishment can be sufficiently severe for him who attempts to diminish the reputation of the Supreme Court of Justice, by reclaiming upon a cause already determined, without any change in the state of the question? Does it not imply hopes that the Judges will change their opinion? Is not uncertainty and inconstancy in the highest degree disreputable to a Court? Does it not suppose, that the former judgment was temerarious or negligent? Does it not lessen the confidence of the public? Will it not be said, that *jus est aut incognitum, aut vagum*? and will not the consequence be drawn, *misera est servitus*? Will not the rules of action be obscure? Will not he who knows himself wrong to-day, hope that the Courts of Justice will think him right to-morrow? Surely, my Lords, these are attempts of dangerous tendency, which the Solicitors, as men versed in the law, should have foreseen and avoided. It was natural for an ignorant printer to appeal from the Lord Ordinary; but from lawyers, the descendants of lawyers, who have practised for three hundred years, and have now raised themselves to a higher denomination, it might be expected that they should know the reverence due to a judicial determination: and, having been once dismissed, should sit down in silence."

I am ashamed to mention, that the Court, by a plurality of voices, without having a single additional circumstance before them, reversed their own judgment, made a serious matter of this dull and foolish joke, and adjudged Mr Robertson to pay to the Society five pounds (sterling money)

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and costs of suit. The decision will seem strange to English lawyers.

On Tuesday, 5th June, Johnson was to return to London. He was very pleasant at breakfast. I mentioned a friend of mine having resolved never to marry a pretty woman. JOHNSON: Sir, it is a very foolish resolution to resolve not to marry a pretty woman. Beauty is of itself very estimable. No, sir, I would prefer a pretty woman, unless there are objections to her. A pretty woman may be foolish; a pretty woman may be wicked; a pretty woman may not like me. But there is no such danger in marrying a pretty woman as is apprehended; she will not be persecuted if she does not invite persecution. A pretty woman, if she has a mind to be wicked, can find a readier way than another; and that is all.

I accompanied him in Mr Dilly's chaise to Shefford, where, talking of Lord Bute's never going to Scotland, he said: "As an Englishman, I should wish all the Scotch gentlemen to be educated in England; Scotland would become a province; they would spend all their rents in England." This is a subject of much consequence, and much delicacy. The advantage of an English education is unquestionably very great to Scotch gentlemen of talents and ambition; and regular visits, and I should think other means, might be effectually used to prevent them from being totally estranged from their native country, any more than a Cumberland or Northumberland gentleman who has been educated in the south of England. I own, indeed, that it is no small misfortune for Scotch gentlemen, who have neither talents nor ambition, to be educated in England, where they may be perhaps distinguished only by a nickname, lavish their fortune in giving expensive entertainments to those who laugh at them, and saunter about as mere idle insignificant hangers-on even upon the foolish great; when if they had been judiciously brought up at home, they might have been comfortable and creditable members of society.

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At Shefford, I had another affectionate parting from my revered friend, who was taken up by the Bedford coach, and carried to the metropolis. I went with Messieurs Dilly, to see some friends at Bedford; dined with the officers of the militia of the county, and next day proceeded on my journey.

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—How welcome your account of yourself and your invitation to your new house was to me, I need not tell you, who consider our friendship not only as formed by choice, but as matured by time. We have been now long enough acquainted to have many images in common; and, therefore, to have a source of conversation which neither the learning nor the wit of a new companion can supply.

My *Lives* are now published; and if you will tell me whither I shall send them that they may come to you, I will take care that you shall not be without them.

You will, perhaps, be glad to hear that Mrs Thrale is disencumbered of her brewhouse; and that it seemed to the purchaser so far from an evil, that he was content to give for it a hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds. Is the nation ruined?

Please to make my respectful compliments to Lady Rothes, and keep me in the memory of all the little dear family, particularly pretty Mrs Jane. I am, Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

BOLT COURT, *June 16, 1781.*

To THOMAS ASTLE, Esq.

SIR,—I am ashamed that you have been forced to call so often for your books, but it has been by no fault on either side. They have never been out of my hands, nor have I ever been at home without seeing you; for to see a man so

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skilful in the antiquities of my country, is an opportunity of improvement not willingly to be missed.

Your notes on Alfred¹ appear to be very judicious and accurate, but they are too few. Many things familiar to you are unknown to me, and to most others; and you must not think too favourably of your readers: by supposing them knowing, you will leave them ignorant. Measure of land, and value of money, it is of great importance to state with care. Had the Saxons any gold coin?

I have much curiosity after the manners and transactions of the Middle Ages, but have wanted either diligence or opportunity in both. You, sir, have great opportunities, and I wish you both diligence and success. I am, Sir, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

July 17, 1781.

The following curious anecdote I insert in Dr Burney's own words. "Dr Burney related to Dr Johnson the partiality which his writings had excited in a friend of Dr Burney's, the late Mr Bewley, well known in Norfolk by the name of the 'Philosopher of Massingham'; who, from the *Ramblers* and *Plan of his Dictionary*, and long before the author's fame was established by the *Dictionary* itself, or any other work, had conceived such a reverence for him, that he urgently begged Dr Burney to give him the cover of the first letter he had received from him, as a relic of so estimable a writer. This was in 1755. In 1760, when Dr Burney visited Dr Johnson at the Temple in London, where he had then chambers, he happened to arrive there before he was up; and being shown into the room where he was to breakfast, finding himself alone, he examined the contents of the apartment, to try whether he could, undiscovered, steal anything to send to his friend Bewley, as another relic of the

¹ The Will of King Alfred, alluded to in this letter, is now printing from the original Saxon, in the library of Mr Astle, at the expense of the University of Oxford. It is not to be sold, but is to be distributed in presents.

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admirable Dr Johnson. But finding nothing better to his purpose, he cut some bristles off his hearth-broom, and enclosed them in a letter to his country enthusiast, who received them with due reverence. The Doctor was so sensible of the honour done him by a man of genius and science, to whom he was an utter stranger, that he said to Dr Burney: 'Sir, there is no man possessed of the smallest portion of modesty, but must be flattered with the admiration of such a man. I'll give him a set of my *Lives*, if he will do me the honour to accept of them.' In this he kept his word; and Dr Burney had not only the pleasure of gratifying his friend with a present more worthy of his acceptance than the segment from the hearth-broom, but soon after of introducing him to Dr Johnson himself in Bolt Court, with whom he had the satisfaction of conversing a considerable time, not a fortnight before his death; which happened in St Martin's Street, during his visit to Dr Burney, in the house where the great Sir Isaac Newton had lived and died before."

In one of his little memorandum-books is the following minute:

"August 9, 3 P.M. *ætat.* 72, in the summer-house at Streatham.

"After innumerable resolutions formed and neglected, I have retired hither, to plan a life of greater diligence, in hope that I may yet be useful, and be daily better prepared to appear before my Creator and my Judge, from whose infinite mercy I humbly call for assistance and support.

"My purpose is,

"To pass eight hours every day in some serious employment.

"Having prayed, I purpose to employ the next six weeks upon the Italian language, for my settled study."

How venerably pious does he appear in these moments of solitude, and how spirited are his resolutions for the improvement of his mind, even in elegant literature, at a very advanced period of life, and when afflicted with many complaints.

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In autumn he went to Oxford, Birmingham, Lichfield, and Ashbourne, for which very good reasons might be given, in the conjectural yet positive manner of writers, who are proud to account for every event which they relate. He himself however says: "The motives of my journey I hardly know; I omitted it last year, and am not willing to miss it again."¹ But some good considerations arise, amongst which is the kindly recollection of Mr Hector, surgeon, at Birmingham: "Hector is likewise an old friend, the only companion of my childhood that passed through the school with me. We have always loved one another; perhaps we may be made better by some serious conversation, of which however I have no distinct hope."

He says too: "At Lichfield, my native place, I hope to show a good example by frequent attendance on public worship."

My correspondence with him during the rest of this year was I know not why very scanty, and all on my side. I wrote him one letter to introduce Mr Sinclair (now Sir John), the member for Caithness, to his acquaintance; and informed him in another, that my wife had again been affected with alarming symptoms of illness.

1782. *Ætat.* 73. In 1782, his complaints increased, and the history of his life for this year, is little more than a mournful recital of the variations of his illness, in the midst of which, however, it will appear from his letters, that the powers of his mind were in no degree impaired.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I sit down to answer your letter on the same day in which I received it, and am pleased that my first letter of the year is to you. No man ought to be at ease while he knows himself in the wrong; and I have not satisfied myself with my long silence. The letter relating to Mr Sinclair, however was, I believe, never brought.

¹ *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 201.

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My health has been tottering this last year; and I can give no very laudable account of my time. I am always hoping to do better than I have ever hitherto done.

My journey to Ashbourne and Staffordshire was not pleasant; for what enjoyment has a sick man visiting the sick? Shall we ever have another frolic like our journey to the Hebrides?

I hope that dear Mrs Boswell will surmount her complaints; in losing her you would lose your anchor, and be tossed, without stability, by the waves of life.¹ I wish both her and you very many years, and very happy.

For some months past I have been so withdrawn from the world, that I can send you nothing particular. All your friends, however, are well, and will be glad of your return to London. I am, dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

January 5, 1782.

At a time when he was less able than he had once been to sustain a shock, he was suddenly deprived of Mr Levett, which he thus communicated to Dr Lawrence :

SIR,—Our old friend, Mr Levett, who was last night eminently cheerful, died this morning. The man who lay in the same room, hearing an uncommon noise, got up and tried to make him speak, but without effect. He then called Mr Holder, the apothecary, who though when he came he thought him dead, opened a vein, but could draw no blood. So has ended the long life of a very useful and very blameless man. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Jan. 17, 1782.

In one of his memorandum-books in my possession, is the following entry : " January 20, Sunday. Robert Levett was buried in the churchyard of Bridewell, between one and

¹ The truth of this has been proved by sad experience.

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two in the afternoon. He died on Thursday 17, about seven in the morning, by an instantaneous death. He was an old and faithful friend; I have known him from about 46. *Commendari*. May God have mercy on him. May He have mercy on me."

Such was Johnson's affectionate regard for Levett,¹ that he honoured his memory with the following verses :

" Condemn'd to Hope's delusive mine,
As on we toil from day to day,
By sudden blast or slow decline,
Our social comforts drop away.

Well try'd through many a varying year,
See Levett to the grave descend ;
Officious, innocent, sincere,
Of ev'ry friendless name the friend.

Yet still he fills Affection's eye,
Obscurely wise and coarsely kind ;
Nor, letter'd arrogance,² deny
The praise to merit unrefin'd.

When fainting Nature call'd for aid,
And hov'ring Death prepar'd the blow,
His vigorous remedy display'd
The pow'r of art without the show.

In Misery's darkest caverns known,
His ready help was ever nigh,
Where hopeless Anguish pours his groan,
And lonely Want retir'd to die.³

¹ See an account of him in *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1785.

² In both editions of Sir John Hawkins's *Life of Dr Johnson*, "letter'd ignorance," is printed.

³ Johnson repeated this line to me thus :

" And Labour steals an hour to die."

But he afterwards altered it to the present reading.

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No summons mock'd by chill delay,
No petty gains disdain'd by pride ;
The modest wants of ev'ry day
The toil of ev'ry day supply'd.

His virtues walk'd their narrow round,
Nor made a pause nor left a void ;
And sure th'Eternal Master found
His single talent well employ'd.

The busy day, the peaceful night,
Unfelt, uncounted, glided by ;
His frame was firm, his powers were bright,
Though now his eightieth year was nigh.

Then, with no throbs of fiery pain,
No cold gradations of decay,
Death broke at once the vital chain,
And freed his soul the nearest way."

In one of his registers of this year, there occurs the following curious passage : "Jan. 20. The ministry is dissolved. I prayed with Francis, and gave thanks."¹ It has been the subject of discussion whether there are two distinct particulars mentioned here, or that we are to understand the giving of thanks to be in consequence of the dissolution of the ministry. In support of the last of these conjectures, may be urged his mean opinion of that ministry, which has frequently appeared in the course of this work ; and it is strongly confirmed by what he said on the subject to Mr Seward : "I am glad the ministry is removed. Such a bunch of imbecility never disgraced a country. If they sent a messenger into the City to take up a printer, the messenger was taken up instead of the printer, and committed by the sitting Alderman. If they sent one army

¹ *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 209.

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to the relief of another, the first army was defeated and taken before the second arrived. I will not say that what they did was always wrong; but it was always done at a wrong time."

To Mrs STRAHAN

DEAR MADAM,—Mrs Williams showed me your kind letter. This little habitation is now but a melancholy place, clouded with the gloom of disease and death. Of the four inmates, one has been suddenly snatched away; two are oppressed by very afflictive and dangerous illness; and I tried yesterday to gain some relief by a third bleeding, from a disorder which has for some time distressed me, and I think myself to-day much better.

I am glad, dear madam, to hear that you are so far recovered as to go to Bath. Let me once more entreat you to stay till your health is not only obtained, but confirmed. Your fortune is such as that no moderate expense deserves your care; and you have a husband who, I believe, does not regard it. Stay, therefore, till you are quite well. I am, for my part, very much deserted; but complaint is useless. I hope God will bless you, and I desire you to form the same wish for me. I am, dear Madam, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Feb. 4, 1782.

To EDMOND MALONE, Esq.

SIR,—I have for many weeks been so much out of order, that I have gone out only in a coach to Mrs Thrale's, where I can use all the freedom that sickness requires. Do not, therefore, take it amiss, that I am not with you and Dr Farmer. I hope hereafter to see you often. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Feb. 27, 1782.

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To the Same

DEAR SIR,—I hope I grow better, and shall soon be able to enjoy the kindness of my friends. I think this wild adherence to Chatterton more unaccountable than the obstinate defence of Ossian. In Ossian there is a national pride, which may be forgiven, though it cannot be applauded. In Chatterton there is nothing but the resolution to say again what has once been said. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

March 2, 1782.

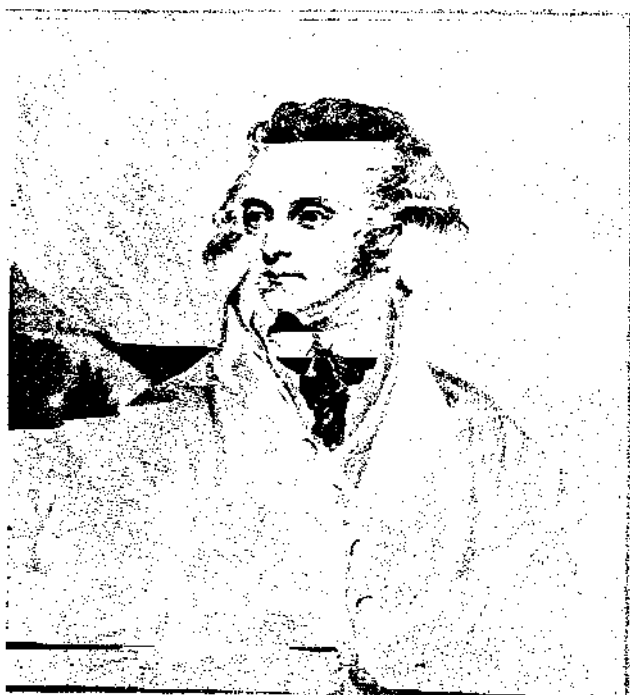
These short letters show the regard which Dr Johnson entertained for Mr Malone, who the more he is known is the more highly valued. It is much to be regretted that Johnson was prevented from sharing the elegant hospitality of that gentleman's table, at which he would in every respect have been fully gratified. Mr Malone, who has so ably succeeded him as an editor of Shakspeare, has, in his Preface, done great and just honour to Johnson's memory.

To Mrs Lucy PORTER, in Lichfield

DEAR MADAM,—I went away from Lichfield ill, and have had a troublesome time with my breath; for some weeks I have been disordered by a cold, of which I could not get the violence abated, till I had been let blood three times. I have not, however, been so bad but that I could have written, and I am sorry that I neglected it.

My dwelling is but melancholy; both Williams, and Desmoulins, and myself are very sickly; Frank is not well; and poor Levett died in his bed the other day, by a sudden stroke; I suppose not one minute passed between health and death; so uncertain are human things.

Such is the appearance of the world about me; I hope your scenes are more cheerful. But whatever befalls us, though it is wise to be serious, it is useless and foolish, and



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perhaps sinful to be gloomy. Let us, therefore, keep ourselves as easy as we can; though the loss of friends will be felt, and poor Levett had been a faithful adherent for thirty years.

Forgive me, my dear love, the omission of writing; I hope to mend that and my other faults. Let me have your prayers.

Make my compliments to Mr Cobb, and Miss Adey, and Mr Pearson, and the whole company of my friends. I am, my dear, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *March 2, 1782.*

To the Same

DEAR MADAM,—My last was but a dull letter, and I know not that this will be much more cheerful; I am however willing to write, because you are desirous to hear from me.

My disorder has now begun its ninth week, for it is not yet over. I was last Thursday blooded for the fourth time, and have since found myself much relieved, but I am very tender and easily hurt; so that since we parted I have had little comfort, but I hope that the spring will recover me; and that in the summer I shall see Lichfield again, for I will not delay my visit another year to the end of autumn.

I have, by advertising, found poor Mr Levett's brothers in Yorkshire, who will take the little that he has left; it is but little, yet it will be welcome, for I believe they are of very low condition.

To be sick, and to see nothing but sickness and death, is but a gloomy state, but I hope better times, even in this world, will come, and whatever this world may withhold or give, we shall be happy in a better state. Pray for me, my dear Lucy.

Make my compliments to Mrs Cobb, and Miss Adey,

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and my old friend, Hetty Bailey, and to all the Lichfield ladies. I am, dear Madam, yours affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET,

March 19, 1782.

On the day on which this letter was written he thus feelingly mentions his respected friend and physician, Dr Lawrence: "Poor Lawrence has almost lost the sense of hearing; and I have lost the conversation of a learned, intelligent, and communicative companion, and a friend whom long familiarity has much endeared. Lawrence is one of the best men whom I have known.—' *Nostrum omnium misera Deus.*'"¹

It was Dr Johnson's custom, when he wrote to Dr Lawrence concerning his own health, to use the Latin language. I have been favoured by Miss Lawrence with one of these letters as a specimen.

T. LAWRENTIO, *Medico S.*

Novum frigus, nova tussis, nova spirandi difficultas, novam sanguinis missionem suadent, quam tamen te inconsulto nolim fieri. Ad te venire vix possum, nec est cur ad me venias. Licere vel non licere uno verbo dicendum est; cætera mihi et Holdero² reliqueris. Si per te licet, imperatur nuncio Holderum ad me deducere.

Maiis Calendis, 1782.

*Postquàm tu discesseris quò me vertam?*³

¹ *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 207.

² Mr Holder, Dr Johnson's apothecary.

³ Soon after the above letter, Dr Lawrence left London, but not before the palsy had made so great a progress as to render him unable to write for himself. The following are extracts from letters addressed to one of his daughters:

"You will easily believe with what gladness I read that you had heard once again that voice to which we have all so often delighted to attend.

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To Captain LANGTON,¹ in Rochester

DEAR SIR,—It is now long since we saw one another, and whatever has been the reason neither you have written to me, nor I to you. To let friendship die away by negligence and silence, is certainly not wise. It is voluntarily to throw away one of the greatest comforts of this weary pilgrimage, of which when it is, as it must be, taken finally away, he that travels on alone, will wonder how his esteem could be so little. Do not forget me; you see that I do not forget you. It is pleasing in the silence of solitude to think that there is one at least, however distant, of whose benevolence there is little doubt, and whom there is yet hope of seeing again.

Of my life, from the time we parted, the history is mournful. The spring of last year deprived me of Thrale, a man

May you often hear it. If we had his mind, and his tongue, we could spare the rest.

"I am not vigorous, but much better than when dear Dr Lawrence held my pulse the last time. Be so kind as to let me know, from one little interval to another, the state of his body. I am pleased that he remembers me, and hope that it never can be possible for me to forget him. July 22, 1782."

"I am much delighted even with the small advances which dear Dr Lawrence makes towards recovery. If we could have again but his mind, and his tongue in his mind, and his right hand, we should not much lament the rest. I should not despair of helping the swelled hand by electricity, if it were frequently and diligently supplied.

"Let me know from time to time whatever happens; and hope I need not tell you how much I am interested in every change. Aug. 26, 1782."

"Though the accounts with which you favoured me in your last letter could not give me the pleasure that I wished, yet I was glad to receive it; for my affection to my dear friend makes me desirous of knowing his state, whatever it be. I beg, therefore, that you continue to let me know, from time to time, all that you observe.

"Many fits of severe illness have, for about three months past, forced my kind physician often upon my mind. I am now better, and hope gratitude, as well as distress, can be a motive to remembrance. Bolt Court, Fleet Street, Feb. 4, 1783."

¹ Mr Langton being at this time on duty at Rochester, he is addressed by his military title.

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whose eye for fifteen years had scarcely been turned upon me but with respect or tenderness; for such another friend, the general course of human things will not suffer man to hope. I passed the summer at Streatham, but there was no Thrale; and having idled away the summer with a weakly body and neglected mind, I made a journey to Staffordshire on the edge of winter. The season was dreary, I was sickly, and found the friends sickly whom I went to see. After a sorrowful sojourn, I returned to a habitation possessed for the present by two sick women, where my dear old friend, Mr Levett, to whom, as he used to tell me, I owe your acquaintance, died a few weeks ago, suddenly in his bed; there passed not, I believe, a minute between health and death. At night, as at Mrs Thrale's, I was musing in my chamber, I thought with uncommon earnestness, that however I might alter my mode of life, or whithersoever I might remove, I would endeavour to retain Levett about me; in the morning my servant brought me word that Levett was called to another state, a state for which, I think, he was not unprepared, for he was very useful to the poor. How much soever I valued him, I now wish that I had valued him more.

I have myself been ill more than eight weeks of a disorder, from which, at the expense of about fifty ounces of blood, I hope I am now recovering.

You, dear sir, have, I hope, a more cheerful scene; you see George fond of his book, and the pretty misses airy and lively, with my own little Jenny equal to the best; and in whatever can contribute to your quiet or pleasure, you have Lady Rothes ready to concur. May whatever you enjoy of good be increased, and whatever you suffer of evil be diminished. I am, dear Sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET,
March 20, 1782.

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To Mr HECTOR, in Birmingham.¹

DEAR SIR,—I hope I do not very grossly flatter myself to imagine that you and dear Mrs Careless will be glad to hear some account of me. I performed the journey to London with very little inconvenience, and came safe to my habitation, where I found nothing but ill health, and, of consequence, very little cheerfulness. I then went to visit a little way into the country, where I got a complaint by a cold which has hung eight weeks upon me, and from which I am, at the expense of fifty ounces of blood, not yet free. I am afraid I must once more owe my recovery to warm weather, which seems to make the advances towards us.

Such is my health, which will, I hope, soon grow better. In other respects I have no reason to complain. I know not that I have written anything more generally commended than the *Lives of the Poets*; and have found the world willing enough to caress me, if my health had invited me to be in much company: but this season I have been almost wholly employed in nursing myself.

When summer comes I hope to see you again, and will not put off my visit to the end of the year. I have lived so long in London, that I did not remember the difference of seasons.

Your health, when I saw you, was much improved. You will be prudent enough not to put it in danger. I hope, when we meet again, we shall all congratulate each other upon fair prospects of longer life; though what are the pleasures of the longest life, when placed in comparison with a happy death? I am, dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, March 21, 1781.

¹ A part of this letter having been torn off, I have, from the evident meaning, supplied a few words and half words at the ends and beginnings of lines.

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To the Same

[*Without a date, but supposed to be about this time.*]

DEAR SIR,—That you and dear Mrs Careless should have care or curiosity about my health, gives me that pleasure which every man feels from finding himself not forgotten. In age we feel again that love of our native place and our early friends, which, in the bustle or amusements of middle life, were overborne and suspended. You and I should now naturally cling to one another: we have outlived most of those who could pretend to rival us in each other's kindness. In our walk through life we have dropped our companions, and are now to pick up such as chance may offer us, or to travel on alone. You, indeed, have a sister, with whom you can divide the day: I have no natural friend left; but Providence has been pleased to preserve me from neglect; I have not wanted such alleviations of life as friendship could supply. My health has been, from my twentieth year, such as has seldom afforded me a single day of ease; but it is at least not worse: and I sometimes make myself believe that it is better. My disorders are, however, still sufficiently oppressive.

I think of seeing Staffordshire again this autumn, and intend to find my way through Birmingham, where I hope to see you and dear Mrs Careless well. I am, Sir, your affectionate friend,

SAM. JOHNSON.

I wrote to him at different dates; regretted that I could not come to London this spring, but hoped we should meet somewhere in the summer; mentioned the state of my affairs, and suggested hopes of some preferment; informed him, that as *The Beauties of Johnson* had been published in London, some obscure scribbler had published at Edinburgh, what he called *Deformities of Johnson*.

THE LIFE OF DR JOHNSON

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—The pleasure which we used to receive from each other on Good Friday and Easter Day, we must be this year content to miss. Let us, however, pray for each other, and hope to see one another yet from time to time with mutual delight. My disorder has been a cold, which impeded the organs of respiration, and kept me many weeks in a state of great uneasiness, but by repeated phlebotomy it is now relieved; and next to the recovery of Mrs Boswell, I flatter myself, that you will rejoice at mine.

What we shall do in the summer it is yet too early to consider. You want to know what you shall do now; I do not think this time of bustle and confusion likely to produce any advantage to you. Every man has those to reward and gratify who have contributed to his advancement. To come hither with such expectations at the expense of borrowed money, which, I find, you know not where to borrow, can hardly be considered as prudent. I am sorry to find, what your solicitation seems to imply, that you have already gone the whole length of your credit. This is to set the quiet of your whole life at hazard. If you anticipate your inheritance, you can at last inherit nothing; all that you receive must pay for the past. You must get a place, or pine in penury, with the empty name of a great estate. Poverty, my dear friend, is so great an evil, and pregnant with so much temptation, and so much misery, that I cannot but earnestly enjoin you to avoid it. Live on what you have; live if you can on less; do not borrow either for vanity or pleasure; the vanity will end in shame, and the pleasure in regret; stay therefore at home, till you have saved money for your journey hither.

The Beauties of Johnson are said to have got money to the collector; if the *Deformities* have the same success, I shall be still a more extensive benefactor.

Make my compliments to Mrs Boswell, who is, I hope,

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reconciled to me; and to the young people, whom I never have offended.

You never told me the success of your plea against the Solicitors. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *March 28, 1782.*

Notwithstanding his afflicted state of body and mind this year, the following correspondence affords a proof not only of his benevolence and conscientious readiness to relieve a good man from error, but by his clothing one of the sentiments in his *Rambler* in different language, not inferior to that of the original, shows his extraordinary command of clear and forcible expression.

A clergyman at Bath wrote to him, that in *The Morning Chronicle* a passage in *The Beauties of Johnson*, article "Death," had been pointed out as supposed by some readers to recommend suicide, the words being, "To die is the fate of man; but to die with lingering anguish is generally his folly"; and respectfully suggesting to him, that such an erroneous notion of any sentence in the writings of an acknowledged friend of religion and virtue, should not pass uncontradicted.

Johnson thus answered the clergyman's letter:

To the Reverend Mr ———, at Bath

SIR,—Being now in the country in a state of recovery, as I hope, from a very oppressive disorder, I cannot neglect the acknowledgment of your Christian letter. The book called *The Beauties of Johnson*, is the production of I know not whom: I never saw it but by casual inspection, and considered myself as utterly disengaged from its consequences. Of the passage you mention, I remember some notice in some paper; but, knowing that it must be misrepresented, I thought of it no more, nor do I know where to find it in my own books. I am accustomed to think little of newspapers; but an opinion so weighty and serious as yours has

Dear Sir

I shall be obliged to you for
the volume of your books of
Pierage that relates to the
Irish Quers, for a day or two;
as also your name
to Johnson's name, - for Mr
Boswell

Yours most faithfully
M^r Malone

Saturday Morning

A LETTER FROM MALONE TO OZIAS HUMPHRY INDICATING HIS
ASSISTANCE TO BOSWELL IN COMPILING JOHNSON'S "LIFE"

From the collection of Colonel Ralph Isham

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determined me to do, what I should, without your seasonable admonition, have omitted ; and I will direct my thought to be shown in its true state.¹ If I could find the passage, I would direct you to it. I suppose the tenor is this : " Acute diseases are the immediate and inevitable strokes of Heaven ; but of them the pain is short, and the conclusion speedy : chronical disorders, by which we are suspended in tedious torture between life and death, are commonly the effect of our own misconduct and intemperance. To die," etc. This, sir, you see, is all true, and all blameless. I hope, some time in the next week, to have all rectified. My health has been lately much shaken ; if you favour this with any answer, it will be a comfort to me to know that I have your prayers. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 15, 1782.

This letter, as might be expected, had its full effect, and the clergyman acknowledged it in grateful and pious terms.²

The following letters require no extracts from mine to introduce them.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—The earnestness and tenderness of your letter is such, that I cannot think myself showing it more

¹ What follows appeared in *The Morning Chronicle* of 29th May 1782. —"A correspondent having mentioned, in *The Morning Chronicle* of December 12, the last clause of the following paragraph, as seeming to favour suicide ; we are requested to print the whole passage, that its true meaning may appear, which is not to recommend suicide, but exercise.

"Exercise cannot secure us from that dissolution to which we are decreed ; but while the soul and body continue united, it can make the association pleasing, and give probable hopes that they shall be disjoined by an easy separation. It was a principle among the ancients, that acute diseases are from Heaven, and chronical from ourselves ; the dart of death, indeed, falls from Heaven, but we poison it by our own misconduct : to die is the fate of man ; but to die with lingering anguish is generally his folly."

² The correspondence may be seen at length in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1786.

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respect than it claims by sitting down to answer it the day on which I received it.

This year has afflicted me with a very irksome and severe disorder. My respiration has been much impeded, and much blood has been taken away. I am now harassed by a catarrhus cough, from which my purpose is to seek relief by change of air; and I am, therefore, preparing to go to Oxford.

Whether I did right in dissuading you from coming to London this spring, I will not determine. You have not lost much by missing my company; I have scarcely been well for a single week. I might have received comfort from your kindness; but you would have seen me afflicted, and, perhaps, found me peevish. Whatever might have been your pleasure or mine, I know not how I could have honestly advised you to come hither with borrowed money. Do not accustom yourself to consider debts only as an inconvenience: you will find it a calamity. Poverty takes away so many means of doing good, and produces so much inability to resist evil, both natural and moral, that it is by all virtuous means to be avoided. Consider a man whose fortune is very narrow; whatever be his rank by birth, or whatever his reputation by intellectual excellence, what good can he do? or what evil can he prevent? That he cannot help the needy is evident, he has nothing to spare. But, perhaps, his advice or admonition may be useful. His poverty will destroy his influence: many more can find that he is poor, than that he is wise; and few will reverence the understanding that is of so little advantage to its owner. I say nothing of the personal wretchedness of a debtor, which, however, has passed into a proverb. Of riches, it is not necessary to write the praise. Let it, however, be remembered, that he who has money to spare, has it always in his power to benefit others; and of such power a good man must always be desirous.

I am pleased with your account of Easter.¹ We shall

¹ Which I celebrated in the Church of England chapel at Edinburgh, founded by Lord Chief Baron Smith, of respectable and pious memory.

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meet, I hope, in autumn, both well and both cheerful; and part each the better for the other's company.

Make my compliments to Mrs Boswell, and to the young charmers. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *June 3, 1782.*

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Being uncertain whether I should have any call this autumn into the country, I did not immediately answer your kind letter. I have no call, but if you desire to meet me at Ashbourne, I believe I can come thither; if you had rather come to London, I can stay at Streatham; take your choice.

This year has been very heavy. From the middle of January to the middle of June I was battered by one disorder after another; I am now very much recovered, and hope still to be better. What happiness it is that Mrs Boswell has escaped.

My *Lives* are reprinting, and I have forgotten the author of Gray's character¹: write immediately, and it may be perhaps yet inserted.

Of London or Ashbourne you have your free choice; at any place I shall be glad to see you. I am, dear Sir, your, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Aug. 24, 1782.

On the 30th of August, I informed him that my honoured father had died that morning; a complaint under which he had long laboured, having suddenly come to a crisis, while I was upon a visit at the seat of Sir Charles Preston, from whence I had hastened the day before, upon receiving a letter by express.

¹ The Reverend Mr Temple, Vicar of St Gluvias, Cornwall.

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To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I have struggled through this year with so much infirmity of body, and such strong impressions of the fragility of life, that death, wherever it appears, fills me with melancholy; and I cannot hear without emotion of the removal of anyone, whom I have known, into another state.

Your father's death had every circumstance that could enable you to bear it; it was at a mature age, and it was expected; and as his general life had been pious, his thoughts had doubtless for many years past been turned upon eternity. That you did not find him sensible must doubtless grieve you; his disposition towards you was undoubtedly that of a kind, though not of a fond father. Kindness, at least actual, is in our power, but fondness is not; and if by negligence or imprudence you had extinguished his fondness, he could not at will rekindle it. Nothing then remained between you but mutual forgiveness of each other's faults, and mutual desire of each other's happiness.

I shall long to know his final disposition of his fortune.

You, dear sir, have now a new station, and have therefore new cares, and new employments. Life, as Cowley seems to say, ought to resemble a well-ordered poem; of which one rule generally received is, that the exordium should be simple, and should promise little. Begin your new course of life with the least show, and the least expense possible; you may at pleasure increase both, but you cannot easily diminish them. Do not think your estate your own while any man can call upon you for money which you cannot pay; therefore, begin with timorous parsimony. Let it be your first care not to be in any man's debt.

When the thoughts are extended to a future state, the present life seems hardly worthy of all those principles of conduct, and maxims of prudence, which one generation of men has transmitted to another; but upon a closer view, when it is perceived how much evil is produced, and how much good is impeded by embarrassment and distress, and

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how little room the expedients of poverty leave for the exercise of virtue; its sorrows manifest that the boundless importance of the next life enforces some attention to the interests of this.

Be kind to the old servants, and secure the kindness of the agents and factors; do not disgust them by asperity, or unwelcome gaiety, or apparent suspicion. From them you must learn the real state of your affairs, the characters of your tenants, and the value of your lands.

Make my compliments to Mrs Boswell; I think her expectations from air and exercise are the best that she can form. I hope she will live long and happily.

I forget whether I told you that Rasay has been here; we dined cheerfully together. I entertained lately a young gentleman from Coriatachat.

I received your letters only this morning. I am, dear Sir, yours, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *Sept. 7, 1782.*

In answer to my next letter, I received one from him, dissuading me from hastening to him as I had proposed; what is proper for publication is the following paragraph, equally just and tender:

"One expense, however, I would not have you to spare: let nothing be omitted that can preserve Mrs Boswell, though it should be necessary to transplant her for a time into a softer climate. She is the prop and stay of your life. How much must your children suffer by losing her."

My wife was now so much convinced of his sincere friendship for me, and regard for her, that she without any suggestion on my part, wrote him a very polite and grateful letter.

Dr JOHNSON *to* Mrs BOSWELL

DEAR LADY,—I have not often received so much pleasure as from your invitation to Auchinleck. The journey thither

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and back is, indeed, too great for the latter part of the year ; but if my health were fully recovered, I would suffer no little heat and cold, nor a wet or a rough road to keep me from you. I am, indeed, not without hope of seeing Auchinleck again, but to make it a pleasant place I must see its lady well, and brisk, and airy. For my sake, therefore, among many greater reasons, take care, dear madam, of your health, spare no expense, and want no attendance that can procure ease, or preserve it. Be very careful to keep your mind quiet ; and do not think it too much to give an account of your recovery to, Madam, your, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *Sept. 7, 1782.*

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Having passed almost this whole year in a succession of disorders, I went in October to Brighthelmston, whither I came in a state of so much weakness, that I rested four times in walking between the inn and the lodging. By physic and abstinence I grew better, and am now reasonably easy, though at a great distance from health. I am afraid, however, that health begins, after seventy, and often long before, to have a meaning different from that which it had at thirty. But it is culpable to murmur at the established order of the creation, as it is vain to oppose it. He that lives, must grow old ; and he that would rather grow old than die, has God to thank for the infirmities of old age.

At your long silence I am rather angry. You do not, since now you are the head of your house, think it worth your while to try whether you or your friend can live longer without writing, nor suspect after so many years of friendship, that when I do not write to you I forget you. Put all such useless jealousies out of your head, and disdain to regulate your own practice by the practice of another, or by any other principle than the desire of doing right.

Your œconomy, I suppose, begins now to be settled ; your

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expenses are adjusted to your revenue, and all your people in their proper places. Resolve not to be poor: whatever you have, spend less. Poverty is a great enemy to human happiness; it certainly destroys liberty, and it makes some virtues impracticable, and others extremely difficult.

Let me know the history of your life since your accession to your estate. How many houses, how many cows, how much land in your own hand, and what bargains you make with your tenants.

* * * * *

Of my *Lives of the Poets*, they have printed a new edition in octavo, I hear, of three thousand. Did I give a set to Lord Hailes? If I did not, I will do it out of these. What did you make of all your copy?

Mrs Thrale and the three Misses are now, for the winter, in Argyll Street. Sir Joshua Reynolds has been out of order, but is well again; and I am, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, Dec. 7, 1782.

To DR SAMUEL JOHNSON

EDINBURGH, Dec. 20, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—I was made happy by your kind letter, which gave us the agreeable hopes of seeing you in Scotland again.

I am much flattered by the concern you are pleased to take in my recovery. I am better, and hope to have it in my power to convince you, by my attention, of how much consequence I esteem your health to the world and to myself. I remain, Sir, with grateful respect, your obliged and obedient servant,

MARGARET BOSWELL.

The death of Mr Thrale had made a very material alteration upon Johnson, with respect to his reception in that

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family. The manly authority of the husband no longer curbed the lively exuberance of the lady; and as her vanity had been fully gratified, by having the Colossus of Literature attached to her for many years, she gradually became less assiduous to please him. Whether her attachment to him was already divided by another object, I am unable to ascertain; but it is plain that Johnson's penetration was alive to her neglect or forced attention; for on the 6th of October this year, we find him making a "parting use of the library" at Streatham, and pronouncing a prayer, which he composed "On leaving Mr Thrale's family."¹

"Almighty God, Father of all mercy, help me by Thy grace, that I may, with humble and sincere thankfulness, remember the comforts and conveniencies which I have enjoyed at this place; and that I may resign them with holy submission, equally trusting in Thy protection when Thou givest, and when Thou takest away. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, have mercy upon me.

"To Thy fatherly protection, O Lord, I commend this family. Bless, guide, and defend them, that they may so pass through this world, as finally to enjoy in Thy presence everlasting happiness, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."

One cannot read this prayer, without some emotions not very favourable to the lady whose conduct occasioned it.

In one of his memorandum-books I find, "Sunday, went to church at Streatham. *Templo valedixi cum osculo.*"

He met Mr Philip Metcalfe often at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, and other places, and was a good deal with him at Bright-helmston this autumn, being pleased at once with his excellent table and animated conversation. Mr Metcalfe showed him great respect, and sent him a note that he might have the use of his carriage whenever he pleased. Johnson (3rd October 1782) returned this polite answer: "Mr Johnson is very much obliged by the kind offer of the carriage; but he has no desire of using Mr Metcalfe's carriage, except when he can have the pleasure of Mr

¹ *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 214.

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Metcalf's company." Mr Metcalfe could not but be highly pleased that his company was thus valued by Johnson, and he frequently attended him in airings. They also went together to Cirencester, and they visited Petworth and Cowdery, the venerable seat of the Lords Montacute. "Sir," said Johnson, "I should like to stay here four-and-twenty hours. We see here how our ancestors lived."

That his curiosity, however, was unabated, appears from two letters to Mr John Nichols, of the 10th and 20th of October this year. In one he says: "I have looked into your *Anecdotes*, and you will hardly thank a lover of literary history for telling you, that he has been much informed and gratified. I wish you would add your own discoveries and intelligence to those of Dr Rawlinson, and undertake the Supplement to Wood. Think of it." In the other: "I wish, sir, you could obtain some fuller information of Jortin, Markland, and Thirlby. They were three contemporaries of great eminence."

To Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS

DEAR SIR,—I heard yesterday of your late disorder, and should think ill of myself if I had heard of it without alarm. I heard likewise of your recovery, which I sincerely wish to be complete and permanent. Your country has been in danger of losing one of its brightest ornaments, and I of losing one of my oldest and kindest friends: but I hope you will still live long, for the honour of the nation; and that more enjoyment of your elegance, your intelligence, and your benevolence, is still reserved for, dear Sir, your most affectionate, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

BRIGHTHELMSTON, Nov. 14, 1782.

The Reverend Mr Wilson having dedicated to him his *Archeological Dictionary*, that mark of respect was thus acknowledged:

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To the Reverend Mr WILSON, *Clitheroe, Lancashire*

REVEREND SIR,—That I have long omitted to return you thanks for the honour conferred upon me by your Dedication, I entreat you with great earnestness not to consider as more faulty than it is. A very importunate and oppressive disorder has for some time debarred me from the pleasures, and obstructed me in the duties of life. The esteem and kindness of wise and good men is one of the last pleasures which I can be content to lose; and gratitude to those from whom this pleasure is received, is a duty of which I hope never to be reproached with the final neglect. I therefore now return you thanks for the notice which I have received from you; and which I consider as giving to my name not only more bulk, but more weight; not only as extending its superficies, but as increasing its value. Your book was evidently wanted, and will, I hope, find its way into the school, to which, however, I do not mean to confine it; for no man has so much skill in ancient rites and practices as not to want it. As I suppose myself to owe part of your kindness to my excellent friend Dr Patten, he has likewise a just claim to my acknowledgments, which I hope you, sir, will transmit. There will soon appear a new edition of my *Poetical Biography*; if you will accept of a copy to keep me in your mind, be pleased to let me know how it may be conveniently conveyed to you. The present is small, but it is given with good will by, Reverend Sir, your most, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Dec. 31, 1782.

1783. *Ætat.* 74. In 1783 he was more severely afflicted than ever, as will appear in the course of his correspondence; but still the same ardour for literature, the same constant piety, the same kindness for his friends, and the same vivacity, both in conversation and writing, distinguished him.

Having given Dr Johnson a full account of what I was

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doing at Auchinleck, and particularly mentioned what I knew would please him—my having brought an old man of eighty-eight from a lonely cottage to a comfortable habitation within my enclosures, where he had good neighbours near to him—I received an answer in February, of which I extract what follows :

“ I am delighted with your account of your activity at Auchinleck, and wish the old gentleman, whom you have so kindly removed, may live long to promote your prosperity by his prayers. You have now a new character and new duties ; think on them, and practise them.

“ Make an impartial estimate of your revenue, and whatever it is, live upon less. Resolve never to be poor. Frugality is not only the basis of quiet, but of beneficence. No man can help others that wants help himself ; we must have enough before we have to spare.

“ I am glad to find that Mrs Boswell grows well ; and hope that to keep her well, no care nor caution will be omitted. May you long live happily together.

“ When you come hither, pray bring with you Baxter’s *Anacreon*. I cannot get that edition in London.”

On Friday, 21st March, having arrived in London the night before, I was glad to find him at Mrs Thrale’s house, in Argyll Street, appearances of friendship between them being still kept up. I was shown into his room, and after the first salutation he said : “ I am glad you are come. I am very ill.” He looked pale, and was distressed with a difficulty of breathing. But he soon assumed his usual strong animated style of conversation. Seeing me now for the first time as a *Laird*, or proprietor of land, he began : “ Sir, the superiority of a country gentleman over the people upon his estate is very agreeable ; and he who says he does not feel it to be agreeable, lies : for it must be agreeable to have a casual superiority over those who are by nature equal with us.” BOSWELL : Yet, sir, we see great proprietors of land who prefer living in London. JOHNSON : Why, sir, the pleasure of living in London, the intellectual superiority

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that is enjoyed there, may counterbalance the other. Besides, sir, a man may prefer the state of the country gentleman upon the whole, and yet there may never be a moment when he is willing to make the change to quit London for it.—He said: “It is better to have five per cent. out of land than out of money, because it is more secure; but the readiness of transference, and promptness of interest, make many people rather choose the funds. Nay, there is another disadvantage belonging to land, compared with money. A man is not so much afraid of being a hard creditor as of being a hard landlord.” BOSWELL: Because there is a sort of kindly connection between a landlord and his tenants. JOHNSON: No, sir; many landlords with us never see their tenants. It is because if a landlord drives away his tenants, he may not get others; whereas the demand for money is so great, it may always be lent.

He talked with regret and indignation of the factious opposition to Government at this time, and imputed it, in a great measure, to the Revolution. “Sir,” said he, in a low voice, having come nearer to me, while his old prejudices seemed to be fermenting in his mind, “this Hanoverian family is *isolée* here. They have no friends. Now the Stuarts had friends who stuck by them so late as 1745. When the right of the King is not revered, there will not be reverence for those appointed by the King.”

His observation that the present Royal Family has no friends, has been too much justified by the very ungrateful behaviour of many who were under great obligations to his Majesty; at the same time there are honourable exceptions; and the very next year after this conversation, and ever since, the King has had as extensive and generous support as ever was given to any monarch, and has had the satisfaction of knowing that he was more and more endeared to his people.

He repeated to me his verses on Mr Levett, with an emotion which gave them full effect; and then he was pleased to say: “You must be as much with me as you can.

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You have done me good. You cannot think how much better I am since you came in."

He sent a message to acquaint Mrs Thrale that I was arrived. I had not seen her since her husband's death. She soon appeared, and favoured me with an invitation to stay to dinner, which I accepted. There was no other company but herself and three of her daughters, Dr Johnson, and I. She, too, said she was very glad I was come, for she was going to Bath, and should have been sorry to leave Dr Johnson before I came. This seemed to be attentive and kind, and I who had not been informed of any change, imagined all to be as well as formerly. He was little inclined to talk at dinner, and went to sleep after it; but when he joined us in the drawing-room, he seemed revived, and was again himself.

Talking of conversation, he said: "There must, in the first place, be knowledge, there must be materials; in the second place, there must be a command of words; in the third place, there must be imagination, to place things in such views as they are not commonly seen in; and in the fourth place, there must be presence of mind, and a resolution that is not to be overcome by failures; this last is an essential requisite; for want of it many people do not excel in conversation. Now *I* want it, I throw up the game upon losing a trick." I wondered to hear him talk thus of himself, and said: "I don't know, sir, how this may be, but I am sure you beat other people's cards out of their hands." I doubt whether he heard this remark. While he went on talking triumphantly, I was fixed in admiration, and said to Mrs Thrale: "Oh, for shorthand to take this down." "You'll carry it all in your head," said she; "a long head is as good as shorthand."

It has been observed and wondered at, that Mr Charles Fox never talked with any freedom in the presence of Dr Johnson, though it is well known, and I myself can witness, that his conversation is various, fluent, and exceedingly agreeable. Johnson's experience, however, founded him

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in going on thus: "Fox never talks in private company, not from any determination not to talk, but because he has not the first motion. A man who is used to the applause of the House of Commons, has no wish for that of a private company. A man accustomed to throw for a thousand pounds, if set down to throw for sixpence, would not be at the pains to count his dice. Burke's talk is the ebullition of his mind; he does not talk from a desire of distinction, but because his mind is full."

He thus curiously characterised one of our old acquaintance: "***** is a good man, sir; but he is a vain man, and a liar. He, however, only tells lies of vanity; of victories, for instance, in conversation which never happened." This alluded to a story which I had repeated from that gentleman, to entertain Johnson with its wild bravado: "This Johnson, sir," said he, "whom you are all afraid of, will shrink if you come close to him in argument, and roar as loud as he. He once maintained the paradox, that there is no beauty but in utility. 'Sir,' said I, 'what say you to the peacock's tail, which is one of the most beautiful objects in nature, but would have as much utility if its feathers were all of one colour?' He *felt* what I thus produced, and had recourse to his usual expedient, ridicule; exclaiming: 'A peacock has a tail, and a fox has a tail'; and then he burst out into a laugh. 'Well, sir,' said I, with a strong voice, looking him full in the face, 'you have unkennelled your fox; pursue him if you dare.' He had not a word to say, sir." Johnson told me that this was a fiction from beginning to end.¹

¹ Were I to insert all the stories which have been told of contests boldly maintained with him, imaginary victories obtained over him, of reducing him to silence, and of making him own that his antagonists had the better of him in argument, my volumes would swell to an immoderate size. One instance, I find, has circulated both in conversation and in print; that when he would not allow the Scotch writers to have merit, the late Dr Rose, of Chiswick, asserted, that he could name one Scotch writer, who Dr Johnson himself would allow to have written better than any man of the age; and upon Johnson's asking who it was, answered, "Lord Bute, when he signed

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After musing for some time, he said: "I wonder how I should have any enemies; for I do harm to nobody."¹

BOSWELL: In the first place, sir, you will be pleased to recollect, that you set out with attacking the Scotch; so you got a whole nation for your enemies. JOHNSON: Why I own, that by my definition of *oats* I meant to vex them.

BOSWELL: Pray, sir, can you trace the cause of your antipathy to the Scotch? JOHNSON: I cannot, sir. BOSWELL: Old Mr Sheridan says, it was because they sold Charles the First. JOHNSON: Then, sir, old Mr Sheridan has found out a very good reason.

Surely the most obstinate and sulky nationality, the most determined aversion to this great and good man, must be cured, when he is seen thus playing with one of his prejudices, of which he candidly admitted that he could not tell the reason. It was, however, probably owing to his having had in his view the worst part of the Scottish nation, the needy adventurers, many of whom he thought were advanced beyond their merits, by means which he did not approve. Had he in his early life been in Scotland, and seen the worthy, sensible, independent gentlemen who live rationally and hospitably at home, he never could have entertained such unfavourable and unjust notions of his fellow-subjects. And accordingly we find, that when he did visit Scotland, in the latter period of his life, he was fully sensible of all that it deserved, as I have already pointed out, when speaking of his *Journey to the Western Islands*.

Next day, Saturday, 22nd March, I found him still at Mrs Thrale's, but he told me that he was to go to his own house in the afternoon. He was better, but I perceived he was but an unruly patient, for Dr Pepys, who visited him,

the warrant for your pension." Upon which Johnson, struck with the repartee, acknowledged that this *was* true. When I mentioned it to Johnson, "Sir," said he, "if Rose said this, I never heard it."

¹ This reflection was very natural in a man of a good heart, who was not conscious of any ill will to mankind, though the sharp sayings which were sometimes produced by his discrimination and vivacity, and which he perhaps did not recollect, were, I am afraid, too often remembered with resentment.

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while I was with him said: "If you were *tractable*, sir, I should prescribe for you."

I related to him a remark which a respectable friend had made to me, upon the then state of Government, when those who had been long in opposition had attained to power, it was supposed against the inclination of the Sovereign. "You need not be uneasy," said this gentleman, "about the King. He laughs at them all; he plays them one against another." JOHNSON: Don't think so, sir. The King is as much oppressed as a man can be. If he plays them one against another he *wins* nothing.

I had paid a visit to General Oglethorpe in the morning, and was told by him that Dr Johnson saw company on Saturday evenings, and he would meet me at Johnson's that night. When I mentioned this to Johnson, not doubting that it would please him, as he had a great value for Oglethorpe, the fretfulness of his disease unexpectedly showed itself; his anger suddenly kindled, and he said, with vehemence: "Did not you tell him not to come? Am I to be *hunted* in this manner?" I satisfied him that I could not divine that the visit would not be convenient, and that I certainly could not take it upon me of my own accord, to forbid the General.

I found Dr Johnson in the evening in Mrs Williams's room, at tea and coffee with her and Mrs Desmoulins, who were also both ill; it was a sad scene, and he was not in a very good humour. He said of a performance that had lately come out: "Sir, if you should search all the mad-houses in England, you would not find ten men who would write so, and think it sense."

I was glad when General Oglethorpe's arrival was announced; and we left the ladies. Dr Johnson attended him in the parlour, and was as courteous as ever. The General said he was busy reading the writers of the Middle Age. Johnson said they were very curious. OGLETHORPE: The House of Commons has usurped the power of the nation's money, and used it tyrannically. Government is

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now carried on by corrupt influence, instead of the inherent right in the King. JOHNSON: Sir, the want of inherent right in the King occasions all this disturbance. What we did at the Revolution was necessary: but it broke our constitution.¹

OGLETHORPE: My father did not think it necessary.

On Sunday, 23rd March, I breakfasted with Dr Johnson, who seemed much relieved, having taken opium the night before. He however protested against it, as a remedy that should be given with the utmost reluctance, and only in extreme necessity. I mentioned how commonly it was used in Turkey, and therefore it could not be so pernicious as he apprehended. He grew warm, and said: "Turks take opium, and Christians take opium; but Russel, in his account of Aleppo, tells us, that it is as disgraceful in Turkey to take too much opium, as it is with us to get drunk. Sir, it is amazing how things are exaggerated. A gentleman was lately telling in a company where I was present, that in France, as soon as a man of fashion marries, he takes an opera girl into keeping; and this he mentioned as a general custom. 'Pray, sir,' said I, 'how many opera girls may there be?' He answered: 'About fourscore.' 'Well then, sir,' said I, 'you see there can be no more than fourscore men of fashion who can do this.'"

Mrs Desmoulins made tea; and she and I talked before him upon a topic which he had once borne patiently from me, when we were by ourselves—his not complaining of the world because he was not called to some great office, nor had attained to great wealth. He flew into a violent passion, I confess with some justice, and commanded us to have done. "Nobody," said he, "has a right to talk in this manner, to bring before a man his own character, and

¹ I have, in my *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, fully expressed my sentiments upon this subject. The Revolution was *necessary*, but not a subject for *glory*; because it for a long time blasted the generous feelings of *loyalty*. And now, when by the benignant effect of time the present Royal Family are established in our *affections*, how unwise is it to revive by celebrations the memory of a shock, which it would surely have been better that our constitution had not required.

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the events of his life, when he does not choose it should be done. I never have sought the world; the world was not to seek me. It is rather wonderful that so much has been done for me. All the complaints which are made of the world are unjust. I never knew a man of merit neglected. It was generally by his own fault that he failed of success. A man may hide his head in a hole. He may go into the country, and publish a book now and then, which nobody reads, and then complain he is neglected. There is no reason why any person should exert himself for a man who has written a good book. He has not written it for any individual. I may as well make a present to the postman who brings me a letter. When patronage was limited, an author expected to find a Mæcenas, and complained if he did not find one. Why should he complain? This Mæcenas has others as good as he, or others who have got the start of him." BOSWELL: But surely, sir, you will allow that there are many men of merit at the bar who never get practice. JOHNSON: Sir, you are sure that practice is got from an opinion that the person employed deserves it best; so that if a man of merit at the bar does not get practice, it is from error, not from injustice. He is not neglected. A horse that is brought to market may not be bought, though he is a very good horse: but that is from ignorance, not from intention.

There was in this discourse much novelty, ingenuity, and discrimination, such as is seldom to be found. Yet I cannot help thinking that men of merit, who have no success in life, may be forgiven for *lamenting*, if they are not allowed to *complain*. They may consider it as *hard* that their merit should not have its suitable distinction. If there is no internal injustice towards them on the part of the world, because their merit has not been perceived, they may repine against *fortune*, or *fate*, or by whatever name they choose to call the supposed mythological power of *Destiny*. It has, however, occurred to me, as a consolatory thought, that men of merit should consider thus: How much harder would it be if the same men had both all the merit and all the prosperity?

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Would not this be a miserable distribution for the poor dunces? Would men of merit exchange their intellectual superiority, and the enjoyments arising from it, for external distinction, and the pleasures of wealth? If they would not, let them not envy others, who are poor where they are rich, a compensation which is made to them. Let them look inwards and be satisfied; recollecting with conscious pride what Virgil finely says of the *Corycius Senex*, and which I have, in another place,¹ with truth and sincerity applied to Mr Burke:

"Regum æquabat opes animis."

On the subject of the right employment of wealth, Johnson observed: "A man cannot make a bad use of his money, so far as regards society, if he does not hoard it. For if he either spends it or lends it out, society has the benefit. It is in general better to spend money than to give it away; for industry is more promoted by spending money, than by giving it away. A man who spends his money is sure he is doing good with it: he is not so sure when he gives it away. A man who spends ten thousand a year will do more good than a man who spends two thousand and gives away eight."

In the evening I came to him again. He was rather fretful from his illness. A gentleman asked him, whether he had been abroad to-day. "Don't talk so childishly," said he. "You may as well ask if I hanged myself to-day." I mentioned politics. JOHNSON: Sir, I'd as soon have a man to break my bones as talk to me of public affairs, internal or external. I have lived to see things all as bad as they can be.

Having mentioned his friend the second Lord Southwell, he said: "Lord Southwell was the highest bred man without insolence that I ever was in company with; the most *qualified* I ever saw. Lord Orrery was not dignified: Lord Chesterfield was, but he was insolent. Lord *****

¹ *Letter to the People of Scotland against the Attempt to diminish the Number of the Lords of Session.* 1785.

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is a man of coarse manners, but a man of abilities and information. I don't say he is a man I would set at the head of a nation, though perhaps he may be as good as the next Prime Minister that comes. But he is a man to be at the head of a Club—I don't say *our* CLUB—for there's no such Club." BOSWELL: But, sir, was not he once a factious man? JOHNSON: Oh yes, sir; as factious a fellow as could be found: one who was for sinking us all into the mob. BOSWELL: How then, sir, did he get into favour with the King? JOHNSON: Because, sir, I suppose he promised the King to do whatever the King pleased.

He said: "Goldsmith's blundering speech to Lord Shelburne, which has been so often mentioned, and which he really did make to him, was only a blunder in emphasis: 'I wonder they should call your lordship *Malagrida*, for *Malagrida* was a very good man'—meant, I wonder they should use *Malagrida* as a term of reproach."

Soon after this time I had an opportunity of seeing, by means of one of his friends, a proof that his talents, as well as his obliging service to authors, were ready as ever. He had revised *The Village*, an admirable poem, by the Reverend Mr Crabbe. Its sentiments as to the false notions of rustic happiness and rustic virtue, were quite congenial with his own; and he had taken the trouble not only to suggest slight corrections and variations, but to furnish some lines, when he thought he could give the writer's meaning better than in the words of the manuscript.¹

On Sunday, 30th March, I found him at home in the evening, and had the pleasure to meet with Dr Brocklesby,

¹ I shall give an instance, marking the original by Roman, and Johnson's substitution in Italic characters:

"In fairer scenes, where peaceful pleasures spring,
Tityrus, the pride of Mantuan swains, might sing:
But charm'd by him, or smitten with his views,
Shall modern poets court the Mantuan muse?
From Truth and Nature shall we widely stray,
Where Fancy leads, or Virgil led the way?"

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whose reading, and knowledge of life, and good spirits, supply him with a never-failing source of conversation. He mentioned a respectable gentleman who became extremely penurious near the close of his life. Johnson said there must have been a degree of madness about him. "Not at all, sir," said Dr Brocklesby; "his judgment was entire." Unluckily, however, he mentioned that although he had a fortune of twenty-seven thousand pounds, he denied himself many comforts, from an apprehension that he could not afford them. "Nay, sir," cried Johnson, "when the judgment is so disturbed that a man cannot count, that is pretty well."

I shall here insert a few of Johnson's sayings, without the formality of dates, as they have no reference to any particular time or place.

"The more a man extends and varies his acquaintance the better." This, however, was meant with a just restriction; for he on another occasion said to me: "Sir, a man may be so much of everything, that he is nothing of anything."

"Raising the wages of day-labourers is wrong; for it does not make them live better, but only makes them idler, and idleness is a very bad thing for human nature."

"It is a very good custom to keep a journal for a man's own use; he may write upon a card a day all that is necessary to be written, after he has had experience of life. At first there is a great deal to be written, because there is a great

*"On Mincio's banks, in Cæsar's bounteous reign,
If Tityrus found the golden age again,
Must sleepy bards the flattering dream prolong,
Mechanic echoes of the Mantuan song?
From Truth and Nature shall we widely stray,
Where Virgil, not where Fancy, leads the way."*

Here we find Johnson's poetical and critical powers undiminished. I must, however, observe, that the aids he gave to this poem, as to *The Traveller* and *Deserted Village* of Goldsmith, were so small as by no means to impair the distinguished merit of the author.

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deal of novelty. But when once a man has settled his opinions, there is seldom much to be set down."

"There is nothing wonderful in the journal which we see Swift kept in London, for it contains slight topics, and it might soon be written."

I praised the accuracy of an account-book of a private person whom I mentioned. JOHNSON: Keeping accounts, sir, is of no use when a man is spending his own money and has nobody to whom he is to account. You won't eat less beef to-day, because you have written down what it cost yesterday.—I mentioned a lady who thought as he did, so that her husband could not get her to keep an account of the expense of the family, as she thought it enough that she never exceeded the sum allowed her. JOHNSON: Sir, it is fit she should keep an account, because her husband wishes it; but I do not see its use.—I maintained that keeping an account has this advantage, that it satisfies a man that his money has not been lost or stolen, which he might sometimes be apt to imagine, were there no written state of his expense; and besides, a calculation of economy so as not to exceed one's income cannot be made without a view of the different articles in figures, that one may see how to retrench in some particulars less necessary than others. This he did not attempt to answer.

Talking of an acquaintance of ours, whose narratives, which abounded in curious and interesting topics, were unhappily found to be very fabulous, I mentioned Lord Mansfield's having said to me: "Suppose we believe one *half* of what he tells." JOHNSON: Aye; but we don't know *which* half to believe. By his lying we lose not only our reverence for him, but all comfort in his conversation. BOSWELL: May we not take it as amusing fiction? JOHNSON: Sir, the misfortune is, that you will insensibly believe as much of it as you incline.

It is remarkable, that notwithstanding their congeniality in politics, he never was acquainted with a late eminent noble judge, whom I have heard speak of him as a writer,

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with great respect. Johnson, I know not upon what degree of investigation, entertained no exalted opinion of his lordship's intellectual character. Talking of him to me one day, he said: "It is wonderful, sir, with how little real superiority of mind men can make an eminent figure in public life." He expressed himself to the same purpose concerning another law Lord, who, it seems, once took a fancy to associate with the wits of London; but with so little success, that Foote said: "What can he mean by coming among us? He is not only dull himself, but the cause of dullness in others." Trying him by the test of his colloquial powers, Johnson had found him very defective. He once said to Sir Joshua Reynolds: "This man now has been ten years about town, and has made nothing of it"; meaning as a companion.¹ He said to me: "I never heard anything from him in company that was at all striking; and depend upon it, sir, it is when you come close to a man in conversation, that you discover what his real abilities are; to make a speech in a public assembly is a knack. Now I honour Thurlow, sir; Thurlow is a fine fellow; he fairly puts his mind to yours."

After repeating to him some of his pointed lively sayings, I said: "It is a pity, sir, you don't always remember your own good things, that you may have a laugh when you will." JOHNSON: Nay, sir, it is better that I forget them, that I may be reminded of them and have a laugh brought to my recollection.

When I recalled his having said as we sailed upon Loch Lomond, "That if he wore anything fine, it should be *very* fine," I observed that all his thoughts were upon a great scale. JOHNSON: Depend upon it, sir, every man will have as fine a thing as he can get; as a large diamond for his

¹ Knowing as well as I do, what precision and elegance of oratory his lordship can display, I cannot but suspect that his unfavourable appearance in a social circle, which drew such animadversions upon him, must be owing to a cold affectation of consequence, from being reserved and stiff. If it be so, and he might be an agreeable man if he would, we cannot be sorry that he misses his aim.

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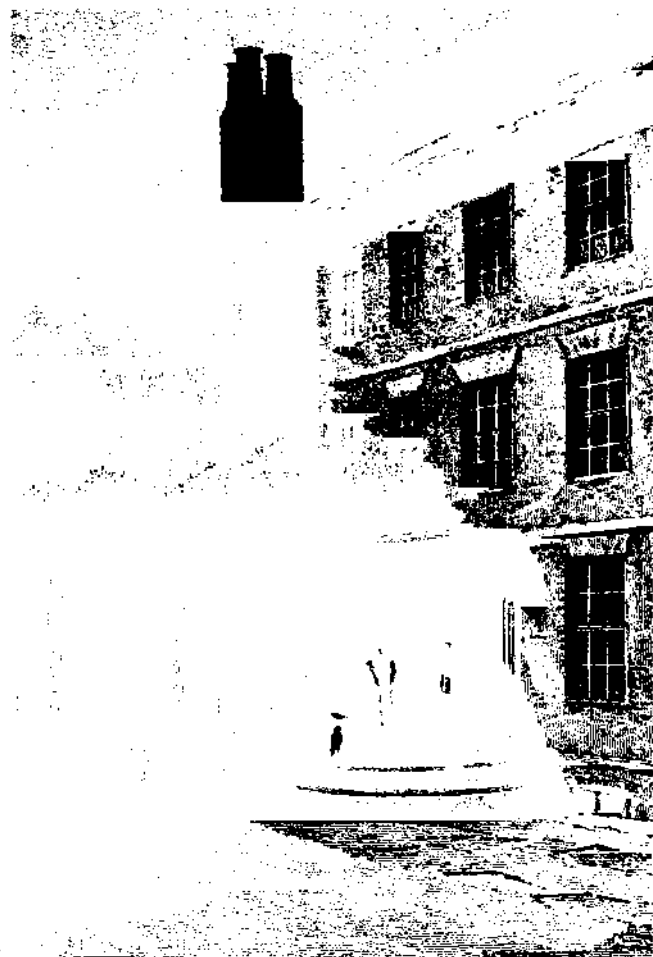
ring. BOSWELL: Pardon me, sir; a man of a narrow mind will not think of it; a slight trinket will satisfy him.

"Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ."

I told him I should send him some "Essays" which I had written, which I hoped he would be so good as to read, and pick out the good ones. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, send me only the good ones; don't make *me* pick them.

On Thursday, 10th April, I introduced to him, at his house in Bolt Court, the Honourable and Reverend William Stuart, son of the Earl of Bute; a gentleman truly worthy of being known to Johnson, being, with all the advantages of high birth, learning, travel, and elegant manners, an exemplary parish priest in every respect.

After some compliments on both sides, the tour which Johnson and I had made to the Hebrides was mentioned. JOHNSON: I got an acquisition of more ideas by it than by anything that I remember. I saw quite a different system of life. BOSWELL: You would not like to make the same journey again. JOHNSON: Why, no, sir; not the same: it is a tale told. Gravina, an Italian critic, observes that every man desires to see that of which he has read; but no man desires to read an account of what he has seen. So much does description fall short of reality. Description only excites curiosity: seeing satisfies it. Other people may go and see the Hebrides. BOSWELL: I should wish to go and see some country totally different from what I have been used to; such as Turkey, where religion and everything else are different. JOHNSON: Yes, sir; there are two objects of curiosity—the Christian world and the Mahometan world. All the rest may be considered as barbarous. BOSWELL: Pray, sir, is the *Turkish Spy* a genuine book? JOHNSON: No, sir. Mrs Manley, in her *Life*, says, that her father wrote the two first volumes. And in another book, *Dunton's Life and Errors*, we find that the rest was written by one Sault, at two guineas a sheet, under the direction of Dr Midgeley.



Dr. Johnson's House
Bolt Court, Fleet Street.

Published by the Navarre Society, London

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BOSWELL: This has been a very factious reign, owing to the too great indulgence of Government. JOHNSON: I think so, sir. What at first was lenity, grew timidity. Yet this is reasoning *à posteriori*, and may not be just. Supposing a few had at first been punished, I believe faction would have been crushed; but it might have been said, that it was a sanguinary reign. A man cannot tell *à priori* what will be best for Government to do. This reign has been very unfortunate. We have had an unsuccessful war; but that does not prove that we have been ill governed. One side or other must prevail in war, as one or other must win at play. When we beat Louis, we were not better governed; nor were the French better governed when Louis beat us.

On Saturday, 12th April, I visited him, in company with Mr Windham, of Norfolk, whom, though a Whig, he highly valued. One of the best things he ever said was to this gentleman; who, before he set out for Ireland as Secretary to Lord Northington, when Lord Lieutenant, expressed to the Sage some modest and virtuous doubts, whether he could bring himself to practise those arts which it is supposed a person in that situation has occasion to employ. "Don't be afraid, sir," said Johnson, with a pleasant smile, "you will soon make a very pretty rascal."

He talked to-day a good deal of the wonderful extent and variety of London, and observed, that men of curious inquiry might see in it such modes of life as very few could even imagine. He in particular recommended to us to *explore Wapping*, which we resolved to do, and certainly shall.

Mr Lowe, the painter, who was with him, was very much distressed that a large picture which he had painted was refused to be received into the Exhibition of the Royal Academy. Mrs Thrale knew Johnson's character so superficially, as to represent him as unwilling to do small acts of benevolence; and mentions, in particular, that he would hardly take the trouble to write a letter in favour of his friends. The truth, however, is, that he was remarkable, in an extraordinary degree, for what she denies to him; and, above all,

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that is reckoning each person one each time that he dined there. JOHNSON: That, sir, is about three a day. BOSWELL: How your statement lessens the idea. JOHNSON: That, sir, is the good of counting. It brings everything to a certainty which before floated in the mind indefinitely. BOSWELL: But *Omne ignotum pro magnifico est*. One is sorry to have this diminished. JOHNSON: Sir, you should not allow yourself to be delighted with error. BOSWELL: Three a day seem but few. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, he who entertains three a day does very liberally. And if there is a large family the poor entertain those three, for they eat what the poor would get; there must be superfluous meat; it must be given to the poor, or thrown out. BOSWELL: I observe in London, that the poor go about and gather bones, which I understand are manufactured. JOHNSON: Yes, sir; they boil them, and extract a grease from them for greasing wheels and other purposes. Of the best pieces they make a mock ivory, which is used for hafts to knives, and various other things. The coarser pieces they burn and pound them, and sell the ashes. BOSWELL: For what purpose, sir? JOHNSON: Why, sir, for making a furnace for the chemists for melting iron. A paste made of burnt bones will stand a stronger heat than anything else. Consider, sir, if you are to melt iron, you cannot line your pot with brass, because it is softer than iron and would melt sooner; nor with iron, for though malleable iron is harder than cast iron, yet it would not do; but a paste of burnt bones will not melt. BOSWELL: Do you know, sir, I have discovered a manufacture to a great extent of what you only piddle at—scraping and drying the peel of oranges. At a place in Newgate Street, there is a prodigious quantity done, which they sell to the distillers. JOHNSON: Sir, I believe they make a higher thing out of them than a spirit; they make what is called orange-butter, the oil of the orange inspissated, which they mix perhaps with common pomatum, and make it fragrant. The oil does not fly off in the drying.

BOSWELL: I wish to have a good walled garden. JOHNSON:

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I don't think it would be worth the expense to you. We compute in England, a park-wall at a thousand pounds a mile; now a garden-wall must cost at least as much. You intend your trees should grow higher than a deer will leap. Now let us see—for a hundred pounds you could only have forty-four square yards, which is very little; for two hundred pounds, you may have eighty-four square yards, which is very well. But when will you get the value of two hundred pounds of walls in your climate? No, sir, such contention with nature is not worth while. I would plant an orchard, and have plenty of such fruit as ripen well in your country. My friend, Dr Madan, of Ireland, said, that in an orchard there should be enough to eat, enough to lay up, enough to be stolen, and enough to rot upon the ground. Cherries are an early fruit, you may have them; and you may have the early apples and pears. BOSWELL: We cannot have nonpareils. JOHNSON: Sir, you can no more have nonpareils than you can have grapes. BOSWELL: We have them, sir; but they are very bad. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, never try to have a thing merely to show that you *cannot* have it. For ground that would let for forty shillings you may have a large orchard; and you see it costs you only forty shillings. Nay, you may graze the ground when the trees are grown up, you cannot while they are young. BOSWELL: Is not a good garden a very common thing in England, sir? JOHNSON: Not so common, sir, as you imagine. In Lincolnshire there is hardly an orchard; in Staffordshire very little fruit. BOSWELL: Has Langton no orchard? JOHNSON: No, sir. BOSWELL: How so, sir? JOHNSON: Why, sir, from the general negligence of the county. He has it not, because nobody else has it. BOSWELL: A hot-house is a certain thing; I may have that. JOHNSON: A hot-house is pretty certain; but you must first build it, then you must keep fires in it, and you must have a gardener to take care of it. BOSWELL: But if I have a gardener at any rate? JOHNSON: Why, yes. BOSWELL: I'd have it near my house; there is no need to have it in the orchard. JOHNSON: Yes, I'd have it near my

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house—I would plant a great many currants; the fruit is good, and they make a pretty sweetmeat.

I record this minute detail, which some may think trifling, in order to show clearly how this great man, whose mind could grasp such large and extensive subjects as he has shown in his literary labours, was yet well informed in the common affairs of life, and loved to illustrate them.

Mr Walker, the celebrated master of elocution, came, and then we went upstairs into the study. I asked him if he had taught many clergymen. JOHNSON: I hope not. WALKER: I have taught only one, and he is the best reader I ever heard, not by my teaching, but by his own natural talents. JOHNSON: Were he the best reader in the world, I would not have it told that he was taught.—Here was one of his peculiar prejudices. Could it be any disadvantage to the clergyman, to have it known that he was taught an easy and graceful delivery? BOSWELL: Will you not allow, sir, that a man may be taught to read well? JOHNSON: Why, sir, so far as to read better than he might do without being taught, yes. Formerly it was supposed that there was no difference in reading, but that one read as well as another. BOSWELL: It is wonderful to see old Sheridan as enthusiastic about oratory as ever. WALKER: His enthusiasm as to what oratory will do may be too great. But he reads well. JOHNSON: He reads well, but he reads low; and you know it is much easier to read low than to read high; for when you read high you are much more limited, your loudest note can be but one, and so in proportion to loudness. Now some people have occasion to speak to an extensive audience, and must speak loud to be heard. WALKER: The art is to read strong, though low.

Talking of the origin of language—JOHNSON: It must have come by inspiration. A thousand, nay, a million of children could not invent a language. While the organs are pliable, there is not understanding enough to form a language: by the time that there is understanding enough, the organs are become stiff. We know that after a certain

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age we cannot learn to pronounce a new language. No foreigner, who comes to England when advanced in life, ever pronounces English tolerably well; at least such instances are very rare. When I maintain that language must have come by inspiration, I do not mean that inspiration is required for rhetoric, and all the beauties of language; for when once man has language, we can conceive that he may gradually form modifications of it. I mean only, that inspiration seems to me to be necessary to give man the faculty of speech; to inform him that he may have speech; which I think he could no more find out without inspiration, than cows or hogs would think of such a faculty. WALKER: Do you think, sir, that there are any perfect synonyms in any language? JOHNSON: Originally there were not; but by using words negligently, or in poetry, one word comes to be confounded with another.

He talked of Dr Dodd. "A friend of mine," said he, "came to me and told me, that a lady wished to have Dodd's picture in a bracelet, and asked me for a motto. I said, I could think of no better than *Currai Lex*. I was very willing to have him pardoned, that is, to have the sentence changed to transportation: but, when he was once hanged, I did not wish he should be made a saint."

Mrs Burney, wife of his friend Dr Burney, came in, and he seemed to be entertained with her conversation.

Garrick's funeral was talked of as extravagantly expensive. Johnson, from his dislike to exaggeration, would not allow that it was distinguished by any extraordinary pomp. "Were there not six horses in each coach?" said Mrs Burney. JOHNSON: Madam, there were no more six horses than six phoenixes.

Mrs Burney wondered that some very beautiful new buildings should be erected in Moorfields, in so shocking a situation as between Bedlam and St Luke's Hospital; and said, she could not live there. JOHNSON: Nay, madam, you see nothing there to hurt you. You no more think of madness by having windows that look to Bedlam, than you

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think of death by having windows that look to a churchyard. MRS BURNEY: We may look to a churchyard, sir; for it is right that we should be kept in mind of death. JOHNSON: Nay, madam, if you go to that, it is right that we should be kept in mind of madness, which is occasioned by too much indulgence of imagination. I think a very moral use may be made of these new buildings. I would have those who have heated imaginations live there, and take warning. MRS BURNEY: But, sir, many of the poor people that are mad have become so from disease, or from distressing events. It is, therefore, not their faults, but their misfortune; and, therefore, to think of them, is a melancholy consideration.

Time passed on in conversation till it was too late for the service of the church at three o'clock. I took a walk, and left him alone for some time; then returned, and we had coffee and conversation again by ourselves.

I stated the character of a noble friend of mine, as a curious case for his opinion: "He is the most inexplicable man to me that I ever knew. Can you explain him, sir? He is, I really believe, noble-minded, generous, and princely. But his most intimate friends may be separated from him for years, without his ever asking a question concerning them. He will meet them with a formality, a coldness, a stately indifference; but when they come close to him, and fairly engage him in conversation, they find him as easy, pleasant, and kind as they could wish. One then supposes that what is so agreeable will soon be renewed; but stay away from him for half-a-year, and he will neither call on you, nor send to inquire about you." JOHNSON: Why, sir, I cannot ascertain his character exactly, as I do not know him; but I should not like to have such a man for my friend. He may love study, and wish not to be interrupted by his friends; *Amici fures temporis*. He may be a frivolous man, and be so much occupied with petty pursuits, that he may not want friends. Or he may have a notion that there is a dignity in appearing indifferent, while he in fact may not be more indifferent at his heart than another.

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We went to evening prayers at St Clement's, at seven, and then parted.

On Sunday, 20th April, being Easter Day, after attending solemn service at St Paul's, I came to Dr Johnson, and found Mr Lowe, the painter, sitting with him. Mr Lowe mentioned the great number of new buildings of late in London, yet that Dr Johnson had observed, that the number of inhabitants was not increased. JOHNSON: Why, sir, the bills of mortality prove that no more people die now than formerly; so it is plain no more live. Births are nothing, for not one-tenth of the people of London are born there. BOSWELL: I believe sir, a great many of the children born in London die early. JOHNSON: Why yes, sir. BOSWELL: But those who do live are as stout and strong people as any. Dr Price says, they must be naturally stronger to get through. JOHNSON: That is system, sir. A great traveller observes, that it is said there are no weak or deformed people among the Indians; but he with much sagacity assigns the reason of this, which is, that the hardship of their life as hunters and fishers, does not allow weak or diseased children to grow up. Now had I been an Indian I must have died early, my eyes would not have served me to get food. I indeed now could fish, give me English tackle; but had I been an Indian I must have starved, or they would have knocked me on the head when they saw I could do nothing. BOSWELL: Perhaps they would have taken care of you, we are told they are fond of oratory, you would have talked to them. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, I should not have lived long enough to be fit to talk; I should have been dead before I was ten years old. Depend upon it, sir, a savage when he is hungry will not carry about with him a looby of nine years old, who cannot help himself. They have no affection, sir. BOSWELL: I believe natural affection, of which we hear so much, is very small. JOHNSON: Sir, natural affection is nothing. But affection from principle and established duty is sometimes wonderfully strong. LOWE: A hen, sir, will feed her chickens in preference to herself. JOHNSON: But we don't know that the hen is

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hungry; let the hen be fairly hungry, and I'll warrant she'll peck the corn herself. A cock, I believe, will feed hens instead of himself; but we don't know that the cock is hungry. BOSWELL: And that, sir, is not from affection but gallantry. But some of the Indians have affection. JOHNSON: Sir, that they help some of their children is plain; for some of them live which could not do without being helped.

I dined with him; the company were, Mrs Williams, Mrs Desmoulins, and Mr Lowe. He seemed not to be well, talked little, grew drowsy soon after dinner and retired, upon which I went away.

Having next day gone to Mr Burke's seat in the country, from whence I was recalled by an express, that a near relation of mine had killed his antagonist in a duel, and was himself dangerously wounded, I saw little of Dr Johnson till Monday, 28th April, when I spent a considerable part of the day with him, and introduced the subject, which chiefly occupied my mind. JOHNSON: I do not see, sir, that fighting is absolutely forbidden in Scripture; I see revenge forbidden, but not self-defence. BOSWELL: The Quakers say it is: "Unto him that smiteth thee on one cheek, offer also the other." JOHNSON: But stay, sir, the text is meant only to have the effect of moderating passion; it is plain that we are not to take it in a literal sense. We see this from the context, where there are other recommendations, which I warrant you the Quaker will not take literally, as for instance: "From him that would borrow of thee, turn thou not away." Let a man whose credit is bad come to a Quaker, and say: "Well, sir, lend me a hundred pounds"; he'll find him as unwilling as any other man. No, sir, a man may shoot the man who invades his character, as he may shoot him who attempts to break into his house. So in 1745, my friend, Tom Cumming, the Quaker, said, he would not fight, but he would drive an ammunition-cart; and we know that the Quakers have sent flannel waistcoats to our soldiers, to enable them to fight better. BOSWELL: When a man is the aggressor, and by ill-usage forces on a duel in which he is killed, have

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we not little ground to hope that he is gone into a state of happiness? JOHNSON: Sir, we are not to judge determinately of the state in which a man leaves this life. He may in a moment have repented effectually, and it is possible may have been accepted by God. There is in *Camden's Remains*, an epitaph upon a very wicked man, who was killed by a fall from his horse, in which he is supposed to say:

"Between the stirrup and the ground,
I mercy asked, I mercy found."

BOSWELL: Is not the expression in the Burial Service, "In the *sure* and *certain* hope of a blessed resurrection," too strong to be used indiscriminately, and, indeed, sometimes when those over whose bodies it is said have been notoriously profane? JOHNSON: It is sure and certain *hope*, sir; not *belief*.—I did not insist further; but cannot help thinking that less positive words would be more proper.

Talking of a man who was grown very fat, so as to be incommoded with corpulency; he said: "He eats too much, sir." BOSWELL: I don't know, sir; you will see one man fat who eats moderately, and another lean who eats a great deal. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, whatever may be the quantity that a man eats, it is plain that if he is too fat, he has eaten more than he should have done. One man may have a digestion that consumes food better than common; but it is certain that solidity is increased by putting something to it. BOSWELL: But may not solids swell and be distended? JOHNSON: Yes, sir, they may swell and be distended, but that is not fat.

We talked of the accusation against a gentleman for supposed delinquencies in India. JOHNSON: What foundation there is for accusation I know not, but they will not get at him. Where bad actions are committed at so great a distance, a delinquent can obscure the evidence till the scent becomes cold; there is a cloud between, which cannot be penetrated, therefore all distant power is bad. I am clear that the best plan for the government of India is a despotic

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governor ; for if he be a good man, it is evidently the best government ; and supposing him to be a bad man, it is better to have one plunderer than many. A governor whose power is checked, lets others plunder that he himself may be allowed to plunder. But if despotic, he sees that the more he lets others plunder the less there will be for himself, so he restrains them ; and though he himself plunders, the country is a gainer, compared with being plundered by numbers.

I mentioned the very liberal payment which had been received for reviewing ; and as evidence of this, that it had been proved in a trial that Dr Shebbeare had received six guineas a sheet for that kind of literary labour. JOHNSON : Sir, he might get six guineas for a particular sheet, but not *communibus sheetibus*. BOSWELL : Pray, sir, by a sheet of review is it meant that it shall be all of the writer's own composition ; or are extracts, made from the book reviewed, deducted ? JOHNSON : No, sir : it is a sheet, no matter of what. BOSWELL : I think that it is not reasonable. JOHNSON : Yes, sir, it is. A man will more easily write a sheet all his own than read an octavo volume to get extracts.—To one of Johnson's wonderful fertility of mind, I believe writing was really easier than reading and extracting ; but with ordinary men the case is very different. A great deal, indeed, will depend upon the care and judgment with which the extracts are made. I can suppose the operation to be tedious and difficult ; but in many instances we must observe crude morsels cut out of books as if at random ; and when a large extract is made from one place, it surely may be done with very little trouble. One, however, I must acknowledge, might be led, from the practice of reviewers, to suppose that they take a pleasure in original writing ; for we often find that, instead of giving an accurate account of what has been done by the author whose work they are reviewing, which is surely the proper business of a literary journal, they produce some plausible and ingenious conceits of their own upon the topics which have been discussed.

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Upon being told that old Mr Sheridan, indignant at the neglect of his oratorical plans, had threatened to go to America—JOHNSON: I hope he will go to America. BOSWELL: The Americans don't want oratory. JOHNSON: But we can want Sheridan.

On Monday, 29th April, I found him at home in the forenoon, and Mr Seward with him. Horace having been mentioned—BOSWELL: There is a great deal of thinking in his works. One finds there almost everything but religion. SEWARD: He speaks of his returning to it in his ode *Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens*. JOHNSON: Sir, he was not in earnest. This was merely poetical. BOSWELL: There are, I am afraid, many people who have no religion at all. SEWARD: And sensible people too. JOHNSON: Why, sir, not sensible in that respect. There must be either a natural or a moral stupidity, if one lives in a total neglect of so very important a concern. SEWARD: I wonder that there should be people without religion. JOHNSON: Sir, you need not wonder at this, when you consider how large a proportion of almost every man's life is passed without thinking of it. I myself was for some years totally regardless of religion. It had dropped out of my mind. It was at an early part of my life. Sickness brought it back, and I hope I have never lost it since. BOSWELL: My dear sir, what a man must you have been without religion! Why, you must have gone on drinking, and swearing, and—— JOHNSON (with a smile): I drank enough and swore enough, to be sure. SEWARD: One should think that sickness, and the view of death, would make more men religious. JOHNSON: Sir, they do not know how to go about it. They have not the first notion. A man who has never had religion before, no more grows religious when he is sick, than a man who has never learnt figures can count when he has need of calculation.

I mentioned a worthy friend of ours whom we valued much, but observed that he was too ready to introduce religious discourse upon all occasions. JOHNSON: Why yes, sir, he will introduce religious discourse without seeing

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willingly to it again. I know when I have been writing verses, I have run my finger down the margin to see how many I had made, and how few I had to make."

He seemed to be in a very placid humour, and although I have no note of the particulars of young Mr Burke's conversation, it is but justice to mention in general, that it was such that Dr Johnson said to me afterwards, "He did very well indeed; I have a mind to tell his father."

I have no minute of any interview with Johnson till Thursday, 15th May, when I find what follows:—BOSWELL: I wish much to be in Parliament, sir. JOHNSON: Why, sir, unless you come resolved to support any administration, you would be the worse for being in Parliament, because you would be obliged to live more expensively. BOSWELL: Perhaps, sir, I should be the less happy for being in Parliament. I never would sell my vote, and I should be vexed if things went wrong. JOHNSON: That's cant, sir. It would not vex you more in the House, than in the gallery. Public affairs vex no man. BOSWELL: Have not they vexed yourself a little, sir? Have not you been vexed by all the turbulence of this reign, and by that absurd vote of the House of Commons, "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished"? JOHNSON: Sir, I have never slept an hour less, nor ate an ounce less meat. I would have knocked the factious dogs on the head, to be sure; but I was not *vexed*. BOSWELL: I declare, sir, upon my honour, I did imagine I was vexed, and took a pride in it. But it *was*, perhaps, cant; for I own I neither ate less nor slept less. JOHNSON: My dear friend, clear your *mind* of cant. You may *talk* as other people do. You may say to a man: "Sir, I am your most humble servant." You are *not* his most humble servant. You may say: "These are sad times; it is a melancholy thing to be reserved to such times." You don't mind the times. You tell a man: "I am sorry you had such bad weather the last day of your journey, and were so much wet." You don't care sixpence whether he was wet or dry. You may *talk* in this

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manner; it is a mode of talking in Society: but don't *think* foolishly.

I talked of living in the country. JOHNSON: Don't set up for what is called hospitality; it is a waste of time, and a waste of money; you are eat up, and not the more respected for your liberality. If your house be like an inn, nobody cares for you. A man who stays a week with another, makes him a slave for a week. BOSWELL: But there are people, sir, who make their houses a home to their guests, and are themselves quite easy. JOHNSON: Then, sir, home must be the same to the guests, and they need not come.

Here he discovered a notion common enough in persons not much accustomed to entertain company; that there must be a degree of elaborate attention, otherwise company will think themselves neglected; and such attention is no doubt very fatiguing. He proceeded: "I would not, however, be a stranger in my own county; I would visit my neighbours, and receive their visits; but I would not be in haste to return visits. If a gentleman comes to see me, I tell him he does me a great deal of honour. I do not go to see him perhaps for ten weeks, then we are very complaisant to each other. No, sir, you will have much more influence by giving or lending money where it is wanted, than by hospitality."

On Saturday, 17th May, I saw him for a short time. Having mentioned that I had that morning been with old Mr Sheridan, he remembered their former intimacy with a cordial warmth, and said to me: "Tell Mr Sheridan, I shall be glad to see him and shake hands with him." BOSWELL: It is to me very wonderful that resentment should be kept up so long. JOHNSON: Why, sir, it is not altogether resentment that he does not visit me; it is partly falling out of the habit—partly disgust, as one has at a drug that has made him sick. Besides, he knows that I laugh at his oratory.

Another day I spoke of one of our friends, of whom he, as well as I, had a very high opinion. He expatiated in his

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praise; but added: "Sir, he is a cursed Whig, a *bottomless* Whig, as they all are now."

I mentioned my expectations from the interest of an eminent person then in power; adding, "but I have no claim but the claim of friendship. However, some people will go a great way from that motive." JOHNSON: Sir, they will go all the way from that motive.—A gentleman talked of retiring. "Never think of that," said Johnson. The gentleman urged: "I should then do no ill." JOHNSON: Nor no good either. Sir, it would be a civil suicide.

On Monday, 26th May, I found him at tea, and the celebrated Miss Burney, the author of *Evelina* and *Cecilia*, with him. I asked if there would be any speakers in Parliament, if there were no places to be obtained? JOHNSON: Yes, sir. Why do you speak here? Either to instruct and entertain, which is a benevolent motive; or for distinction, which is a selfish motive.—I mentioned *Cecilia*. JOHNSON (with an air of animated satisfaction): Sir, if you talk of *Cecilia*, talk on.

We talked of Mr Barry's exhibition of his pictures. JOHNSON: Whatever the hand may have done, the mind has done its part. There is a grasp of mind there which you find nowhere else.¹

I asked whether a man naturally virtuous, or one who has overcome wicked inclinations, is the best. JOHNSON: Sir, to *you*, the man who has overcome wicked inclinations is not the best. He has more merit to *himself*. I would rather trust my money to a man who has no hands, and so a physical impossibility to steal, than to a man of the most honest principles. There is a witty satirical story of Foote. He had a small bust of Garrick placed upon his bureau. "You may be surprised," said he, "that I allow him to be so near my gold—but you will observe he has no hands."

On Friday, 29th May, being to set out for Scotland next morning, I passed a part of the day with him in more than

¹ In Mr Barry's printed analysis, or description of these pictures, he speaks of Johnson's character in the highest terms.

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usual earnestness ; as his health was in a more precarious state than at any time when I had parted from him. He, however, was quick and lively, and critical as usual. I mentioned one who was a very learned man. JOHNSON : Yes, sir, he has a great deal of learning ; but it never lies straight. There is never one idea by the side of another ; 'tis all entangled : and then he drives it so awkwardly upon conversation.

I stated to him an anxious thought, by which a sincere Christian might be disturbed, even when conscious of having lived a good life, so far as is consistent with human infirmity ; he might fear that he should afterwards fall away, and be guilty of such crimes as would render all his former religion vain. Could there be, upon this awful subject, such a thing as balancing of accounts ? Suppose a man who has led a good life for seven years, commits an act of wickedness, and instantly dies ; will his former good life have any effect in his favour ? JOHNSON : Sir, if a man has led a good life for seven years, and then is hurried by passion to do what is wrong, and is suddenly carried off, depend upon it he will have the reward of his seven years' good life ; God will not take a catch of him. Upon this principle Richard Baxter believes, that a suicide may be saved. " If," says he, " it should be objected that what I maintain may encourage suicide, I answer, I am not to tell a lie to prevent it." BOSWELL : But does not the text say : " As the tree falls, so it must lie " ? JOHNSON : Yes, sir ; as the tree falls. But (after a little pause) that is meant as to the general state of the tree, not what is the effect of a sudden blast.—In short, he interpreted the expression as referring to condition, not to position. The common notion, therefore, seems to be erroneous ; and Shenstone's witty remark on divines trying to give the tree a jerk upon a death-bed, to make it lie favourably, is not well founded.

I asked him what works of Richard Baxter's I should read. He said : " Read any of them ; they are all good."

He said : " Get as much force of mind as you can. Live within your income. Always have something saved at the

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end of the year. Let your imports be more than your exports, and you'll never go far wrong."

I assured him, that in the extensive and various range of his acquaintance there never had been anyone who had a more sincere respect and affection for him than I had. He said: "I believe it, sir. Were I in distress, there is no man to whom I should sooner come than to you. I should like to come and have a cottage in your park, toddle about, live mostly on milk, and be taken care of by Mrs Boswell. She and I are good friends now; are we not?"

Talking of devotion, he said: "'Though it be true that 'God dwelleth not in temples made with hands,' yet in this state of being our minds are more piously affected in places appropriated to divine worship than in others. Some people have a particular room in their house where they say their prayers, of which I do not disapprove, as it may animate their devotion."

He embraced me, and gave me his blessing, as usual when I was leaving him for any length of time. I walked from his door to-day with a fearful apprehension of what might happen before I returned.

To the Right Honourable WILLIAM WINDHAM

SIR,—The bringer of this letter is the father of Miss Philips, a singer, who comes to try her voice on the stage at Dublin.

Mr Philips is one of my old friends; and as I am of opinion that neither he nor his daughter will do anything that can disgrace their benefactors, I take the liberty of entreating you to countenance and protect them so far as may be suitable to your station and character; and shall consider myself as obliged by any favourable notice which they shall have the honour of receiving from you. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *May* 31, 1783.

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The following is another instance of his active benevolence :

To Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS

DEAR SIR,—I have sent you some of my godson's performances, of which I do not pretend to form any opinion. When I took the liberty of mentioning him to you, I did not know what I have since been told, that Mr Moser had admitted him among the Students of the Academy. What more can be done for him I earnestly entreat you to consider ; for I am very desirous that he should derive some advantage from my connection with him. If you are inclined to see him, I will bring him to wait on you at any time that you shall be pleased to appoint. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

June 2, 1783.

My anxious apprehensions at parting with him this year proved to be but too well founded ; for not long afterwards he had a dreadful stroke of the palsy, of which there are very full and accurate accounts in letters written by himself, which show with what composure his steady piety enabled him to behave.

To Mr EDMUND ALLEN

DEAR SIR,—It has pleased God this morning to deprive me of the powers of speech ; and as I do not know but that it may be his farther good pleasure to deprive me soon of my senses, I request you will, on the receipt of this note, come to me, and act for me, as the exigencies of my case may require. I am sincerely yours,

SAM. JOHNSON.

To the Reverend Dr JOHN TAYLOR

DEAR SIR,—It has pleased God, by a paralytic stroke in the night, to deprive me of speech.

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I am very desirous of Dr Heberden's assistance, as I think my case is not past remedy. Let me see you as soon as it is possible. Bring Dr Heberden with you, if you can; but come yourself at all events. I am glad you are so well, when I am so dreadfully attacked.

I think that by a speedy application of stimulants much may be done. I question if a vomit, vigorous and rough, would not rouse the organs of speech to action. As it is too early to send, I will try to recollect what I can, that can be suspected to have brought on this dreadful distress.

I have been accustomed to bleed frequently for an asthmatic complaint, but have forborne for some time by Dr Pepys's persuasion, who perceived my legs beginning to swell. I sometimes alleviate a painful, or more properly an oppressive, constriction of my chest, by opiates; and have lately taken opium frequently, but the last, or two last times, in smaller quantities. My largest dose is three grains, and last night I took but two. You will suggest these things (and they are all that I can call to mind) to Dr Heberden. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

June 17, 1783.

Two days after he wrote thus to Mrs Thrale¹:

"On Monday the 16th I sat for my picture, and walked a considerable way with little inconvenience. In the afternoon and evening I felt myself light and easy, and began to plan schemes of life. Thus I went to bed, and in a short time waked and sat up, as has been long my custom, when I felt a confusion and indistinctness in my head, which lasted, I suppose, about half-a-minute. I was alarmed, and prayed God that however he might afflict my body, he would spare my understanding. This prayer, that I might try the integrity of my faculties, I made in Latin verse. The lines were not very good, but I knew them not to be very good: I made

¹ Vol. ii., p. 268, of Mrs Thrale's Collection.

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them easily, and concluded myself to be unimpaired in my faculties.

"Soon after I perceived that I had suffered a paralytic stroke, and that my speech was taken from me. I had no pain, and so little dejection in this dreadful state, that I wondered at my own apathy, and considered that perhaps death itself, when it should come, would excite less horror than seems now to attend it.

"In order to rouse the vocal organs, I took two drams. Wine has been celebrated for the production of eloquence. I put myself into violent motion, and I think repeated it; but all was vain. I then went to bed, and, strange as it may seem, I think, slept. When I saw light, it was time to contrive what I should do. Though God stopped my speech, he left me my hand. I enjoyed a mercy which was not granted to my dear friend Lawrence, who now perhaps overlooks me as I am writing, and rejoices that I have what he wanted. My first note was necessarily to my servant, who came in talking, and could not immediately comprehend why he should read what I put into his hands.

"I then wrote a card to Mr Allen, that I might have a discreet friend at hand, to act as occasion should require. In penning this note, I had some difficulty; my hand, I knew not how nor why, made wrong letters. I then wrote to Dr Taylor to come to me, and bring Dr Heberden; and I sent to Dr Brocklesby, who is my neighbour. My physicians are very friendly and give me great hopes; but you may imagine my situation. I have so far recovered my vocal powers as to repeat the Lord's Prayer with no very imperfect articulation. My memory, I hope, yet remains as it was; but such an attack produces solicitude for the safety of every faculty."

To Mr THOMAS DAVIES

DEAR SIR,—I have had, indeed, a very heavy blow; but God, who yet spares my life, I humbly hope will spare my

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understanding, and restore my speech. As I am not at all helpless, I want no particular assistance, but am strongly affected by Mrs Davies's tenderness; and when I think she can do me good, shall be very glad to call upon her. I had ordered friends to be shut out, but one or two have found the way in; and if you come you shall be admitted: for I know not whom I can see that will bring more amusement on his tongue, or more kindness in his heart. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

June 18, 1783.

It gives me great pleasure to preserve such a memorial of Johnson's regard for Mr Davies, to whom I was indebted for my introduction to him.¹ He indeed loved Davies cordially, of which I shall give the following little evidence. One day, when he had treated him with too much asperity, Tom, who was not without pride and spirit, went off in a passion; but he had hardly reached home when Frank, who had been sent after him, delivered this note: "Come, come, dear Davies, I am always sorry when we quarrel; send me word that we are friends."

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Your anxiety about my health is very friendly, and very agreeable with your general kindness. I have, indeed, had a very frightful blow. On the 17th of last month, about three in the morning, as near as I can guess, I perceived myself almost totally deprived of speech. I had no pain. My organs were so obstructed, that I could say *no*, but could scarcely say *yes*. I wrote the necessary directions, for it pleased God to spare my hand, and sent for Dr Heberden and Dr Brocklesby. Between the time in which I discovered my own disorder, and that in which I sent for the doctors, I had, I believe, in spite of my surprise

¹ Poor Derrick, however, though he did not himself introduce me to Dr Johnson as he promised, had the merit of introducing me to Davies, the immediate introducer.

ther had been dead fourteen years, having divided his wealth among my brothers, who were removed to some other provinces. Of my companions the greater part was in the grave; of the rest, some could with difficulty remember me, and some considered me as one corrupted by foreign manners.

"A man used to vicissitudes is not easily dejected. I forgot, after a time, my disappointment, and endeavoured to recommend myself to the nobles of the kingdom; they admitted me to their tables, heard my story, and dismissed me. I opened a school, and was prohibited to teach. I then resolved to sit down in the quiet of domestic life, and addressed a lady that was fond of my conversation, but rejected my suit because my father was a merchant.

"Wearied at last with solicitation and repulses, I resolved to hide myself for ever from the world, and depend no longer on the opinion or caprice of others. I waited for the time when the gate of the happy valley should open, that I might bid farewell to hope and fear: the day came; my performance was distinguished with favour, and I resigned myself with joy to perpetual confinement."

"Hast thou here found happiness at last?"

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and solicitude, a little sleep, and Nature began to renew its operations. They came, and gave the directions which the disease required, and from that time I have been continually improving in articulation. I can now speak, but the nerves are weak, and I cannot continue discourse long ; but strength, I hope, will return. The physicians consider me as cured. I was last Sunday at church. On Tuesday I took an airing to Hampstead, and dined with the Club, where Lord Palmerston was proposed, and, against my opinion, was rejected.¹ I design to go next week with Mr Langton to Rochester, where I purpose to stay about ten days, and then try some other air. I have many kind invitations. Your brother has very frequently inquired after me. Most of my friends have, indeed, been very attentive. Thank dear Lord Hailes for his present.

I hope you found at your return everything gay and prosperous, and your lady, in particular, quite recovered and confirmed. Pay her my respects. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *July 3, 1783.*

To Mrs Lucy Porter, in Lichfield

DEAR MADAM,—The account which you give of your health is but melancholy. May it please God to restore you. My disease affected my speech, and still continues, in some degree, to obstruct my utterance ; my voice is distinct enough for a while, but the organs being still weak are quickly weary : but in other respects I am, I think, rather better than I have lately been ; and can let you know my state without the help of any other hand.

In the opinion of my friends, and in my own, I am gradually mending. The physicians consider me as cured ; and I had leave, four days ago, to wash the cantharides from my head. Last Tuesday I dined at the Club.

¹ His lordship was soon after chosen, and is now a member of the Club.

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I am going next week into Kent, and purpose to change the air frequently this summer; whether I shall wander so far as Staffordshire I cannot tell. I should be glad to come. Return my thanks to Mrs Cobb, and Mr Pearson, and all that have shown attention to me.

Let us, my dear, pray for one another, and consider our sufferings as notices mercifully given us to prepare ourselves for another state.

I live now but in a melancholy way. My old friend Mr Levett is dead, who lived with me in the house, and was useful and companionable; Mrs Desmoulins is gone away; and Mrs Williams is so much decayed, that she can add little to another's gratifications. The world passes away, and we are passing with it; but there is, doubtless, another world, which will endure for ever. Let us all fit ourselves for it. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *July 5, 1783.*

Such was the general vigour of his constitution, that he recovered from this alarming and severe attack with wonderful quickness; so that in July he was able to make a visit to Mr Langton at Rochester, where he passed about a fortnight, and made little excursions as easily as at any time of his life. In August he went as far as the neighbourhood of Salisbury, to Heale, the seat of William Bowles, Esq., a gentleman whom I have heard him praise for exemplary religious order in his family. In his diary I find a short but honourable mention of this visit:—"August 28, I came to Heale without fatigue. 30. I am entertained quite to my mind."

To Dr BROCKLESBY

HEALE, near SALISBURY,

Aug. 29, 1783.

DEAR SIR,—Without appearing to want a just sense of your kind attention, I cannot omit to give an account of the

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day which seemed to appear in some sort perilous. I rose at five, and went out at six, and having reached Salisbury about nine, went forward a few miles in my friend's chariot. I was no more wearied with the journey, though it was a high-hung rough coach, than I should have been forty years ago. We shall now see what air will do. The country is all a plain; and the house in which I am, so far as I can judge from my window, for I write before I have left my chamber, is sufficiently pleasant.

Be so kind as to continue your attention to Mrs Williams; it is great consolation to the well, and still greater to the sick, that they find themselves not neglected; and I know that you will be desirous of giving comfort even where you have no great hope of giving help.

Since I wrote the former part of the letter, I find that by the course of the post I cannot send it before the thirty-first. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

While he was here he had a letter from Dr Brocklesby, acquainting him of the death of Mrs Williams, which affected him a good deal. Though for several years her temper had not been complacent, she had valuable qualities, and her departure left a blank in his house. Upon this occasion he, according to his habitual course of piety, composed a prayer.¹

I shall here insert a few particulars concerning him, with which I have been favoured by one of his friends.

"He had once conceived the design of writing the Life of Oliver Cromwell, saying, that he thought it must be highly curious to trace his extraordinary rise to the supreme power, from so obscure a beginning. He at length laid aside his scheme, on discovering that all that can be told of him is already in print; and that it is impracticable to procure any authentic information in addition to what the world is already possessed of."

¹ *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 226.

THE LIFE OF DR JOHNSON

"He had likewise projected, but at what part of his life is not known, a work to show how small a quantity of **REAL FICTION** there is in the world; and how the same images, with very little variation, have served all the authors who have ever written."

"His thoughts in the latter part of his life were frequently employed on his deceased friends. He often muttered these or such like sentences: 'Poor man! and then he died.'"

"Speaking of a certain literary friend: 'He is a very pompous puzzling fellow,' says the Doctor; 'he lent me a letter once that somebody had written to him, no matter what it was about; but he wanted to have the letter back, and expressed a mighty value for it; he hoped it was to be met with again, he would not lose it for a thousand pounds. I laid my hand upon it soon afterwards, and gave it him. I believe I said, I was very glad to have met with it. Oh, then he did not know that it signified anything. So you see, when the letter was lost it was worth a thousand pounds, and when it was found it was not worth a farthing.'"

"The style and character of his conversation is pretty generally known; it was certainly conducted in conformity with a precept of Lord Bacon, but it is not clear, I apprehend, that this conformity was either perceived or intended by Johnson. The precept alluded to is as follows: 'In all kinds of speech, either pleasant, grave, severe, or ordinary, it is convenient to speak leisurely, and rather drawingly than hastily: because hasty speech confounds the memory, and oftentimes, besides the unseemliness, drives a man either to stammering, a nonplus, or harping on that which should follow; whereas a slow speech confirmeth the memory, addeth a conceit of wisdom to the hearers, besides a seemliness of speech and countenance.' Dr Johnson's method of conversation was certainly calculated to excite attention, and to amuse or instruct (as it happened), without wearying or confusing his company. He was always most perfectly clear and conspicuous; and his language was so accurate,

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and his sentences so neatly constructed, that his conversation might have been all printed without any correction. At the same time, it was easy and natural; the accuracy of it had no appearance of labour, constraint, or stiffness; he seemed more correct than others by the force of habit and the customary exercises of his powerful mind."

"He spoke often in praise of French literature. 'The French are excellent in this,' he would say; 'they have a book on every subject.' From what he had seen of them he denied them the praise of superior politeness, and mentioned, with very visible disgust, the custom they have of spitting on the floors of their apartment. 'This,' says the Doctor, 'is as gross a thing as can well be done; and one wonders how any man, or set of men, can persist in so offensive a practice for a whole day together; one should expect that the first effort toward civilisation would remove it even amongst savages.'"

"Baxter's *Reasons of the Christian Religion*, he thought contained the best collection of the evidence of the divinity of the Christian system."

"Chemistry was always an interesting pursuit with Dr Johnson. Whilst he was in Wiltshire, he attended some experiments that were made by a physician at Salisbury, on the new kinds of air. In the course of the experiments frequent mention being made of Dr Priestley, Dr Johnson knit his brows, and in a stern manner inquired: 'Why do we hear so much of Dr Priestley?'¹ He was very properly

¹ I do not wonder at Johnson's displeasure when the name of Dr Priestley was mentioned; for I know no writer who has been suffered to publish more pernicious doctrines. I shall instance only three. First, *Materialism*; by which *mind* is denied to human nature, which, if believed, must deprive us of every elevated principle. Secondly, *Necessity*; or the doctrine that every action, whether good or bad, is included in an unchangeable and unavoidable system; a notion utterly subversive of moral government. Thirdly, that we have no reason to think that the *future* world (which, as he is pleased to *inform* us, will be adapted to our merely improved nature) will be materially different from *this*; which, if believed, would sink wretched mortals into despair, as they could no longer hope for the "rest that remaineth for the people of God," or for that happiness which is revealed

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answered: 'Sir, because we are indebted to him for these important discoveries.' On this, Dr Johnson appeared well content; and replied: 'Well, well, I believe we are; and let every man have the honour he has merited.'"

"A friend was one day, about two years before his death, struck with some instance of Dr Johnson's great candour. 'Well, sir,' said he, 'I will always say that you are a very candid man.' 'Will you,' replied the Doctor, 'I doubt then you will be very singular. But, indeed, sir,' continued he, 'I look upon myself to be a man very much misunderstood. I am not an uncandid, nor am I a severe man. I sometimes say more than I mean in jest, and people are apt to believe me serious: however, I am more candid than I was when I was younger. As I know more of mankind I expect less of them, and am ready now to call a man a *good man*, upon easier terms than I was formerly.'"

On his return from Heale he wrote to Dr Burney: "I came home on the 18th at noon to a very disconsolate house. You and I have lost our friends, but you have more friends at home. My domestic companion is taken from me. She is much missed, for her acquisitions were many, and her curiosity universal; so that she partook of every conversation. I am not well enough to go much out; and to sit, and eat, or fast alone, is very wearisome. I always mean to send my compliments to all the ladies."

His fortitude and patience met with severe trials during this year. The stroke of the palsy has been related circumstantially; but he was also afflicted with the gout, and was besides troubled with a complaint which not only was attended with immediate inconvenience, but threatened him with a painful surgical operation, from which most men would shrink. The complaint was a *sarcocoele*, which Johnson bore with uncommon firmness, and was not at all frightened

to us as something beyond our present conceptions; but would feel themselves doomed to a continuation of the uneasy state under which they now groan. I say nothing of the petulant intemperance with which he dares to insult the venerable establishments of his country.

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while he looked forward to amputation. He was attended by Mr Pott and also Mr Cruikshank. I have before me a letter of the 30th of July this year, to Mr Cruikshank, in which he says, "I am going to put myself into your hands"; and another, accompanying a set of his *Lives of the Poets*, in which he says, "I beg your acceptance of these volumes, as an acknowledgment of the great favours which you have bestowed on, sir, your most obliged and most humble servant." I have in my possession several more letters from him to Mr Cruikshank, and also to Dr Mudge at Plymouth, which it would be improper to insert, as they are filled with unpleasing technical details. I shall, however, extract from his letters to Dr Mudge such passages as show either a felicity of expression, or the undaunted state of his mind:

"My conviction of your skill, and my belief of your friendship, determine me to entreat your opinion and advice."—"In this state I with great earnestness desire you to tell me what is to be done. Excision is doubtless necessary to the cure, and I know not any means of palliation. The operation is doubtless painful; but is it dangerous? The pain I hope to endure with decency; but I am loth to put life into much hazard."—"By representing the gout as an antagonist to the palsy, you have said enough to make it welcome. This is not strictly the first fit, but I hope it is as good as the first; for it is the second that ever confined me; and the first was ten years ago, much less fierce and fiery than this."—"Write, dear sir, what you can, to inform or encourage me. The operation is not delayed by any fears or objections of mine."

Happily the complaint abated without his being put to the torture of amputation. But we must surely admire the manly resolution which he discovered while it hung over him.

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—You may very reasonably charge me with insensibility of your kindness, and that of Lady Rothes,

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since I have suffered so much time to pass without paying any acknowledgment. I now, at last, return my thanks; and why I did it not sooner I ought to tell you. I went into Wiltshire as soon as I well could, and was there much employed in palliating my own malady. Disease produces much selfishness. A man in pain is looking after ease; and lets most other things go as chance shall dispose of them. In the meantime I have lost a companion, to whom I have had recourse for domestic amusement for thirty years, and whose variety of knowledge never was exhausted; and now return to a habitation vacant and desolate. I carry about a very troublesome and dangerous complaint, which admits no cure but by the chirurgical knife. Let me have your prayers. I am, etc.,

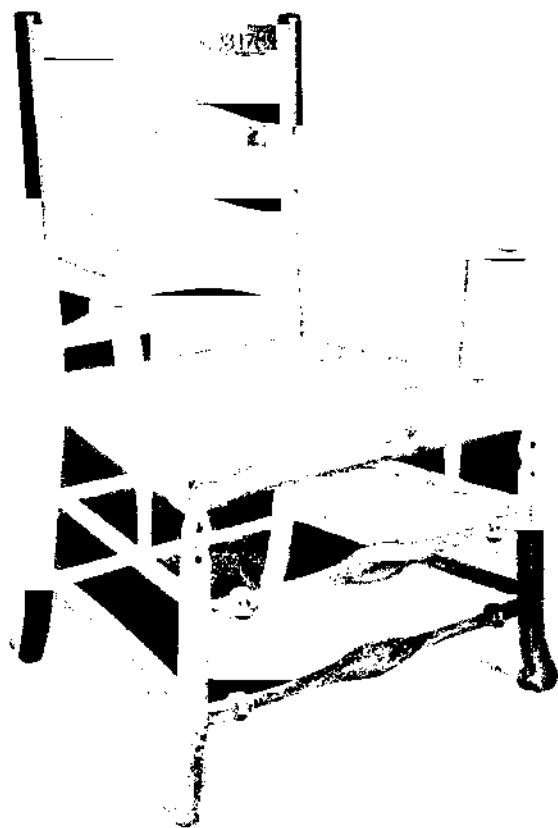
SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *Sept.* 29, 1783.

In his next letter to the same gentleman he writes: "The gout has within these four days come upon me with a violence which I never experienced before. It made me helpless as an infant." And in the following, having mentioned Mrs Williams, says: "Whose death following that of Levett, has now made my house a solitude. She left her little substance to a charity school. She is, I hope, where there is neither darkness, nor want, nor sorrow."

I wrote to him, begging to know the state of his health, and mentioned that Baxter's *Anacreon*, which is in the library at Auchinleck, was, I find, collated by my father in 1727, with the MS. belonging to the University of Leyden, and he has made a number of Notes upon it. Would you advise me to publish a new edition of it?"

His answer was dated 30th September: "You should not make your letters such rarities, when you know, or might know, the uniform state of my health. It is very long since I heard from you; and that I have not answered is a very insufficient reason for the silence of a friend. Your *Anacreon* is a very uncommon book; neither London nor Cambridge



WOOD AND METAL CHAIR, 1817

Now in possession of the proprietor, 11, Cheapside Church, Fleet St., London

Presented to the Museum, 1840, by Mr. C. C.

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can supply a copy of that edition. Whether it should be reprinted, you cannot do better than consult Lord Hailes.—Besides my constant and radical disease, I have been for these ten days much harassed with the gout, but that has now remitted. I hope God will yet grant me a little longer life, and make me less unfit to appear before Him.”

He this autumn received a visit from the celebrated Mrs Siddons. He gives this account of it in one of his letters to Mrs Thrale: “Mrs Siddons, in her visit to me, behaved with great modesty and propriety, and left nothing behind her to be censured or despised. Neither praise nor money, the two powerful corrupters of mankind, seem to have depraved her. I shall be glad to see her again. Her brother Kemble calls on me, and pleases me very well. Mrs Siddons and I talked of plays; and she told me her intention of exhibiting this winter the characters of Constance, Catherine, and Isabella, in Shakspeare.”

Mr Kemble has favoured me with the following minute of what passed at this visit.

“When Mrs Siddons came into the room, there happened to be no chair ready for her, which he observing, said with a smile: ‘Madam, you who so often occasion a want of seats to other people, will the more easily excuse the want of one yourself.’

“Having placed himself by her, he with great good humour entered upon a consideration of the English drama; and, among other inquiries, particularly asked her which of Shakspeare’s characters she was most pleased with. Upon her answering that she thought the character of Queen Catherine in *Henry the Eighth* the most natural—‘I think so too, madam,’ said he; ‘and whenever you perform it I will once more hobble out to the theatre myself.’ Mrs Siddons promised she would do herself the honour of acting his favourite part for him; but many circumstances happened to prevent the representation of *King Henry the Eighth* during the Doctor’s life.

“In the course of the evening he thus gave his opinion

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upon the merits of some of the principal performers whom he remembered to have seen upon the stage: 'Mrs Porter, in the vehemence of rage, and Mrs Clive in the sprightliness of humour, I have never seen equalled. What Clive did best, she did better than Garrick; but could not do half so many things well; she was a better romp than any I ever saw in nature. Pritchard, in common life, was a vulgar idiot; she would talk of her *gown*: but, when she appeared upon the stage, seemed to be inspired by gentility and understanding. I once talked with Colley Cibber, and thought him ignorant of the principles of his art. Garrick, madam, was no disclaimer; there was not one of his own scene-shifters who could not have spoken "To be, or not to be," better than he did; yet he was the only actor I ever saw whom I could call a master both in tragedy and comedy; though I liked him best in comedy. A true conception of character and natural expression of it were his distinguishing excellencies.' Having expatiated, with his usual force and eloquence, on Mr Garrick's extraordinary eminence as an actor, he concluded with this compliment to his social talents: 'And after all, madam, I thought him less to be envied on the stage than at the head of a table.'

Johnson, indeed, had thought more upon the subject of acting than might be generally supposed. Talking of it one day to Mr Kemble, he said: "Are you, sir, one of those enthusiasts who believe yourself transformed into the very character you represent?" Upon Mr Kemble's answering that he had never felt so strong a persuasion himself: "To be sure not, sir!" said Johnson. "The thing is impossible! And if Garrick really believed himself to be that monster Richard the Third, he deserved to be hanged every time he performed it."

A pleasing instance of the generous attention of one of his friends has been discovered by the publication of Mrs Thrale's collection of *Letters*. In a letter to one of the Miss Thrales,¹ he writes: "A friend, whose name I will tell

¹ Vol. ii., p. 328.

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when your mamma has tried to guess it, sent to my physician to inquire whether this long train of illness had brought me into difficulties for want of money, with an invitation to send to him for what occasion required. I shall write this night to thank him, having no need to borrow." And afterwards, in a letter to Mrs Thrale: "Since you cannot guess, I will tell you, that the generous man was Gerard Hamilton. I returned him a very thankful and respectful letter."¹

I applied to Mr Hamilton, by a common friend, and he has been so obliging as to let me have Johnson's letter to him upon this occasion, to adorn my collection :

To the Right Honourable WILLIAM GERARD
HAMILTON

DEAR SIR,—Your kind inquiries after my affairs, and your generous offers have been communicated to me by Dr Brocklesby. I return thanks with great sincerity, having lived long enough to know what gratitude is due to such friendship ; and entreat that my refusal may not be imputed to sullenness or pride. I am, indeed, in no want. Sickness is, by the generosity of my physicians, of little expense to me. But if any unexpected exigence should press me, you shall see, dear sir, how cheerfully I can be obliged to so much liberality. I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Nov. 19, 1783.

I find in this, as in former years, notices of his kind attention to Mrs Gardiner, who, though in the humble station of a tallow-chandler upon Snow Hill, was a woman of excellent good sense, pious, and charitable. She told me, she had been introduced to him by Mrs Masters the poetess, whose volumes he revised, and, it is said, illuminated here and there with a ray of his own genius. Mrs Gardiner was

¹ Vol. ii., p. 342.

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I consulted him on two questions, of a very different nature: one, Whether the unconstitutional influence exercised by the Peers of Scotland in the election of the representatives of the Commons, by means of fictitious qualifications, ought not to be resisted?—the other, What, in propriety and humanity, should be done with old horses unable to labour? I gave him some account of my life at Auchinleck; and expressed my satisfaction that the gentlemen of the county had, at two public meetings, elected me their *Præses*, or Chairman.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Like all other men who have great friends, you begin to feel the pangs of neglected merit, and all the comfort that I can give you is, by telling you that you have probably more pangs to feel, and more neglect to suffer. You have, indeed, begun to complain too soon; and I hope I am the only confidant of your discontent. Your friends have not yet had leisure to gratify personal kindness; they have hitherto been busy in strengthening their ministerial interest. If a vacancy happens in Scotland, give them early intelligence; and as you can serve Government as powerfully as any of your probable competitors, you may make in some sort a warrantable claim.

Of the exaltations and depressions of your mind you delight to talk, and I hate to hear. Drive all such fancies from you.

On the day when I received your letter, I think, the foregoing page was written: to which, one disease or another has hindered me from making any additions. I am now a little better. But sickness and solitude press me very heavily. I could bear sickness better, if I were relieved from solitude.

The present dreadful confusion of the public ought to make you wrap yourself up in your hereditary possessions, which, though less than you may wish, are more than you

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can want; and in an hour of religious retirement return thanks to God, who has exempted you from any strong temptation to faction, treachery, plunder, and disloyalty.

As your neighbours distinguish you by such honours as they can bestow, content yourself with your station, without neglecting your profession. Your estate and the Courts will find you full employment; and your mind well occupied will be quiet.

The usurpation of the nobility, for they apparently usurp all the influence they gain by fraud, and misrepresentation, I think it certainly lawful, perhaps your duty to resist. What is not their own they have only by robbery.

Your question about the horses gives me more perplexity. I know not well what advice to give you. I can only recommend a rule which you do not want—give as little pain as you can. I suppose that we have a right to their service while their strength lasts; what we can do with them afterwards I cannot so easily determine. But let us consider. Nobody denies that man has a right first to milk the cow, and to shear the sheep, and then to kill them for his table. May he not, by parity of reason, first work a horse, and then kill him the easiest way, that he may have the means of another horse, or food for cows and sheep? Man is influenced in both cases by different motives of self-interest. He that rejects the one must reject the other. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *Dec.* 24, 1783.

A happy and pious Christmas; and many happy years to you, your lady, and children.

The late ingenious Mr Mickle, some time before his death, wrote me a letter concerning Dr Johnson, in which he mentions: "I was upwards of twelve years acquainted with him, was frequently in his company, always talked with ease to him, and can truly say, that I never received from him one rough word."

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In this letter he relates his having, while engaged in translating *The Lusiad*, had a dispute of considerable length with Johnson, who, as usual, declaimed upon the misery and corruption of a sea life, and used this expression: "It had been happy for the world, sir, if your hero Gama, Prince Henry of Portugal, and Columbus, had never been born, or that their schemes had never gone farther than their own imaginations." "This sentiment," says Mr Mickle, "which is to be found in his *Introduction to the World Displayed*, I, in my dissertation prefixed to *The Lusiad*, have controverted; and though authors are said to be bad judges of their own works, I am not ashamed to own to a friend that that dissertation is my favourite above all that I ever attempted in prose. Next year, when *The Lusiad* was published, I waited on Dr Johnson, who addressed me with one of his good-humoured smiles: 'Well, you have remembered our dispute about Prince Henry, and have cited me too. You have done your part very well indeed; you have made the best of your argument; but I am not convinced yet.'

"Before publishing *The Lusiad*, I sent Mr Hoole a proof of that part of the introduction, in which I make mention of Dr Johnson, yourself, and other well-wishers to the work, begging it might be shown to Dr Johnson. This was accordingly done; and in place of the simple mention of him which I had made, he dictated to Mr Hoole the sentence as it now stands.

"Dr Johnson told me in 1772, that about twenty years before that time, he himself had a design to translate *The Lusiad*, of the merit of which he spoke highly, but had been prevented by a number of other engagements."

Mr Mickle reminds me in this letter of a conversation, when dining one day at Mr Hoole's with Dr Johnson, when Mr Nicol, the King's bookseller, and I attempted to controvert the maxim: "Better that ten guilty should escape, than one innocent person suffer"; and were answered by Dr Johnson with great power of reasoning and eloquence. I am very sorry that I have no record of that

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day ; but I well recollect my illustrious friend's having ably shown, that unless civil institutions insure protection to the innocent, all the confidence which mankind should have in them would be lost.

I shall here mention what should properly have appeared in my account of last year, though the controversy was not closed till this. The Reverend Mr Shaw, a native of one of the Hebrides, having entertained doubts of the authenticity of the poems ascribed to Ossian, divested himself of national bigotry ; and having travelled in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and also in Ireland, in order to furnish himself with materials for a Gaelic dictionary, which he afterwards compiled, was so fully satisfied that Dr Johnson was in the right upon the question, that he fairly published a pamphlet, stating his conviction, and the proofs and reasons on which it was founded. A person at Edinburgh, of the name of Clark, answered this pamphlet with much zeal, and much abuse of its author. Johnson took Mr Shaw under his protection, and gave him his assistance in writing a reply, which has been admired by the best judges, and by many been considered as conclusive. A few paragraphs, which sufficiently mark their great author, shall be selected :

“ My assertions are, for the most part, purely negative : I deny the existence of Fingal, because in a long and curious peregrination through the Gaelic regions I have never been able to find it. What I could not see myself I suspect to be equally invisible to others ; and I suspect with the more reason, as among all those who have seen it no man can show it.

“ Mr Clark compares the obstinacy of those who disbelieve the genuineness of Ossian to a blind man, who should dispute the reality of colours, and deny that the British troops are clothed in red. The blind man's doubt would be rational, if he did not know by experience that others have a power which he himself wants : but what perspicacity has Mr Clark which Nature has withheld from me or the rest of mankind ?

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“The true state of the parallel must be this. Suppose a man, with eyes like his neighbours, was told by a boasting corporal that the troops, indeed, wore red clothes for their ordinary dress, but that every soldier had likewise a suit of black velvet, which he put on when the King reviews them. This he thinks strange, and desires to see the fine clothes, but finds nobody in forty thousand men that can produce either coat or waistcoat. One, indeed, has left them in his chest at Port Mahon; another has always heard that he ought to have velvet clothes somewhere; and a third has heard somebody say that soldiers ought to wear velvet. Can the inquirer be blamed if he goes away believing that a soldier’s red coat is all that he has?

“But the most obdurate incredulity may be shamed or silenced by facts. To overpower contradictions, let the soldier show his velvet coat, and the Fingalist the original of Ossian.

“The difference between us and the blind man is this: the blind man is unconvinced, because he cannot see; and we, because though we can see, we find that nothing can be shown.”

Notwithstanding the complication of disorders under which Johnson now laboured, he did not resign himself to despondency and discontent, but with wisdom and spirit endeavoured to console and amuse his mind with as many innocent enjoyments as he could procure. Sir John Hawkins has mentioned the cordiality with which he insisted that such of the members of the old club in Ivy Lane as survived should meet again and dine together, which they did, twice at a tavern, and once at his house: and in order to insure himself society in the evening for three days in the week, he instituted a Club at the Essex Head, in Essex Street, then kept by Samuel Greaves, an old servant of Mr Thrale’s.

To Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS

DEAR SIR,—It is inconvenient to me to come out, I should else have waited on you with an account of a little evening

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Club which we are establishing in Essex Street, in the Strand, and of which you are desired to be one. It will be held at the Essex Head, now kept by an old servant of Thrale's. The company is numerous, and, as you will see by the list, miscellaneous. The terms are lax, and the expenses light. Mr Barry was adopted by Dr Brocklesby, who joined with me in forming the plan. We meet thrice a week, and he who misses forfeits twopence.

If you are willing to become a member, draw a line under your name. Return the list. We meet for the first time on Monday at eight. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Dec. 4, 1783.

It did not suit Sir Joshua to be one of this Club. But when I mention only Mr Daines Barrington, Dr Brocklesby, Mr Murphy, Mr Cooke, Mr Joddrel, Mr Paradise, Dr Horsley, Mr Windham,¹ I shall sufficiently obviate the misrepresentation of it by Sir John Hawkins, as if it had been a low ale-house association, by which Johnson was degraded. Johnson himself, like his namesake Old Ben, composed the Rules of his Club.²

¹ I was in Scotland when this Club was founded, and during all the winter. Johnson, however, declared I should be a member, and invented a word upon the occasion: "Boswell," said he, "is a very *clubable* man." When I came to town I was proposed by Mr Barrington, and chosen. I believe there are few societies where there is better conversation or more decorum. Several of us resolved to continue it after our great founder was removed by death. Other members were added; and now, above six years since that loss, we go on happily.

² RULES

"To-day deep thoughts with me resolve to drench
In mirth, which after no repenting draws."

MILTON.

"The Club shall consist of four-and-twenty.

"The meetings shall be on the Monday, Thursday, and Saturday of every week; but in the week before Easter there shall be no meeting.

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In the end of this year he was seized with a spasmodic asthma of such violence, that he was confined to the house in great pain, being sometimes obliged to sit all night in his chair, a recumbent posture being so hurtful to his respiration, that he could not endure lying in bed; and there came upon him at the same time that oppressive and fatal disease, a dropsy. It was a very severe winter, which probably aggravated his complaints; and the solitude in which Mr Levett and Mrs Williams had left him, rendered his life very gloomy. Mrs Desmoulins, who still lived, was herself so very ill that she could contribute very little to his relief. He, however, had none of that unsocial shyness which we commonly see in people afflicted with sickness.

"Every member is at liberty to introduce a friend once a week, but not oftener.

"Two members shall oblige themselves to attend in their turn every night from eight to ten, or to procure two to attend in their room.

"Every member present at the Club shall spend at least sixpence; and every member who stays away shall forfeit threepence.

"The master of the house shall keep an account of the absent members; and deliver to the President of the night a list of the forfeits incurred.

"When any member returns after absence, he shall immediately lay down his forfeits; which if he omits to do, the President shall require.

"There shall be no general reckoning, but every man shall adjust his own expenses.

"The night of indispensable attendance will come to every member once a month. Whoever shall for three months together omit to attend himself, or by substitution, nor shall make any apology in the fourth month, shall be considered as having abdicated the Club.

"When a vacancy is to be filled, the name of the candidate, and of the member recommending him, shall stand in the Club-room three nights. On the fourth he may be chosen by ballot; six members, at least, being present, and two-thirds of the ballot being in his favour; or the majority, should the numbers not be divisible by three.

"The master of the house shall give notice, six days before, to each of those members whose turn of necessary attendance is come.

"The notice may be in these words:—'Sir, On — the — of —, will be your turn of presiding at the Essex Head. Your company is therefore earnestly requested.'

"One penny shall be left by each member for the waiter."

Johnson's definition of a Club in this sense in his *Dictionary* is: "An assembly of good fellows, meeting under certain conditions."

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He did not hide his head in abstraction ; he did not deny himself to the visits of his friends and acquaintances ; but at all times, when he was not overcome by sleep, was ready for conversation as in his best days.

To Mrs LUCY PORTER, in Lichfield

DEAR MADAM,—You may perhaps think me negligent that I have not written to you again upon the loss of your brother ; but condolences and consolations are such common and such useless things, that the omission of them is no great crime ; and my own diseases occupy my mind, and engage my care. My nights are miserably restless, and my days, therefore, are heavy. I try, however, to hold up my head as high as I can.

I am sorry that your health is impaired ; perhaps the spring and the summer may, in some degree, restore it ; but if not, we must submit to the inconveniencies of time, as to the other dispensations of Eternal Goodness. Pray for me, and write to me, or let Mr Pearson write for you. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, Nov. 29, 1783.

1784. *Ætat.* 75. And now I am arrived at the last year of the life of Samuel Johnson, a year in which, although passed in severe indisposition, he nevertheless gave many evidences of the continuance of those wondrous powers of mind, which raised him so high in the intellectual world. His conversation and his letters of this year were in no respect inferior to those of former years.

The following is a remarkable proof of his being alive to the most minute curiosities of literature.

To Mr DILLY, Bookseller in the Poultry

SIR,—There is in the world a set of books, which used to be sold by the booksellers on the bridge, and which I

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must entreat you to procure me. They are called "Burton's Books"; the title of one is, *Admirable Curiosities, Rarities, and Wonders in England*. I believe there are about five or six of them; they seem very proper to allure backward readers; be so kind as to get them for me, and send me them with the best printed edition of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Jan. 6, 1784.

His attention to the Essex Head Club appears from the following letter to Mr Alderman Clark, a gentleman for whom he deservedly entertained a great regard.

To RICHARD CLARK, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—You will receive a requisition, according to the rules of the Club, to be at the house as President of the night. This turn comes once a month, and the member is obliged to attend, or send another in his place. You were enrolled in the Club by my invitation, and I ought to introduce you; but as I am hindered by sickness, Mr Hoole will very properly supply my place as introducer, or yours as President. I hope in milder weather to be a very constant attendant. I am, Sir, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Jan. 27, 1784.

You ought to be informed, that the forfeits began with the year, and that every night of non-attendance incurs the mulct of threepence, that is, ninepence a week.

On the 8th of January I wrote to him, anxiously inquiring as to his health, and enclosing my *Letter to the People of Scotland on the present State of the Nation*. "I trust," said I, "that you will be liberal enough to make allowance for my differing from you on two points [the Middlesex Election

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and the American War], when my general principles of government are according to your own heart, and when at a crisis of doubtful event I stand forth with honest zeal as an ancient and faithful Baron. My reason for introducing those two points was, that as my opinions with regard to them had been declared at the periods when they were least favourable, I might have the credit of a man who is not a worshipper of ministerial power."

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I hear of many inquiries which your kindness has disposed you to make after me. I have long intended you a long letter, which perhaps the imagination of its length hindered me from beginning. I will, therefore, content myself with a shorter.

Having promoted the institution of a new Club in the neighbourhood, at the house of an old servant of Thrale's, I went thither to meet the company, and was seized with a spasmodic asthma so violent, that with difficulty I got to my own house, in which I have been confined eight or nine weeks, and from which I know not when I shall be able to go even to church. The asthma, however, is not the worst. A dropsy gains ground upon me; my legs and thighs are very much swollen with water, which I should be content if I could keep there, but I am afraid that it will soon be higher. My nights are very sleepless and very tedious. And yet I am extremely afraid of dying.

My physicians try to make me hope, that much of my malady is the effect of cold, and that some degree at least of recovery is to be expected from vernal breezes and summer suns. If my life is prolonged to autumn, I should be glad to try a warmer climate; though how to travel with a diseased body, without a companion to conduct me, and with very little money, I do not well see. Ramsay has recovered his limbs in Italy; and Fielding was sent to Lisbon, where,

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indeed, he died; but he was, I believe, past hope when he went. Think for me what I can do.

I received your pamphlet, and when I write again may perhaps tell you some opinion about it; but you will forgive a man struggling with disease his neglect of disputes, politics, and pamphlets. Let me have your prayers. My compliments to your lady, and young ones. Ask your physicians about my case; and desire Sir Alexander Dick to write me his opinion. I am, dear Sir, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Feb. 11, 1784.

To Mrs LUCY PORTER, in Lichfield

MY DEAREST LOVE,—I have been extremely ill of an asthma and dropsy, but received, by the mercy of God, sudden and unexpected relief last Thursday, by the discharge of twenty pints of water. Whether I shall continue free, or shall fill again, cannot be told. Pray for me.

Death, my dear, is very dreadful; let us think nothing worth our care but how to prepare for it: what we know amiss in ourselves let us make haste to amend, and put our trust in the mercy of God, and the intercession of our Saviour. I am, dear Madam, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Feb. 23, 1784.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I have just advanced so far towards recovery as to read a pamphlet; and you may reasonably suppose that the first pamphlet which I read was yours. I am very much of your opinion, and, like you, feel great indignation at the indecency with which the King is every day treated. Your paper contains very considerable knowledge of the history and of the constitution, very properly produced and applied. It will certainly raise your

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character,¹ though perhaps it may not make you a Minister of State.

* * * * *

I desire you to see Mrs Stewart once again, and tell her, that in the letter-case was a letter relating to me, for which I will give her, if she is willing to give it me, another guinea. The letter is of consequence only to me. I am, dear Sir, etc.,
SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, Feb. 27, 1784.

In consequence of Johnson's request that I should ask our physicians about his case, and desire Sir Alexander Dick to send his opinion, I transmitted him a letter from that very amiable baronet, then in his eighty-first year, with his faculties as entire as ever; and mentioned his expressions to me in the note accompanying it: "With my most affectionate wishes for Dr Johnson's recovery, in which his friends, his country, and all mankind have so deep a stake": and at the same time a full opinion upon his case by Dr Gillespie, who, like Dr Cullen, had the advantage of having passed through the gradations of surgery and pharmacy, and by study and practice had attained to such skill that my father settled on him two hundred pounds a year for five years, and fifty pounds a year during his life, as an *honorarium* to secure his particular attendance. The opinion was conveyed in a letter to me, beginning: "I am sincerely sorry for the bad state of health your very learned and illustrious friend, Dr Johnson, labours under at present."

¹ I sent it to Mr Pitt, with a letter, in which I thus expressed myself: "My principles may appear to you too monarchical; but I know and am persuaded, they are not inconsistent with the true principles of liberty. Be this as it may, you, sir, are now the Prime Minister, called by the Sovereign to maintain the rights of the Crown, as well as those of the people, against a violent faction. As such, you are entitled to the warmest support of every good subject in every department." He answered: "I am extremely obliged to you for the sentiments you do me the honour to express, and have observed with great pleasure the *zealous and able support* given to the CAUSE OF THE PUBLIC in the work you were so good to transmit to me."

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To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Presently after I had sent away my last letter, I received your kind medical packet. I am very much obliged both to you and your physicians for your kind attention to my disease. Dr Gillespie has sent an excellent *consilium medicum*, all solid practical experimental knowledge. I am at present, in the opinion of my physicians (Dr Heberden and Dr Brocklesby) as well as my own, going on very hopefully. I have just begun to take vinegar of squills. The powder hurt my stomach so much, that it could not be continued.

Return Sir Alexander Dick my sincere thanks for his kind letter; and bring with you the rhubarb¹ which he so tenderly offers me.

I hope dear Mrs Boswell is now quite well, and that no evil, either real or imaginary, now disturbs you. I am, etc.,
SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, March 2, 1784.

I also applied to three of the eminent physicians who had chairs in our celebrated school of medicine at Edinburgh, Doctors Cullen, Hope, and Monro, to each of whom I sent the following letter:

DEAR SIR,—Dr Johnson has been very ill for some time; and in a letter of anxious apprehension he writes to me: “Ask your physicians about my case.”

This, you see, is not authority for a regular consultation: but I have no doubt of your readiness to give your advice to a man so eminent, and who, in his *Life of Garth*, has paid your profession a just and elegant compliment: “I believe every man has found in physicians great liberality and dignity of sentiment, very prompt effusions of beneficence, and

¹ From his garden at Prestonfield, where he cultivated that plant with such success, that he was presented with a gold medal by the Society of London for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences.

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willingness to exert a lucrative art, where there is no hope of lucre."

Dr Johnson is aged seventy-four. Last summer he had a stroke of the palsy, from which he recovered almost entirely. He had, before that, been troubled with a catarrhus cough. This winter he was seized with a spasmodic asthma, by which he has been confined to his house for about three months. Dr Brocklesby writes to me, that upon the least admission of cold, there is such a constriction upon his breast, that he cannot lie down in his bed, but is obliged to sit up all night, and gets rest, and sometimes sleep, only by means of laudanum and syrup of poppies; and that there are œdematous tumours on his legs and thighs. Dr Brocklesby trusts a good deal to the return of mild weather. Dr Johnson says, that a dropsy gains ground upon him; and he seems to think that a warmer climate would do him good. I understand he is now rather better, and is using vinegar of squills. I am, with great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

March 7, 1784.

All of them paid the most polite attention to my letter, and its venerable object. Dr Cullen's words concerning him were: "It would give me the greatest pleasure to be of any service to a man whom the public properly esteem, and whom I esteem and respect as much as I do Dr Johnson." Dr Hope's: "Few people have a better claim on me than your friend, as hardly a day passes that I do not ask his opinion about this or that word." Dr Monro's: "I most sincerely join you in sympathising with that very worthy and ingenious character, from whom his country has derived much instruction and entertainment."

Dr Hope corresponded with his friend Dr Brocklesby. Doctors Cullen and Monro wrote their opinions and prescriptions to me, which I afterwards carried with me to London, and so far as they were encouraging, communicated

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to Johnson. The liberality on one hand, and grateful sense of it on the other, I have great satisfaction in recording.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I am too much pleased with the attention which you and your dear lady¹ show to my welfare, not to be diligent in letting you know the progress which I make towards health. The dropsy, by God's blessing, has now run almost totally away by natural evacuation; and the asthma, if not irritated by cold, gives me little trouble. While I am writing this, I have not any sensation of debility or disease. But I do not yet venture out, having been confined to the house from the thirteenth of December, now a quarter of a year.

When it will be fit for me to travel as far as Auchinleck, I am not able to guess; but such a letter as Mrs Boswell's might draw any man, not wholly motionless, a great way. Pray tell the dear lady how much her civility and kindness have touched and gratified me.

Our parliamentary tumults have now begun to subside, and the King's authority is in some measure re-established. Mr Pitt will have great power; but you must remember, that what he has to give must, at least for some time, be given to those who gave, and those who preserve his power. A new minister can sacrifice little to esteem or friendship; he must, till he is settled, think only of extending his interest.

* * * * *

If you come hither through Edinburgh, send for Mrs Stewart, and give from me another guinea for the letter in the old case, to which I shall not be satisfied with my claim, till she gives it me.

Please to bring with you Baxter's Anacreon; and if you procure heads of Hector Boece, the historian, and Arthur Johnson, the poet, I will put them in my room, or any other of the fathers of Scottish literature.

¹ Who had written him a very kind letter.

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I wish you an easy and happy journey, and hope I need not tell you that you will be welcome to, dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *March* 18, 1784.

I wrote to him, 28th March, from York, informing him that I had a high gratification in the triumph of monarchical principles over aristocratical influence, in that great county, in an address to the King; that I was thus far on my way to him, but that news of the dissolution of Parliament having arrived, I was to hasten back to my own county, where I had carried an address to his Majesty by a great majority, and had some intention of being a candidate to represent the county in Parliament.

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—You could do nothing so proper as to haste back when you found the Parliament dissolved. With the influence which your address must have gained you, it may reasonably be expected that your presence will be of importance, and your activity of effect.

Your solicitude for me gives me that pleasure which every man feels from the kindness of such a friend; and it is with delight I relieve it by telling, that Dr Brocklesby's account is true, and that I am, by the blessing of God, wonderfully relieved.

You are entering upon a transaction which requires much prudence. You must endeavour to oppose without exasperating; to practise temporary hostility, without producing enemies for life. This is, perhaps, hard to be done; yet it has been done by many, and seems most likely to be effected by opposing merely upon general principles, without descending to personal or particular censures or objections. One thing I must enjoin you, which is seldom observed in the conduct of elections—I must entreat you to be scrupulous

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in the use of strong liquors. One night's drunkenness may defeat the labours of forty days well employed. Be firm, but not clamorous; be active, but not malicious; and you may form such an interest, as may not only exalt yourself, but dignify your family.

We are, as you may suppose, all busy here. Mr Fox resolutely stands for Westminster, and his friends say will carry the election. However that be, he will certainly have a seat. Mr Hoole has just told me that the city leans towards the King.

Let me hear, from time to time, how you are employed, and what progress you make.

Make dear Mrs Boswell, and all the young Boswells, the sincere compliments of, Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *March 30, 1784.*

To Mr Langton he wrote with that cordiality which was suitable to the long friendship which had subsisted between him and that gentleman.

March 27. "Since you left me, I have continued in my own opinion, and in Dr Brocklesby's, to grow better with respect to all my formidable and dangerous distempers; though to a body battered and shaken as mine has lately been, it is to be feared that weak attacks may be sometimes mischievous. I have, indeed, by standing carelessly at an open window, got a very troublesome cough, which it has been necessary to appease by opium, in larger quantities than I like to take, and I have not found it give way so readily as I expected; its obstinacy, however, seems at last disposed to submit to the remedy, and I know not whether I should then have a right to complain of any morbid sensation. My asthma is, I am afraid, constitutional and incurable; but it is only occasional, and unless it be excited by labour or by cold, gives me no molestation, nor does it lay very close siege to life; for Sir John Floyer, whom the physical race consider

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as author of one of the best books upon it, panted on to ninety, as was supposed; and why were we content with supposing a fact so interesting, of a man so conspicuous, because he corrupted, at perhaps seventy or eighty, the register, that he might pass for younger than he was? He was not much less than eighty, when to a man of rank who modestly asked him his age, he answered: 'Go look'; though he was in general a man of civility and elegance.

"The ladies, I find, are at your house all well, except Miss Langton, who will probably soon recover her health by light suppers. Let her eat at dinner as she will, but not take a full stomach to bed. Pay my sincere respects to the two principal ladies in your house; and when you write to dear Miss Langton in Lincolnshire, let her know that I mean not to break our league of friendship, and that I have a set of *Lives* for her, when I have the means of sending it."

April 8. "I am still disturbed by my cough; but what thanks have I not to pay, when my cough is the most painful sensation that I feel? and from that I expect hardly to be released, while winter continues to gripe us with so much pertinacity. The year has now advanced eighteen days beyond the equinox, and still there is very little remission of the cold. When warm weather comes, which surely must come at last, I hope it will help both me and your young lady.

"The man so busy about addresses is neither more nor less than our own Boswell, who had come as far as York towards London, but turned back on the dissolution, and is said now to stand for some place. Whether to wish him success, his best friends hesitate.

"Let me have your prayers for the completion of my recovery: I am now better than I ever expected to have been. May God add to His mercies the grace that may enable me to use them according to His will. My compliments to all."

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April 13. "I had this evening a note from Lord Portmore,¹ desiring that I would give you an account of my health. You might have had it with less circumduction. I am, by God's blessing, I believe, free from all morbid sensations, except a cough, which is only troublesome. But I am still weak, and can have no great hope of strength till the weather shall be softer. The summer, if it be kindly, will, I hope, enable me to support the winter. God, who has so wonderfully restored me, can preserve me in all seasons.

"Let me inquire in my turn after the state of your family, great and little. I hope Lady Rothes and Miss Langton are both well. That is a good basis of content. Then how goes George on with his studies? How does Miss Mary? And how does my own Jenny? I think I owe Jenny a letter, which I will take care to pay. In the meantime tell her that I acknowledge the debt.

"Be pleased to make my compliments to the ladies. If Mrs Langton comes to London, she will favour me with a visit, for I am not well enough to go out."

To OZIAS HUMPHRY,² Esq.

SIR,—Mr Hoole has told me with what benevolence you listened to a request which I was almost afraid to make, of

¹ To which Johnson returned this answer :

To the Right Honourable Earl of PORTMORE.

Dr Johnson acknowledges with great respect the honour of Lord Portmore's notice. He is better than he was; and will, as his lordship directs, write to Mr Langton.

BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET, *Apr. 13, 1784.*

² The eminent painter, representative of the ancient family of Homfrey (now spelt Humphry) in the west of England; who, as appears from their arms which they have invariably used, have been (as I have seen authenticated by the best authority) one of those among the Knights and Esquires of honour who are represented by Holingshead as having issued from the Tower of London on coursers apparelled for the justes, accompanied by



THE "CHESHIRE CHEESE," WINE OFFICE COURT, FLEET STREET

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leave to a young painter¹ to attend you from time to time in your painting-room, to see your operations, and receive your instructions.

The young man has perhaps good parts, but has been without a regular education. He is my godson, and therefore I interest myself in his progress and success, and shall think myself much favoured if I receive from you a permission to send him.

My health is, by God's blessing, much restored, but I am not yet allowed by my physicians to go abroad; nor, indeed, do I think myself yet able to endure the weather. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

April 5, 1784.

To the Same

SIR,—The bearer is my godson, whom I take the liberty of recommending to your kindness; which I hope he will deserve by his respect to your excellence, and his gratitude for your favours. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

April 10, 1784.

To the Same

SIR,—I am very much obliged by your civilities to my godson, but must beg of you to add to them the favour of permitting him to see you paint, that he may know how a picture is begun, advanced, and completed.

ladies of honour, leading every one a Knight, with a chain of gold, passing through the streets of London into Smithfield, on Sunday at three o'clock in the afternoon, being the first Sunday after Michaelmas, in the fourteenth year of King Richard the Second. This family once enjoyed large possessions, but, like others, have lost them in the progress of ages. Their blood, however, remains to them well ascertained; and they may hope, in the revolution of events, to recover that rank in society for which, in modern times, fortune seems to be an indispensable requisite.

¹ Son of Mr Samuel Paterson, eminent for his knowledge of books.

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If he may attend you in a few of your operations, I hope he will show that the benefit has been properly conferred, both by his proficiency and his gratitude. At least I shall consider you as enlarging your kindness to, Sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 31, 1784.

To the Reverend Dr TAYLOR, Ashbourne, Derbyshire

DEAR SIR,—What can be the reason that I hear nothing from you? I hope nothing disables you from writing. What I have seen, and what I have felt, gives me reason to fear everything. Do not omit giving me the comfort of knowing, that after all my losses I have yet a friend left.

I want every comfort. My life is very solitary and very cheerless. Though it has pleased God wonderfully to deliver me from the dropsy, I am yet very weak, and have not passed the door since the 13th of December. I hope for some help from warm weather, which will surely come in time.

I could not have the consent of the physicians to go to church yesterday; I therefore received the holy Sacrament at home, in the room where I communicated with dear Mrs Williams, a little before her death. O! my friend, the approach of death is very dreadful. I am afraid to think on that which I know I cannot avoid. It is vain to look round and round for that help which cannot be had. Yet we hope and hope, and fancy that he who has lived to-day may live to-morrow. But let us learn to derive our hope only from God.

In the meantime, let us be kind to one another. I have no friend now living, but you and Mr Hector, that was the friend of my youth. Do not neglect, dear Sir, yours affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, *Easter Monday,*
April 12, 1784.

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What follows is a beautiful specimen of his gentleness and complacency to a young lady, his godchild, one of the daughters of his friend Mr Langton, then I think in her seventh year. He took the trouble to write it in a large round hand, nearly resembling printed characters, that she might have the satisfaction of reading it herself. The original lies before me, but shall be faithfully restored to her; and I dare say will be preserved by her as a jewel as long as she lives.

To Miss JANE LANGTON, in Rochester, Kent

MY DEAREST MISS JENNY,—I am sorry that your pretty letter has been so long without being answered; but, when I am not pretty well, I do not always write plain enough for young ladies. I am glad, my dear, to see that you write so well, and hope that you mind your pen, your book, and your needle, for they all are necessary. Your books will give you knowledge, and make you respected; and your needle will find you useful employment when you do not care to read. When you are a little older, I hope you will be very diligent in learning arithmetic; and, above all, that through your whole life you will carefully say your prayers, and read your Bible. I am, my dear, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 10, 1784.

On Wednesday, 5th May, I arrived in London, and next morning had the pleasure to find Dr Johnson greatly recovered. I but just saw him; for a coach was waiting to carry him to Islington, to the house of his friend the Reverend Mr Strahan, where he went sometimes for the benefit of good air, which, notwithstanding his having formerly laughed at the general opinion upon the subject, he now acknowledged was conducive to health.

One morning afterwards, when I found him alone, he communicated to me, with solemn earnestness, a very

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remarkable circumstance which had happened in the course of his illness, when he was much distressed by the dropsy. He had shut himself up, and employed a day in particular exercises of religion — fasting, humiliation, and prayer. On a sudden he obtained extraordinary relief, for which he looked up to heaven with grateful devotion. He made no direct inference from this fact; but from his manner of telling it, I could perceive that it appeared to him as something more than an incident in the common course of events. For my own part, I have no difficulty to avow that cast of thinking, which by many modern pretenders to wisdom is called *superstitious*. But here I think even men of pretty dry rationality may believe that there was an intermediate interposition of divine Providence, and that “the fervent prayer of this righteous man” availed.¹

On Sunday, 9th May, I found Colonel Vallancy, the celebrated antiquarian and engineer of Ireland, with him. On Monday the 10th I dined with him at Mr Paradise’s, where was a large company: Mr Bryant, Mr Joddrel, Mr Hawkins Browne, etc. On Thursday the 13th I dined with him at Mr Joddrel’s, with another large company: the Bishop of Exeter, Lord Monboddo,² Mr Murphy, etc.

¹ Upon this subject there is a very fair and judicious remark in the Life of Dr Abernethy, in the first edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, which I should have been glad to see in his Life which has been written for the second edition of that valuable work: “To deny the exercise of a particular providence in the Deity’s government of the world is certainly impious: yet nothing serves the cause of the scorner more than an incautious forward zeal in determining the particular instances of it.”

In confirmation of my sentiments, I am also happy to quote that sensible and elegant writer Mr Melmoth, in Letter VII. of his collection, published under the name of *Fitzosborne*: “We may safely assert, that the belief of a particular Providence is founded upon such probable reasons as may well justify our assent. It would scarce, therefore, be wise to renounce an opinion which affords so firm a support to the soul, in those seasons wherein she stands in most need of assistance, merely because it is not possible, in questions of this kind, to solve every difficulty which attends them.”

² I was sorry to observe Lord Monboddo avoid any communication with Dr Johnson. I flattered myself that I had made them very good friends (see *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, third edition, page 67), but unhappily

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On Saturday, 15th May, I dined with him at Dr Brocklesby's, where were Colonel Vallancy, Mr Murphy, and that ever-cheerful companion, Mr Devaynes, apothecary to his Majesty. Of these days, and others on which I saw him, I have no memorials, except the general recollection of his being able and animated in conversation, and appearing to relish society as much as the youngest man. I find only these three small particulars: One, when a person was mentioned who said, "I have lived fifty-one years in this world without having had ten minutes of uneasiness," he exclaimed, "The man who says so lies. He attempts to impose on human credulity." The Bishop of Exeter in vain observed that men were very different. His lordship's manner was not impressive, and I learned afterwards that Johnson did not find out that the person who talked to him was a prelate; if he had, I doubt not that he would have treated him with more respect; for, once talking of George Psalmanazar, whom he revered for his piety, he said: "I should as soon think of contradicting a bishop." One of the company provoked him greatly by doing what he could least of all bear, which was quoting something of his own writing, against what he then maintained. "What, sir," cried the gentleman, "do you say to

'The busy day, the peaceful night,
Unfelt, uncounted, glided by'?"

Johnson having thus had himself presented as giving an instance of a man who had lived without uneasiness was much offended, for he looked upon such quotation as unfair. His anger burst out in an unjustifiable retort, insinuating that the gentleman's remark was a sally of ebriety: "Sir, his lordship had resumed and cherished a violent prejudice against my illustrious friend, to whom I must do the justice to say, there was on his part not the least anger, but a good-humoured sportiveness. Nay, though he knew of his lordship's disposition towards him, he was even kindly; as appeared from his inquiring of me after him, by an abbreviation of his name, "Well, how does *Monny*?"

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there is one passion I would advise you to command. When you have drunk out that glass, don't drink another." Here was exemplified what Goldsmith said of him, with the aid of a very witty image from one of Cibber's comedies: "There is no arguing with Johnson; for if his pistol misses fire, he knocks you down with the butt end of it."—Another, when a gentleman of eminence in the literary world was violently censured for attacking people by anonymous paragraphs in newspapers, he, from the spirit of contradiction as I thought, took up his defence, and said: "Come, come, this is not so terrible a crime; he means only to vex them a little. I do not say that I should do it; but there is a great difference between him and me; what is fit for Hephæstion is not fit for Alexander."—Another, when I told him that a young and handsome countess had said to me, "I should think that to be praised by Dr Johnson would make one a fool all one's life"; and that I answered, "Madam, I shall make him a fool to-day, by repeating this to him," he said, "I am too old to be made a fool; but if you say I am, I shall not deny it. I am much pleased with a compliment, especially from a pretty woman."

On the evening of Saturday, 15th May, he was in fine spirits at our Essex Head Club. He told us: "I dined yesterday at Mrs Garrick's, with Mrs Carter, Miss Hannah More, and Miss Fanny Burney. Three such women are not to be found. I know not where I could find a fourth, except Mrs Lennox, who is superior to them all." BOSWELL: What! had you them all to yourself, sir? JOHNSON: I had them all as much as they were had; but it might have been better had there been more company there. BOSWELL: Might not Mrs Montagu have been a fourth? JOHNSON: Sir, Mrs Montagu does not make a trade of her wit. But Mrs Montagu is a very extraordinary woman; she has a constant stream of conversation, and it is always impregnated; it has always meaning. BOSWELL: Mr Burke has a constant stream of conversation. JOHNSON: Yes, sir: if a man were to go by chance at the same time with Burke under a shed to shun a

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shower, he would say this is an extraordinary man. If Burke should go into a stable to see his horse dressed, the ostler would say we have had an extraordinary man here. BOSWELL: Foote was a man who never failed in conversation. If he had gone into a stable—— JOHNSON: Sir, if he had gone into a stable, the ostler would have said here has been a comical fellow; but he would not have respected him. BOSWELL: And, sir, the ostler would have answered him, would have given him as good as he brought, as the common saying is. JOHNSON: Yes, sir; and Foote would have answered the ostler. When Burke does not descend to be merry, his conversation is very superior indeed. There is no proportion between the powers which he shows in serious talk and in jocularity. When he lets himself down to that, he is in the kennel.—I have in another place¹ opposed, and I hope with success, Dr Johnson's very singular and erroneous notion as to Mr Burke's pleasantry. Mr Windham now said low to me, that he differed from our great friend in this observation; for that Mr Burke was often very happy in his merriment. It would not have been right for either of us to have contradicted Johnson at this time, in a society all of whom did not know and value Mr Burke as much as we did. It might have occasioned something more rough, and at any rate would probably have checked the flow of Johnson's good humour. He called to us with a sudden air of exultation, as the thought started into his mind: "O! Gentlemen, I must tell you a very great thing. The Empress of Russia has ordered the *Rambler* to be translated into the Russian language.² So I shall be read on the banks of the Wolga. Horace boasts that his fame would extend as far as the banks of the Rhone; now the Wolga is farther from me than the Rhone was from Horace." BOSWELL: You must certainly be pleased with this, sir. JOHNSON: I am pleased,

¹ *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 3rd edit., p. 20.

² I have since heard that the report was not well founded; but the elation discovered by Johnson in the belief that it was true, showed a noble ardour for literary fame.

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sir, to be sure. A man is pleased to find he has succeeded in that which he has endeavoured to do.

One of the company mentioned his having seen a noble person driving in his carriage, and looking exceedingly well, notwithstanding his great age. JOHNSON: Ah, sir; that is nothing. Bacon observes, that a stout healthy old man is like a tower undermined.

On Sunday, 16th May, I found him alone; he talked of Mrs Thrale with much concern, saying: "Sir, she has done everything wrong since Thrale's bridle was off her neck"; and was proceeding to mention some circumstances which have since been the subject of public discussion, when he was interrupted by the arrival of Dr Douglas, now Bishop of Carlisle.

Dr Douglas, upon this occasion, refuted a mistaken notion which is very common in Scotland, that the ecclesiastical discipline of the Church of England, though duly enforced, is insufficient to preserve the morals of the clergy, inasmuch as all delinquents may be screened by appealing to the Convocation, which being never authorised by the King to sit for the dispatch of business, the appeal never can be heard. Dr Douglas observed, that this was founded upon ignorance; for that the Bishops have sufficient power to maintain discipline, and that the sitting of the Convocation was wholly immaterial in this respect, it being not a court of judicature, but like a parliament, to make canons and regulations as times may require.

Johnson, talking of the fear of death, said: "Some people are not afraid, because they look upon salvation as the effect of an absolute decree, and think they feel in themselves the marks of sanctification. Others, and those the most rational in my opinion, look upon salvation as conditional; and as they never can be sure that they have complied with the conditions, they are afraid."

In one of his little manuscript diaries about this time I find a short notice, which marks his amiable disposition more certainly than a thousand studied declarations:



MRS. FLETCHER LYNNIE BLOZZE
FLETCHER M. BLOZZE

Entered as Second-Class Matter

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"Afternoon spent cheerfully and elegantly, I hope without offence to God or man; though in no holy duty, yet in the general exercise and cultivation of benevolence."

On Monday, 17th May, I dined with him at Mr Dilly's, where were Colonel Vallancy, Reverend Dr Gibbons, and Mr Capel Lofft, who, though a most zealous Whig, has a mind so full of learning and knowledge, and so much in exercise in various exertions, and withal so much liberality, that the stupendous powers of the literary Goliath, though they did not frighten this little David of popular spirit, could not but excite his admiration. There was also Mr Braithwaite of the Post Office, that amiable and friendly man, who, with modest and unassuming manners, has associated with many of the wits of the age. Johnson was very quiescent to-day. Perhaps too I was indolent. I find nothing more of him in my notes, but that when I mentioned that I had seen in the King's library sixty-three editions of my favourite Thomas à Kempis, amongst which it was in eight languages, Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish, English, Arabic, and Armenian, he said, he thought it unnecessary to collect many editions of a book, which were all the same, except as to the paper and print; he would have the original, and all the translations, and all the editions which had any variations in the text. He approved of the famous collection of editions of Horace by Douglas, mentioned by Pope, who is said to have had a closet filled with them; and he said, every man should try to collect one book in that manner, and present it to a public library.

On Tuesday, 17th May, I saw him for a short time in the morning. I told him that the mob had called out, as the King passed, "No Fox—No Fox," which I did not like. He said: "They were right, sir." I said, I thought not, for it seemed to be making Mr Fox the King's competitor. There being no audience, so that there could be no triumph in a victory, he fairly agreed with me. I said it might do very well, if explained thus: "Let us have no Fox";

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understanding it as a prayer to his Majesty not to appoint that gentleman minister.

On Wednesday, 19th May, I sat a part of the evening with him, by ourselves. I observed, that the death of our friends might be a consolation against the fear of our own dissolution, because we might have more friends in the other world than in this. He perhaps felt this as a reflection upon his apprehension as to death; and said, with heat: "How can a man know *where* his departed friends are, or whether they will be his friends in the other world. How many friendships have you known formed upon principles of virtue? Most friendships are formed by caprice or by chance, mere confederacies in vice or leagues in folly."

We talked of our worthy friend Mr Langton. He said: "I know not who will go to Heaven if Langton does not. Sir, I could almost say, *Sit anima mea cum Langtono*." I mentioned a very eminent friend as a virtuous man. JOHNSON: Yes, sir; but — has not the evangelical virtue of Langton. —, I am afraid, would not scruple to pick up a wench.

He however charged Mr Langton with what he thought want of judgment upon an interesting occasion. "When I was ill," said he, "I desired he would tell me sincerely in what he thought my life was faulty. Sir, he brought me a sheet of paper, on which he had written down several texts of Scripture, recommending Christian charity. And when I questioned him what occasion I had given for such an animadversion, all that he could say amounted to this—that I sometimes contradicted people in conversation. Now what harm does it do to any man to be contradicted?" BOSWELL: I suppose he meant the *manner* of doing it; roughly—and harshly. JOHNSON: And who is the worse for that? BOSWELL: It hurts people of weak nerves. JOHNSON: I know no such weak-nerved people.—Mr Burke, to whom I related this conference, said: "It is well, if when a man comes to die, he has nothing heavier upon his conscience than having been a little rough in conversation."

Johnson, at the time when the paper was presented to

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him, though at first pleased with the attention of his friend, whom he thanked in an earnest manner, soon exclaimed, in a loud and angry tone: "What is your drift, sir?" Sir Joshua Reynolds pleasantly observed, that it was a scene for a comedy, to see a penitent get into a violent passion and belabour his confessor.¹

I have preserved no more of his conversation at the times when I saw him during the rest of this month, till Sunday, the 30th of May, when I met him in the evening at Mr Hoole's, where there was a large company both of ladies and gentlemen; Sir James Johnston happened to say, that he paid no regard to the arguments of counsel at the bar of the House of Commons, because they were paid for speaking. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, argument is argument. You cannot help paying regard to their arguments if they are good. If it were testimony you might disregard it, if you knew that it were purchased. There is a beautiful image in Bacon upon this subject; testimony is like an arrow shot from a long bow; the force of it depends on the strength of the hand that draws it. Argument is like an arrow from a cross-bow, which has equal force though shot by a child. ?

He had dined that day at Mr Hoole's, and Miss Helen Maria Williams being expected in the evening, Mr Hoole put into his hands her beautiful *Ode on the*

¹ After all, I cannot but be of opinion, that as Mr Langton was seriously requested by Dr Johnson to mention what appeared to him erroneous in the character of his friend, he was bound, as an honest man, to intimate what he really thought, which he certainly did in the most delicate manner; so that Johnson himself, when in a quiet frame, was pleased with it. The texts suggested are now before me, and I shall quote a few of them. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."—*Mat.* v. 5. "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called. With all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love."—*Ephes.* v. 1, 2. "And above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness."—*Col.* iii. 14. "Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not, charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up: doth not behave itself unseemly, is not easily provoked."—*1 Cor.* xiii. 4, 5.

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*Peace*¹; Johnson read it over, and when this amiable, elegant, and accomplished young lady was presented to him, he took her by the hand in the most courteous manner, and repeated the finest stanza of her poem; this was the most delicate and pleasing compliment he could pay. Her respectable friend, Dr Kippis, from whom I had this anecdote, was standing by, and was not a little gratified.

Miss Williams told me, that the only other time she was fortunate enough to be in Dr Johnson's company, he asked her to sit down by him, which she did, and upon her inquiring how he was, he answered: "I am very ill indeed, madam. I am very ill even when you are near me; what should I be were you at a distance?"

He had now a great desire to go to Oxford, as his first jaunt after his illness; we talked of it for some days, and I had promised to accompany him. He was impatient and fretful to-night, because I did not at once agree to go with him on Thursday. When I considered how ill he had been, and what allowance should be made for the influence of sickness upon his temper, I resolved to indulge him, though with some inconvenience to myself, as I wished to attend the musical meeting in honour of Handel, in Westminster Abbey, on the following Saturday.

In the midst of his own diseases and pains, he was ever compassionate to the distresses of others, and actively earnest in procuring them aid, as appears from a note to Sir Joshua Reynolds, of 1st June, in these words: "I am ashamed to ask for some relief for a poor man, to whom, I hope, I have given what I can be expected to spare. The man importunes me and the blow goes round. I am going to try another air on Thursday."

On Thursday, 3rd June, the Oxford post-coach took us up in the morning at Bolt Court. The other two passengers were Mrs Beresford and her daughter, two very agreeable

¹ The *Peace* made by that very able statesman, the Earl of Shelburne, now Marquis of Lansdowne, which may fairly be considered as the foundation of all the prosperity of Great Britain since that time.

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ladies from America; they were going to Worcestershire, where they then resided. Frank had been sent by his master the day before to take places for us; and I found from the way-bill, that Dr Johnson had made our names be put down. Mrs Beresford, who had read it, whispered me: "Is this the great Dr Johnson?" I told her it was; so she was then prepared to listen. As she soon happened to mention in a voice so low that Johnson did not hear it, that her husband had been a member of the American Congress, I cautioned her to beware of introducing that subject, as she must know how very violent Johnson was against the people of that country. He talked a great deal, but I am sorry I have preserved little of the conversation. Miss Beresford was so much charmed, that she said to me aside: "How he does talk! Every sentence is an essay." She amused herself in the coach with knotting; he would scarcely allow this species of employment any merit. "Next to mere idleness," said he, "I think knotting is to be reckoned in the scale of insignificance; though I once attempted to learn knotting. Dempster's sister (looking to me) endeavoured to teach me it; but I made no progress."

I was surprised at his talking without reserve in the public post-coach of the state of his affairs: "I have," said he, "about the world I think above a thousand pounds, which I intend shall afford Frank an annuity of seventy pounds a year."

At the inn where we stopped he was exceedingly dissatisfied with some roast mutton which we had for dinner. The ladies I saw wondered to see the great philosopher, whose wisdom and wit they had been admiring all the way, get into ill-humour from such a cause. He scolded the waiter, saying: "It is as bad as bad can be. It is ill-fed, ill-killed, ill-kept, and ill-dressed."

He bore the journey very well, and seemed to feel himself elevated as he approached Oxford, that magnificent and venerable seat of Learning, Orthodoxy, and Toryism. Frank came in the heavy coach, in readiness to attend him;

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and we were received with the most polite hospitality at the house of his old friend Dr Adams, Master of Pembroke College, who had given us a kind invitation. Before we were set down, I communicated to Johnson my having engaged to return to London directly, for the reason I have mentioned, but that I would hasten down to him again. He was pleased that I had made this journey merely to keep him company. He was easy and placid, with Dr Adams, Mrs and Miss Adams, and Mrs Kennicot, widow of the learned Hebræan, who was here on a visit. He soon dispatched the inquiries which were made about his illness and recovery, by a short and distinct narrative ; and then, assuming a gay air, repeated from Swift,

“Nor think on our approaching ills,
And talk of spectacles and pills.”

Dr Newton, the Bishop of Bristol, having been mentioned, Johnson, recollecting the manner in which he had been mentioned by that Prelate,¹ thus retaliated: “Tom

¹ Dr Newton in his Account of his own Life, after animadverting upon Mr Gibbon's *History*, says, “Dr Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* afforded more amusement ; but candour was much hurt and offended at the malevolence that predominates in every part. Some passages, it must be allowed, are judicious and well written, but make not sufficient compensation for so much spleen and ill humour. Never was any biographer more sparing of his praise, or more abundant in his censures. He seemingly delights more in exposing blemishes, than in recommending beauties ; slightly passes over excellencies, enlarges upon imperfections, and not content with his own severe reflections, revives old scandal, and produces large quotations from the forgotten works of former critics. His reputation was so high in the republic of letters, that it wanted not to be raised upon the ruins of others. But these Essays, instead of raising a higher idea than was before entertained of his understanding, have certainly given the world a worse opinion of his temper.” The Bishop was therefore the more surprised and concerned for his townsman, for he “respected him not only for his genius and learning, but valued him much more for the more amiable part of his character, his humanity and charity, his morality and religion.” The last sentence we may consider as the general and permanent opinion of Bishop Newton ; the remarks which precede it must, by all who have read Johnson's admirable work, be imputed to the

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knew he should be dead before what he has said of me would appear. He durst not have printed it while he was alive." DR ADAMS: I believe his *Dissertations on the Prophecies* is his great work. JOHNSON: Why, sir, it is *Tom's* great work; but how far it is great, or how much of it is *Tom's*, are other questions. I fancy a considerable part of it was borrowed. DR ADAMS: He was a very successful man. JOHNSON: I don't think so, sir. He did not get very high. He was late in getting what he did get; and he did not get it by the best means. I believe he was a gross flatterer.

I fulfilled my intention by going to London, and returned to Oxford on Wednesday the 9th of June, when I was happy to find myself again in the same agreeable circle at Pembroke College, with the comfortable prospect of making some stay. Johnson welcomed my return with more than ordinary glee.

He talked with great regard of the Honourable Archibald Campbell, whose character he had given at the Duke of Argyll's table, when we were at Inveraray¹; and at this time wrote out for me, in his own hand, a fuller account of that learned and venerable writer, which I have published in its proper place. Johnson made a remark this evening which struck me a good deal. "I never," said he, "knew a nonjuror who could reason." Surely he did not mean to deny that faculty to many of their writers; to Hickes, Brett, and other eminent divines of that persuasion; and did not recollect that the Seven Bishops, so justly celebrated for their magnanimous resistance of arbitrary power, were yet nonjurors to the new Government. The nonjuring clergy of Scotland, indeed, who, excepting a few, have lately, by a sudden stroke, cut off all ties of allegiance to the House of

disgust and peevishness of old age. I wish it had not appeared, and that Dr Johnson had not been provoked by it to express himself, not in respectful terms, of a Prelate, whose labours were certainly of considerable advantage both to literature and religion.

¹ *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 3rd edit., p. 371.

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Stuart, and resolved to pray for our present lawful Sovereign by name, may be thought to have confirmed this remark; as it may be said, that the divine indefeasible hereditary right which they professed to believe, if ever true, must be equally true still. Many of my readers will be surprised when I mention that Johnson assured me he had never in his life been in a nonjuring meeting-house.

Next morning at breakfast, he pointed out a passage in Savage's *Wanderer*, saying: "These are fine verses." "If," said he, "I had written with hostility of Warburton in my Shakspeare, I should have quoted this couplet:

' Here Learning, blinded first, and then beguil'd,
Looks dark as Ignorance, as Fancy wild.'

You see they'd have fitted him to a T," smiling. DR ADAMS: But you did not write against Warburton? JOHNSON: No, sir, I treated him with great respect both in my Preface and in my Notes.

Mrs Kennicot spoke of her brother, the Reverend Mr Chamberlayne, who had given up good preferments in the Church of England on his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. Johnson, who warmly admired every man who acted from a conscientious regard to principle, erroneous or not, exclaimed fervently: "God bless him."

Mrs Kennicot, in confirmation of Dr Johnson's opinion, that the present was not worse than former ages, mentioned that her brother assured her there was now less infidelity on the Continent than there had been; Voltaire and Rousseau were less read. I asserted, from good authority, that Hume's infidelity was certainly less read. JOHNSON: All infidel writers drop into oblivion, when personal connections and the floridness of novelty are gone; though now and then a foolish fellow, who thinks he can be witty upon them, may bring them again into notice. There will sometimes start up a college joker, who does not consider that what is a joke in a college will not do in the world. To such defenders of

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religion I would apply a stanza of a poem which I remember to have seen in some old collection :

“Henceforth be quiet and agree,
Each kiss his empty brother ;
Religion scorns a foe like thee,
But dreads a friend like t’other.”

The point is well, though the expression is not correct ; *one*, and not *thee*, should be opposed to *t’other*.¹

On the Roman Catholic religion he said : “ If you join the Papists externally, they will not interrogate you strictly as to your belief in their tenets. No reasoning Papist believes every article of their faith. There is one side on which a good man might be persuaded to embrace it. A good man, of a timorous disposition, in great doubt of his acceptance with God, and pretty credulous, might be glad to be of a Church where there are so many helps to get to Heaven. I would be a Papist if I could. I have fear enough ; but an obstinate rationality prevents me. I shall never be a Papist, unless on the near approach of death, of which I have a very great terror. I wonder that women are not all Papists.” BOSWELL : They are not more afraid of death than men are. JOHNSON : Because they are less wicked. DR ADAMS : They are more pious. JOHNSON : No, hang ’em, they are not more pious.

¹ I have inserted the stanza as Johnson repeated it from memory ; but I have since found the poem itself, in *The Foundling Hospital for Wit*, printed at London, 1749. It is as follows :

EPIGRAM, occasioned by a religious Dispute at Bath

On Reason, Faith, and Mystery high,
Two wits harangue the table ;
B——y believes he knows not why,
N—— swears ’tis all a fable.

Peace, coxcombs, peace, and both agree,
N——, kiss thy empty brother ;
Religion laughs at foes like thee,
And dreads a friend like t’other.

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A wicked fellow is the most pious when he takes to it. He'll beat you all at piety.

He argued in defence of some of the peculiar tenets of the Church of Rome. As to the giving the bread only to the laity, he said: "They may think, that in what is merely ritual, deviations from the primitive mode may be admitted on the ground of convenience, and I think they are as well warranted to make this alteration, as we are to substitute sprinkling in the room of the ancient baptism." As to the invocation of saints, he said: "Though I do not think it authorised, it appears to me that 'the communion of saints' in the Creed means the communion with the saints in Heaven, as connected with 'The Holy Catholic Church.'"¹ He admitted the influence of evil spirits upon our minds, and said: "Nobody who believes the New Testament can deny it." I brought a volume of Dr Hurd, the Bishop of Worcester's *Sermons*, and read to the company some passages from one of them, upon this text, "*Resist the Devil and he will fly from you.*"—James iv. 7.

I was happy to produce so judicious and elegant a supporter² of a doctrine, which, I know not why, should in

¹ Waller, in his *Divine Poësie*, canto first, has the same thought finely expressed:

"The Church triumphant, and the Church below,
In songs of praise their present union show:
Their joys are full; our expectation long,
In life we differ, but we join in song;
Angels and we assisted by this art,
May sing together, though we dwell apart."

² The sermon thus opens: "That there are angels and spirits good and bad; that at the head of these last there is one more considerable and malignant than the rest, who in the form, or under the name of a *serpent*, was deeply concerned in the fall of man, and whose *head*, as the prophetic language is, the son of man was one day to *bruise*; that this evil spirit, though that prophecy be in part completed, has not yet received his death's wound, but is still permitted, for ends unsearchable to us, and in ways which we cannot particularly explain, to have a certain degree of power in this world hostile to its virtue and happiness, and sometimes exerted with too much success; all this is so clear from Scripture, that no believer,

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this world of imperfect knowledge, and therefore of wonder and mystery in a thousand instances, be contested by some with an unthinking assurance and flippancy.

After dinner, when one of us talked of there being a great enmity between Whig and Tory—JOHNSON: Why not so much, I think, unless when they come into competition with each other. There is none when they are only common acquaintance, none when they are of different sexes. A Tory will marry into a Whig family, and a Whig into a Tory family, without any reluctance. But indeed in a matter of much more concern than political tenets, and that is religion, men and women do not concern themselves much about difference of opinion. And ladies set no value on the moral character of men who pay their addresses to them; the greatest profligate will be as well received as the man of the greatest virtue, and this by a very good woman, by a woman who says her prayers three times a day.—Our ladies endeavoured to defend their sex from this charge; but he roared them down: “No, no;

unless he be first of all *spoiled by philosophy and vain deceit*, can possibly entertain a doubt of it.”

Having treated of *possessions*, his lordship says: “As I have no authority to affirm that there *are* now any such, so neither may I presume to say with confidence that there *are not* any.”

“But then with regard to the influence of evil spirits at this day upon the souls of men, I shall take leave to be a great deal more peremptory.—[Then, having stated the various proofs], All this I say is so manifest to everyone who reads the Scriptures, that if we respect their authority, the question concerning the reality of the demonic influence upon the minds of men is clearly determined.”

Let it be remembered, that these are not the words of an antiquated or obscure enthusiast, but of a learned and polite Prelate now alive; and were spoken, not to a vulgar congregation, but to the Honourable Society of Lincoln’s Inn. His lordship in this sermon explains the words, “deliver us from evil,” in the Lord’s Prayer, as signifying a request to be protected from “the evil one”—that is, the Devil. This is well illustrated in a short but excellent Commentary by my late worthy friend, the Reverend Dr Lort, of whom it may truly be said, *Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit*. It is remarkable that Waller in his *Reflections on the several Petitions*, in that sacred form of devotion, has understood this in the same sense,

“Guard us from all temptations of the Fox.”

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a lady will take Jonathan Wild as readily as St Austin, if he has threepence more; and, what is worse, her parents will give her to him. Women have a perpetual envy of our vices; they are less vicious than we, not from choice, but because we restrict them; they are the slaves of order and fashion; their virtue is of more consequence to us than our own, so far as concerns this world."

Miss Adams mentioned a gentleman of licentious character, and said: "Suppose I had a mind to marry that gentleman, would my parents consent?" JOHNSON: Yes, they'd consent, and you'd go. You'd go though they did not consent. MISS ADAMS: Perhaps their opposing might make me go. JOHNSON: Oh, very well; you'd take one whom you think a bad man, to have the pleasure of vexing your parents. You put me in mind of Dr Barrowby the physician, who was very fond of swine's flesh. One day when he was eating it, he said: "I wish I was a Jew." "Why so?" said somebody; "the Jews are not allowed to eat your favourite meat." "Because," said he, "I should then have the gust of eating it, with the pleasure of sinning."—He then proceeded in his declamation.

Miss Adams soon afterwards made an observation that I do not recollect, which pleased him much; he said with a good-humoured smile, "That there should be so much excellence united with so much depravity is strange."

Indeed, this lady's good qualities, merit, and accomplishments, and her constant attention to Dr Johnson, were not lost upon him. She happened to tell him that a little coffee-pot, in which she had made his coffee, was the only thing she could call her own. He turned to her with a complacent gallantry: "Don't say so, my dear; I hope you don't reckon my heart as nothing."

I asked him if it was true, as reported, that he had said lately: "I am for the King against Fox; but I am for Fox against Pitt." JOHNSON: Yes, sir; the King is my master; but I do not know Pitt; and Fox is my friend.

"Fox," added he, "is a most extraordinary man; here is

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a man " (describing him in strong terms of objection in some respects according as he apprehended, but which exalted his abilities the more) "who has divided the kingdom with Cæsar ; so that it was a doubt whether the nation should be ruled by the sceptre of George the Third, or the tongue of Fox."

Dr Wall, physician at Oxford, drank tea with us. Johnson had in general a peculiar pleasure in the company of physicians, which was certainly not abated by the conversation of this learned, ingenious, and pleasing gentleman. Johnson said : " It is wonderful how little good Radcliffe's travelling fellowships have done. I know nothing that has been imported by them ; yet many additions to our medical knowledge might be got in foreign countries. Inoculation, for instance, has saved more lives than war destroys. And the cures performed by the Peruvian bark are innumerable. But it is in vain to send our travelling physicians to France, and Italy, and Germany, for all that is known there is known here ; I'd send them out of Christendom ; I'd send them among barbarous nations."

On Friday, 11th June, we talked at breakfast, of forms of prayer. JOHNSON : I know of no good prayers but those in the " Book of Common Prayer." DR ADAMS (in a very earnest manner) : I wish, sir, you would compose some family prayers. JOHNSON : I will not compose prayers for you, sir, because you can do it for yourself. But I have thought of getting together all the books of prayers which I could, selecting those which should appear to me the best, putting out some, inserting others, adding some prayers of my own, and prefixing a discourse on prayer.—We all now gathered about him, and two or three of us at a time joined in pressing him to execute this plan. He seemed to be a little displeased at the manner of our importunity, and in great agitation called out : " Do not talk thus of what is so awful. I know not what time God will allow me in this world. There are many things which I wish to do." Some of us persisted, and Dr Adams said : " I never was more serious about anything in my life." JOHNSON : Let me alone, let

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me alone; I am overpowered.—And then he put his hands before his face, and reclined for some time upon the table.

I mentioned Jeremy Taylor's using, in his forms of prayer, "I am the chief of sinners," and other such self-condemning expressions. "Now," said I, "this cannot be said with truth by every man, and therefore is improper for a general printed form. I myself cannot say that I am the worst of men. I will not say so." JOHNSON: A man may know that physically, that is, in the real state of things, he is not the worst man; but that morally he may be so. Law observes, that "Every man knows something worse of himself, than he is sure of in others." You may not have committed such crimes as some men have done; but you do not know against what degree of light they have sinned. Besides, sir, "the chief of sinners" is a mode of expression for "I am a great sinner." So St Paul, speaking of our Saviour's having died to save sinners, says, "of whom I am the chief": yet he certainly did not think himself so bad as Judas Iscariot. BOSWELL: But, sir, Taylor means it literally, for he founds a conceit upon it. When praying for the conversion of sinners, and of himself in particular, he says: "Lord, thou wilt not leave thy *chief* work undone." JOHNSON: I do not approve of figurative expressions in addressing the Supreme Being; and I never use them. Taylor gives a very good advice: "Never lie in your prayers; never confess more than you really believe; never promise more than you mean to perform."—I recollected this precept in his *Golden Grove*. But his *example* for prayer contradicts his *precept*.

Dr Johnson and I went in Dr Adams's coach to dine with Dr Nowell, Principal of St Mary Hall, at his beautiful villa at Iffley, on the banks of the Isis, about two miles from Oxford. While we were upon the road I had the resolution to ask Johnson whether he thought that the roughness of his manner had been an advantage or not, and if he would not have done more good if he had been more gentle? I proceeded to answer myself thus: "Perhaps it has been of advantage, as it has given weight to what you said. You

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could not, perhaps, have talked with such authority without it." JOHNSON: No, sir; I have done more good as I am. Obscenity and Impiety have always been repressed in my company. BOSWELL: True, sir; and that is more than can be said of every bishop. Greater liberties have been taken in the presence of a bishop, though a very good man, from his being milder, and therefore not commanding such awe. Yet, sir, many people who might have been benefited by your conversation, have been frightened away. A worthy friend of ours has told me, that he has often been afraid to talk to you. JOHNSON: Sir, he need not have been afraid, if he had anything rational to say. If he had not, it was better he did not talk.

Dr Nowell is celebrated for having preached a sermon before the House of Commons, on the 30th of January 1772, full of high Tory sentiments, for which he was thanked as usual, and printed it at their request; but, in the midst of that turbulence and faction which disgraced a part of the present reign, the thanks were afterwards ordered to be expunged. This strange conduct sufficiently exposes itself; and Dr Nowell will ever have the honour which is due to a lofty friend of our monarchical constitution. Dr Johnson said to me: "Sir, the Court will be very much to blame if he is not promoted." I told this to Dr Nowell, and asserting my humbler, though not less zealous exertions in the same cause, I suggested that whatever return we might receive, we should still have the consolation of being like Butler's steady and generous Royalist:

"True as the dial to the sun,
Although it be not shone upon."

We were well entertained and very happy at Dr Nowell's, where was a very agreeable company, and we drank "Church and King" after dinner, with true Tory cordiality.

We talked of a certain clergyman of extraordinary character, who by exerting his talents in writing on temporary

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topics, and displaying uncommon intrepidity, had raised himself to affluence. I maintained that we ought not to be indignant at his success; for merit of every sort was entitled to reward. JOHNSON: Sir, I will not allow this man to have merit. No, sir; what he has is rather the contrary; I will, indeed, allow him courage, and on this account we so far give him credit. We have more respect for a man who robs boldly on the highway, than for a fellow who jumps out of a ditch and knocks you down behind your back. Courage is a quality so necessary for maintaining virtue, that it is always respected, even when it is associated with vice.

I censured the coarse invective which was become fashionable in the House of Commons, and said that if Members of Parliament must attack each other personally in the heat of debate, it should be done more genteelly. JOHNSON: No, sir; that would be much worse. Abuse is not so dangerous when there is no vehicle of wit or delicacy, no subtle conveyance. The difference between coarse and refined abuse is as the difference between being bruised by a club and wounded by a poisoned arrow.—I have since observed his position elegantly expressed by Dr Young:

“As the soft plume gives swiftness to the dart,
Good breeding sends the satire to the heart.”

On Saturday, 12th June, there drank tea with us at Dr Adams's, Mr John Henderson, student of Pembroke College, celebrated for his wonderful acquirements in Alchemy, Judicial Astrology, and other abstruse and curious learning; and the Reverend Herbert Croft, who I am afraid was somewhat mortified by Dr Johnson's not being highly pleased with some *Family Discourses*, which he had printed; they were in too familiar a style to be approved of by so manly a mind. I have no note of this evening's conversation, except a single fragment. When I mentioned Thomas Lord Lyttelton's vision, the prediction of the time of his death, and its exact fulfilment—JOHNSON: It is the most extraordinary thing that has happened in my day. I heard it

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with my own ears, from his uncle, Lord Westcote. I am so glad to have every evidence of the spiritual world, that I am willing to believe it. DR ADAMS: You have evidence enough; good evidence, which needs not such support. JOHNSON: I like to have more.

Mr Henderson, with whom I had sauntered in the venerable walks of Merton College, and found him a very learned and pious man, supped with us. Dr Johnson surprised him not a little, by acknowledging with a look of horror, that he was much oppressed by the fear of death. The amiable Dr Adams suggested that God was infinitely good. JOHNSON: That He is infinitely good, as far as the perfection of His nature will allow, I certainly believe; but it is necessary for good upon the whole, that individuals should be punished. As to an *individual* therefore, He is not infinitely good; and as I cannot be *sure* that I have fulfilled the conditions on which salvation is granted, I am afraid I may be one of those who shall be damned (looking dismally). DR ADAMS: What do you mean by damned? JOHNSON (passionately and loudly): Sent to Hell, sir, and punished everlastingly. DR ADAMS: I don't believe that doctrine. JOHNSON: Hold, sir; do you believe that some will be punished at all? DR ADAMS: Being excluded from Heaven will be a punishment; yet there may be no great positive suffering. JOHNSON: Well, sir; but if you admit any degree of punishment, there is an end of your argument for infinite goodness simply considered; for, infinite goodness would inflict no punishment whatever. There is not infinite goodness physically considered; morally there is. BOSWELL: But may not a man attain to such a degree of hope as not to be uneasy from the fear of death? JOHNSON: A man may have such a degree of hope as to keep him quiet. You see I am not quiet, from the vehemence with which I talk; but I do not despair. MRS ADAMS: You seem, sir, to forget the merits of our Redeemer. JOHNSON: Madam, I do not forget the merits of my Redeemer; but my Redeemer has said that He will set some on His right hand,

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and some on His left.—He was in gloomy agitation, and said : “ I’ll have no more on’t.” If what has now been stated should be urged by the enemies of Christianity, as if its influence on the mind were not benignant, let it be remembered that Johnson’s temperament was melancholy, of which such direful apprehensions of futurity are often a common effect. We shall presently see that when he approached nearer to his awful change, his mind became tranquil, and he exhibited as much fortitude as becomes a thinking man in that situation.

From the subject of death we passed to discourse of life, whether it was upon the whole more happy or miserable. Johnson was decidedly for the balance of misery : in confirmation of which I maintained, that no man would choose to lead over again the life which he had experienced. Johnson acceded to that opinion in the strongest terms. This is an inquiry often made ; and its being a subject of disquisition is a proof that much misery presses upon human feelings ; for those who are conscious of a felicity of existence, would never hesitate to accept of a repetition of it. I have met with very few who would. I have heard Mr Burke make use of a very ingenious and plausible argument on this subject. “ Every man,” said he, “ would lead his life over again ; for, every man is willing to go on and take an addition to his life, which as he grows older, he has no reason to think will be better, or even so good as what has preceded.” I imagine, however, the truth is, that there is a deceitful hope that the next part of life will be free from the pains, and anxieties, and sorrows which we have already felt. We are for wise purposes “ Condemn’d to Hope’s delusive mine,” as Johnson finely says ; and I may also quote the celebrated lines of Dryden, equally philosophical and poetical :

“ When I consider life, ’tis all a cheat,
Yet fool’d with hope, men favour the deceit ;
Trust on and think to-morrow will repay ;
To-morrow’s falser than the former day ;

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Lies worse ; and while it says we shall be blest
With some new joys, cuts off what we possess.
Strange cozenage ! none would live past years again ;
Yet all hope pleasure in what yet remain ;
And from the dregs of life think to receive,
What the first sprightly running could not give.”¹

It was observed to Dr Johnson, that it seemed strange that he, who has so often delighted his company by his lively and brilliant conversation, should say he was miserable. JOHNSON: Alas ! it is all outside ; I may be cracking my joke and cursing the sun. *Sun, how I hate thy beams !*—I knew not well what to think of this declaration ; whether to hold it as a genuine picture of his mind,² or as the effect of his persuading himself contrary to fact, that the position which he had assumed as to human unhappiness, was true. We may apply to him a sentence in Mr Greville’s *Maxims, Characters, and Reflections* ³ ; a book which is entitled to much more praise than it has received : “ Aristarchus is charming : how full of knowledge, of sense, of sentiment. You get him with difficulty to your supper ; and after having delighted everybody and himself for a few hours, he is obliged to return home—he is finishing his treatise, to prove that unhappiness is the portion of man.”

On Sunday, 13th June, our philosopher was calm at breakfast. There was something exceedingly pleasing in our leading a College life, without restraint, and with superior elegance, in consequence of our living in the Master’s house, and having the company of ladies. Mrs Kennicott related, in his presence, a lively saying of Dr Johnson to Miss Hannah More, who had expressed a wonder that the poet who had written *Paradise Lost*, should write such poor

¹ *Aurengzebe*.

² Yet there is no doubt that a man may appear very gay in company who is sad at heart. His merriment is like the sound of drums and trumpets in a battle, to drown the groans of the wounded and dying.

³ Page 139.

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sonnets: "Milton, madam, was a genius that could cut a Colossus from a rock; but could not carve heads upon cherry-stones."

We talked of the casuistical question, Whether it was allowable at any time to depart from Truth? JOHNSON: The general rule is, that Truth should never be violated, because it is of the utmost importance to the comfort of life that we should have a full security by mutual faith; and occasional inconveniencies should be willingly suffered that we may preserve it. There must, however, be some exceptions. If, for instance, a murderer should ask you which way a man is gone, you may tell him what is not true, because you are under a previous obligation not to betray a man to a murderer. BOSWELL: Supposing the person who wrote *Junius* were asked whether he was the author, might he deny it? JOHNSON: I don't know what to say to this. If you were *sure* that he wrote *Junius*, would you, if he denied it, think as well of him afterwards? Yet it may be urged, that what a man has no right to ask, you may refuse to communicate; and there is no other effectual mode of preserving a secret, and an important secret, the discovery of which may be very hurtful to you, but a flat denial; for if you are silent, or hesitate, or evade, it will be held equivalent to a confession. But stay, sir; here is another case. Supposing the author had told me confidentially that he had written *Junius*, and I were asked if he had, I should hold myself at liberty to deny it, as being under a previous promise, express or implied, to conceal it. Now what I ought to do for the author, may I not do for myself? But I deny the lawfulness of telling a lie to a sick man for fear of alarming him. You have no business with consequences: you are to tell the truth. Besides, you are not sure what effect your telling him that he is in danger may have. It may bring his distemper to a crisis, and that may cure him. Of all lying I have the greatest abhorrence at this, because I believe it has been frequently practised on myself.

I cannot help thinking, that there is much weight in the

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opinion of those who have held that Truth, as an eternal and immutable principle, ought, upon no account whatever, to be violated, from supposed previous or superior obligations, of which every man being the judge for himself, there is great danger that we may too often, from partial motives, persuade ourselves that they exist; and probably whatever extraordinary instances may sometimes occur, where some evil may be prevented by violating this noble principle, it would be found that human happiness would, upon the whole, be more perfect were Truth universally preserved.

In the Notes to the *Dunciad* we find the following elegant and pathetic verses, addressed to Pope¹ :—

“ While malice, Pope, denies thy page
Its own celestial fire;
While critics, and while bards in rage
Admiring, won’t admire :

While wayward pens thy worth assail,
And envious tongues decry;
These times, though many a friend bewail,
These times bewail not I.

But when the world’s loud praise is thine,
And spleen no more shall blame;
When with thy Homer thou shalt shine
In one establish’d fame,

When none shall rail, and every lay
Devote a wreath to thee :
That day (for come it will) that day
Shall I lament to see.”

It is surely not a little remarkable, that they should appear without a name. Miss Seward, knowing Dr Johnson’s almost universal and minute literary information, signified

¹ The annotator calls them “amiable verses.”

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a desire that I should ask him who was the author. He was prompt with his answer: "Why, sir, they were written by one Lewis, an under-master or usher of Westminster School, who published a miscellany, in which *Grongar Hill* first came out." Johnson praised them highly, and repeated them with a noble animation. In the twelfth line, instead of "one established fame," he repeated "one unclouded flame," which he thought was the reading in former editions; but I believe was a flash of his own genius. It is much more poetical than the other.

On Monday, 14th, and Tuesday, 15th June, Dr Johnson and I dined on one of them, I forget which, with Mr Mickle, translator of *The Lusiad*, at Wheatley, a very pretty country place a few miles from Oxford; and on the other with Dr Wetherell, Master of University College. From Dr Wetherell's he went to visit Mr Sackville Parker, the bookseller; and when he returned to us, gave the following account of his visit, saying: "I have been to see my old friend, Sack. Parker; I find he has married his maid; he has done right. She had lived with him many years in great confidence, and they had mingled minds; I do not think he could have found any wife that would have made him so happy. The woman was very attentive and civil to me; she pressed me to fix a day for dining with them, and to say what I liked, and she would be sure to get it for me. Poor Sack! He is very ill indeed. We parted as never to meet again. It has quite broke me down." This pathetic narrative was strangely diversified with the grave and earnest defence of a man's having married his maid. I could not but feel it as in some degree ludicrous.

In the morning of Tuesday, 15th June, while we sat at Dr Adams's, we talked of a printed letter from the Reverend Herbert Croft, to a young gentleman who had been his pupil, in which he advised him to read to the end of whatever books he should begin to read. JOHNSON: This is surely a strange advice; you may as well resolve that whatever men you happen to get acquainted with, you are to keep to them

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for life. A book may be good for nothing; or there may be only one thing in it worth knowing; are we to read it all through? These *Voyages* (pointing to the three large volumes of *Voyages to the South Sea*, which were just come out), *who* will read them through? A man had better work his way before the mast, than read them through; they will be eaten by rats and mice before they are read through. There can be little entertainment in such books; one set of savages is like another. BOSWELL: I do not think the people of Otaheite can be reckoned savages. JOHNSON: Don't cant in defence of savages. BOSWELL: They have the art of navigation. JOHNSON: A dog or a cat can swim. BOSWELL: They carve very ingeniously. JOHNSON: A cat can scratch, and a child with a nail can scratch.—I perceived this was none of the *mollia tempora fandi*, so desisted.

Upon his mentioning that when he came to college he wrote his first exercise twice over, but never did so afterwards—MISS ADAMS: I suppose, sir, you could not make them better. JOHNSON: Yes, madam, to be sure, I could make them better. Thought is better than no thought. MISS ADAMS: Do you think, sir, you could make your *Ramblers* better? JOHNSON: Certainly I could. BOSWELL: I'll lay a bet, sir, you cannot. JOHNSON: But I will, sir, if I choose. I shall make the best of them you shall pick out, better. BOSWELL: But you may add to them. I will not allow of that. JOHNSON: Nay, sir, there are three ways of making them better: putting out—adding—or correcting.

During our visit at Oxford, the following conversation passed between him and me on the subject of my trying my fortune at the English bar. Having asked whether a very extensive acquaintance in London, which was very valuable, and of great advantage to a man at large, might not be prejudicial to a lawyer, by preventing him from giving sufficient attention to business—JOHNSON: Sir, you will attend to business as business lays hold of you. When not actually employed, you may see your friends as much as you do now. You may dine at a club every day, and sup with one of the

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members every night ; and you may be as much at public places as one who has seen them all would wish to be. But you must take care to attend constantly in Westminster Hall ; both to mind your business, as it is almost all learnt there (for nobody reads now), and to show that you want to have business. And you must not be too often seen at public places, that competitors may not have it to say : " He is always at the Playhouse or at Ranelagh, and never to be found at his chambers." And, sir, there must be a kind of solemnity in the manner of a professional man. I have nothing particular to say to you on the subject. All this I should say to anyone ; I should have said it to Lord Thurlow twenty years ago.

The Profession may probably think this representation of what is required in a barrister who would hope for success, to be by much too indulgent ; but certain it is, that as

" The wits of Charles found easier ways to fame,"

some of the lawyers of this age who have risen high, have by no means thought it absolutely necessary to submit to that long and painful course of study which a Plowden, a Coke, a Hale considered as requisite. My respected friend, Mr Langton, has shown me, in the handwriting of his grandfather, a curious account of a conversation which he had with Lord Chief Justice Hale, in which that great man tells him, " That for two years after he came to the inn of court, he studied sixteen hours a day ; however (his lordship added), that by this intense application he almost brought himself to his grave, though he were of a very strong constitution, and after reduced himself to eight hours ; but that he would not advise anybody to so much ; that he thought six hours a day, with attention and constancy, was sufficient ; that a man must use his body as he would his horse, and his stomach ; not tire him at once, but rise with an appetite."

On Wednesday, 19th June, Dr Johnson and I returned to London ; he was not well to-day, and said very little,

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employing himself chiefly in reading Euripides. He expressed some displeasure at me, for not observing sufficiently the various objects upon the road. "If I had your eyes, sir," said he, "I should count the passengers." It was wonderful how accurate his observations of visual objects was, notwithstanding his imperfect eyesight, owing to a habit of attention. That he was much satisfied with the respect paid to him at Dr Adams's is thus attested by himself: "I returned last night from Oxford, after a fortnight's abode with Dr Adams, who treated me as well as I could expect or wish; and he that contents a sick man, a man whom it is impossible to please, has surely done his part well."¹

After his return to London from this excursion I saw him frequently, but have few memorandums; I shall therefore here insert some particulars which I collected at various times.²

The Reverend Mr Astle, of Ashbourne in Derbyshire, brother to the learned and ingenious Thomas Astle, Esq.,

¹ *Letters to Mrs Thrale*, vol. ii., page 372.

² Having unexpectedly by the favour of Mr Stone, of London Field, Hackney, seen the original in Johnson's handwriting, of "The Petition of the City of London to his Majesty, in favour of Dr Dodd," I now present it to my readers, with such passages as were omitted, enclosed in crotchets, and the additions or variations marked in italics.

"That William Dodd, Doctor of Laws, now lying under sentence of death in *your Majesty's* gaol of Newgate, for the crime of forgery, has for a great part of his life set an useful and laudable example of diligence in his calling [and as we have reason to believe, has exercised his ministry with great fidelity and efficacy], *which in many instances has produced the most happy effect.*

"That he has been the first institutor, [or] *and* a very earnest and active promoter of several modes of useful charity, and [that] therefore [he] may be considered as having been on many occasions a benefactor to the public.

"[That when they consider his past life, they are willing to suppose his late crime to have been not the consequence of habitual depravity, but the suggestion of some sudden and violent temptation.]

"[That] *Your Petitioners*, therefore considering his case as in some of its circumstances unprecedented and peculiar, *and encouraged by your Majesty's known clemency* [they] most humbly recommend the said William Dodd to [his] *your Majesty's* most gracious consideration, in hope that he will be found not altogether [unfit] *unworthy* to stand an example of royal mercy."

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was from his early years known to Dr Johnson, who obligingly advised him as to his studies, and recommended to him the following books, of which a list, which he has been pleased to communicate, lies before me in Johnson's own handwriting:—*Universal History* (ancient).—Rollin's *Ancient History*.—Puffendorf's *Introduction to History*.—Vertot's *History of Knights of Malta*.—Vertot's *Revolution of Portugal*.—Vertot's *Revolutions of Sweden*.—Carte's *History of England*.—*Present State of England*.—*Geographical Grammar*.—Prideaux's *Connection*.—Nelson's *Feasts and Fasts*.—*Duty of Man*.—*Gentleman's Religion*.—Clarendon's *History*.—Watts's *Improvement of the Mind*.—Watts's *Logic*.—*Nature Displayed*.—Lowth's *English Grammar*.—Blackwal on the *Classics*.—Sherlock's *Sermons*.—Burnet's *Life of Hale*.—Dupin's *History of the Church*.—Shuckford's *Connections*.—Law's *Serious Call*.—Walton's *Complete Angler*.—Sandys's *Travels*.—Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*.—England's *Gazetteer*.—Goldsmith's *Roman History*.—Some Commentaries on the Bible.

It having been mentioned to Dr Johnson that a gentleman who had a son whom he imagined to have an extreme degree of timidity, resolved to send him to a public school, that he might acquire confidence—"Sir," said Johnson, "this is a preposterous expedient for removing his infirmity; such a disposition should be cultivated in the shade. Placing him at a public school is forcing an owl upon day."

Speaking of a gentleman whose house was much frequented by low company—"Rags, sir," said he, "will always make their appearance where they have a right to do it."

Of the same gentleman's mode of living, he said: "Sir, the servants, instead of doing what they are bid, stand round the table in idle clusters, gaping upon the guests; and seem as unfit to attend a company, as to steer a man-of-war."

A dull country magistrate gave Johnson a long tedious account of his exercising his criminal jurisdiction, the result of which was his having sentenced four convicts to

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transportation. Johnson, in an agony of impatience to get rid of such a companion, exclaimed: "I heartily wish, sir, that I were a fifth."

Johnson was present when a tragedy was read, in which there occurred this line:

"Who rules o'er freemen should himself be free."

The company having admired it much, "I cannot agree with you," said Johnson: "It might as well be said:

'Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat.'"

He was pleased with the kindness of Mr Cator, who was joined with him in Mr Thrale's important trust, and thus describes him¹: "There is much good in his character, and much usefulness in his knowledge." He found a cordial solace at that gentleman's seat of Beckenham, in Kent, which is indeed one of the finest places at which I ever was a guest.

Johnson seldom encouraged general censure of any profession; but he was willing to allow a due share of merit to the various departments necessary in civilised life. In a splenetic, sarcastical, or jocular frame, however, he would sometimes utter a pointed saying of that nature. One instance has been mentioned,² where he gave a sudden satirical stroke to the character of an *attorney*. The too indiscriminate admission to that employment, which requires both abilities and integrity, has given rise to injurious reflections, which are totally inapplicable to many very respectable men who exercise it with reputation and honour.

Johnson having argued for some time with a pertinacious gentleman, his opponent, who had talked in a very puzzling manner, happened to say: "I don't understand you, sir": upon which Johnson observed: "Sir, I have found you an

¹ *Letters to Mrs Thrale*, vol. ii., p. 284.

² See Vol. I., p. 425.

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argument; but I am not obliged to find you an understanding."

Talking to me of Horry Walpole (as the Honourable Horace Walpole is often called), Johnson allowed that he got together a great many curious little things, and told them in an elegant manner. Mr Walpole thought Johnson a more amiable character after reading his *Letters to Mrs Thrale*; but never was one of the true admirers of that great man. We may suppose a prejudice conceived, if he ever heard Johnson's account of Sir George Staunton, that when he made the speeches in Parliament for *The Gentleman's Magazine*, "he always took care to put Sir Robert Walpole in the wrong, and to say everything he could against the electorate of Hanover." The celebrated *Heroic Epistle*, in which Johnson is satirically introduced, has been ascribed both to Mr Walpole and Mr Mason. One day at Mr Courtenay's, when a gentleman expressed his opinion that there was more energy in that poem than could be expected from Mr Walpole; Mr Warton, the late Laureate, observed: "It may have been written by Walpole, and buckram'd by Mason."

He disapproved of Lord Hailes for having modernised the language of the ever-memorable John Hales of Eton, in an edition which his lordship published of that writer's works. "An author's language, sir," said he, "is a characteristic part of his composition, and is also characteristic of the age in which he writes. Besides, sir, when the language is changed we are not sure that the sense is the same. No, sir; I am sorry Lord Hailes has done this."

Here it may be observed, that his frequent use of the expression, "No, sir," was not always to intimate contradiction; for he would say so, when he was about to enforce an affirmative proposition which had not been denied, as in the instance last mentioned. I used to consider it as a kind of flag of defiance; as if he had said: "Any argument you may offer against this is not just. No, sir, it is not." It was like Falstaff's "I deny your Major."

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Sir Joshua Reynolds having said that he took the altitude of a man's taste by his stories and his wit, and of his understanding by the remarks which he repeated; being always sure that he must be a weak man who quotes common things with an emphasis as if they were oracles, Johnson agreed with him; and Sir Joshua having also observed that the real character of a man was found out by his amusements—JOHNSON: Yes, sir; no man is a hypocrite in his pleasures.

Had Johnson treated at large *De Claris Oratoribus*, he might have given us an admirable work. When the Duke of Bedford attacked the ministry as vehemently as he could, for having taken upon them to extend the time for the importation of corn, Lord Chatham, in his first speech in the House of Lords, boldly avowed himself to be an adviser of that measure. "My colleagues," said he, "as I was confined by indisposition, did me the signal honour of coming to the bedside of a sick man, to ask his opinion. But, had they not thus condescended, I should have *taken up my bed and walked*, in order to have delivered that opinion at the Council Board." Mr Langton, who was present, mentioned this to Johnson, who observed: "Now, sir, we see that he took these words as he found them; without considering, that though the expression in Scripture, *take up thy bed and walk*, strictly suited the instance of the sick man restored to health and strength, who would of course be supposed to carry his bed with him, it could not be proper in the case of a man who was lying in a state of feebleness, and who certainly would not add to the difficulty of moving at all, that of carrying his bed."

When I pointed out to him in the newspaper one of Mr Grattan's animated and glowing speeches, in favour of the freedom of Ireland, in which this expression occurred (I know not if accurately taken): "We will persevere, till there is not one link of the English chain left to clank upon the rags of the meanest beggar in Ireland."—"Nay, sir," said Johnson, "don't you perceive that *one* link cannot clank."

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Mrs Thrale has published,¹ as Johnson's, a kind of parody or counterpart of a fine poetical passage in one of Mr Burke's speeches on American Taxation. It is vigorously but somewhat coarsely executed; and I am inclined to suppose, is not quite correctly exhibited. I hope he did not use the words "*vile agents* for the Americans in the House of Parliament"; and if he did so, in an extempore effusion, I wish the lady had not committed it to writing.

Mr Burke uniformly showed Johnson the greatest respect; and when Mr Townshend, now Lord Sydney, at a period when he was conspicuous in opposition, threw out some reflection in Parliament upon the grant of a pension to a man of such political principles as Johnson; Mr Burke, though then of the same party with Mr Townshend, stood warmly forth in defence of his friend, to whom, he justly observed, the pension was granted solely on account of his eminent literary merit. I am well assured, that Mr Townshend's attack upon Johnson was the occasion of his "hitching in a rhyme"; for, that in the original copy of Goldsmith's character of Mr Burke, in his *Retaliation*, another person's name stood in the couplet where Mr Townshend is now introduced:

"Though fraught with all learning, kept straining his throat,
To persuade *Tommy Townshend* to lend him a vote."

It may be worth remarking, among the minutiae of my collection, that Johnson was once drawn for the militia, the Trained Bands of the City of London, and that Mr Rackstrow, of the Museum in Fleet Street, was his Colonel. It may be believed he did not serve in person; but the idea, with all its circumstances, is certainly laughable. He upon that occasion provided himself with a musket, and with a sword and belt, which I have seen hanging in his closet.

He was very constant to those whom he once employed, if they gave him no reason to be displeased. When some-

¹ *Anecdotes*, p. 43.

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body talked of being imposed on in the purchase of tea and sugar, and such articles : "That will not be the case," said he, "if you go to a *stately shop*, as I always do. In such a shop it is not worth their while to take a petty advantage."

An author of most anxious and restless vanity being mentioned—"Sir," said he, "there is not a young sapling upon Parnassus more severely blown about by every wind of criticism than that poor fellow."

The difference, he observed, between a well-bred and an ill-bred man is this : "One immediately attracts your liking, the other your aversion. You love the one till you find reason to hate him ; you hate the other till you find reason to love him."

The wife of one of his acquaintance had fraudulently made a purse to herself out of her husband's fortune. Feeling a proper compunction in her last moments, she confessed how much she had secreted ; but before she could tell where it was placed, she was seized with a convulsive fit and expired. Her husband said, he was more hurt by her want of confidence in him, than by the loss of his money. "I told him," said Johnson, "that he should console himself ; for *perhaps* the money might be *found*, and he was *sure* that his wife was *gone*."

A foppish physician imagined that Johnson had advertised on his wearing a fine coat, and mentioned it to him. "I did not notice you," was his answer. The physician still insisted. "Sir," said Johnson, "had you been dipped in Pactolus, I should not have noticed you."

He seemed to take a pleasure in speaking in his own style ; for when he had carelessly missed it, he would repeat the thought translated into it. Talking of the comedy of *The Rehearsal*, he said : "It has not wit enough to keep it sweet." This was easy ; he therefore caught himself, and pronounced a more rounded sentence. "It has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction."

He censured a writer of entertaining Travels for assuming a feigned character, saying (in his sense of the word) : "He

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carries out one lie; we know not how many he brings back."

Though he had no taste for painting, he admired much the manner in which Sir Joshua Reynolds treated of his art in his *Discourses to the Royal Academy*. He observed of a passage one day: "I think I might as well have said this myself." And once when Mr Langton was sitting by him, he read one of them very eagerly, and expressed himself thus: "Very well, Master Reynolds; very well, indeed. But it will not be understood."

No man was more ready to make an apology when he had censured unjustly than Johnson. When a proof-sheet of one of his works was brought to him, he found fault with the mode in which a part of it was arranged, refused to read it, and in a passion desired that the compositor¹ might be sent to him. The compositor was Mr Manning, a decent sensible man, who had composed about one half of his *Dictionary*, when in Mr Strahan's printing-house; and a great part of his *Lives of the Poets*, when in Mr Nichols's printing-house; and now (in his seventy-seventh year), when in Mr Baldwin's printing-house, has composed a part of this work concerning him. By producing the manuscript, he at once satisfied Dr Johnson that he was not to blame. Upon which Johnson candidly and earnestly said to him: "Mr Compositor, I ask your pardon. Mr Compositor, I ask your pardon, again and again."

His generous humanity to the miserable was almost beyond example. The following instance is well attested. Coming home late one night, he found a poor woman lying in the street, so much exhausted that she could not walk; he took her upon his back, and carried her to his house, where he discovered that she was one of those wretched females who had fallen into the lowest state of vice, poverty, and disease. Instead of harshly upbraiding her, he had her

¹ Compositor, in the art of printing, means, the person who adjusts the types in the order in which they are to stand for printing; one who arranges what is called the *form*, from which an impression is taken.

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taken care of with all tenderness for a long time, at a considerable expense, till she was restored to health, and endeavoured to put her into a virtuous way of living.¹

He thought Mr Caleb Whitefoord singularly happy in hitting on the signature of *Papyrius Cursor*, to his ingenious and diverting cross-readings of the newspapers; it being a real name of an ancient Roman, and clearly expressive of the thing done in this lively conceit.

He once in his life was known to have uttered what is called a *bull*; Sir Joshua Reynolds, when they were riding together in Devonshire, complained that he had a very bad horse, for that even when going down hill he moved slowly step by step. "Aye," said Johnson, "and when he goes up hill, he *stands still*."

He had a great aversion to gesticulating in company. He called once to a gentleman who offended him in that point, "Don't attitudenise." And when another gentleman thought he was giving additional force to what he uttered by expressive movements of his hands, Johnson fairly seized them and held them down.

An author of considerable eminence having engrossed a good share of the conversation in the company of Johnson, and having said nothing but what was very trifling and insignificant, Johnson, when he was gone, observed to us: "It is wonderful what a difference there sometimes is between a man's powers of writing and of talking. ——— writes with great spirit, but is a poor talker; had he held his tongue we might have supposed him to have been restrained by modesty; but he has spoken a great deal to-day; and you have heard what stuff it was."

A gentleman having said that a *congé d'élire* has not perhaps the force of a command, but may be considered only as a strong recommendation—"Sir," replied Johnson, who overheard him, "it is such a recommendation, as if I

¹ This circumstance therefore alluded to in Mr Courtenay's *Poetical Character* of him is strictly true.

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should throw you out of a two-pair-of-stairs window, and recommend to you to fall soft."¹

Mr Steevens, who passed many a social hour with him during their long acquaintance, which commenced when they both lived in the Temple, has preserved a good number of particulars concerning him, most of which are to be found in the department of Apothegms, etc., in the collection of Johnson's *Works*. But he has been pleased to favour me with the following, which are original:—

"One evening, previous to the trial of Barette, a consultation of his friends was held at the house of Mr Cox, the Solicitor, in Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane. Among others present were, Mr Burke and Dr Johnson, who differed in sentiments concerning the tendency of some part of the defence the prisoner was to make. When the meeting was over, Mr Steevens observed, that the question between him and his friend had been agitated with rather too much warmth. 'It may be so, sir,' replied the Doctor, 'for Burke and I should have been of one opinion, if we had had no audience.'"

"Dr Johnson once assumed a character in which perhaps even Mr Boswell never saw him. His curiosity having been excited by the praises bestowed on the celebrated Torré's fireworks at Marybone Gardens, he desired Mr Steevens to accompany him thither. The evening had proved showery; and soon after the few people present were assembled, public notice was given, that the conductors to the wheels, suns, stars, etc., were so thoroughly water-soaked, that it was impossible any part of the exhibition should be made. 'This is a mere excuse,' says the Doctor, 'to save their crackers for a more profitable company. Let us but hold up our sticks, and threaten to break those coloured lamps that surround the orchestra, and we shall soon have our wishes

¹ This has been printed in other publications, "*fall to the ground*." But Johnson himself gave me the true expression which he had used, as above; meaning that the recommendation left as little choice in the one case as the other.

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gratified. The core of the fireworks cannot be injured ; let the different pieces be touched in their respective centres, and they will do their offices as well as ever.' Some young men who overheard him, immediately began the violence he had recommended, and an attempt was speedily made to fire some of the wheels which appeared to have received the smallest damage ; but to little purpose were they lighted, for most of them completely failed. The author of *The Rambler*, however, may be considered on this occasion as the ringleader of a successful riot, though not as a skilful pyrotechnist."

"It has been supposed that Dr Johnson, so far as fashion was concerned, was careless of his appearance in public. But this is not altogether true, as the following slight instance may show :—Goldsmith's last comedy was to be represented during some Court mourning ; and Mr Steevens appointed to call on Dr Johnson, and carry him to the tavern where he was to dine with others of the poet's friends. The Doctor was ready dressed, but in coloured clothes ; yet being told that he would find everyone else in black, received the intelligence with a profusion of thanks, hastened to change his attire, all the while repeating his gratitude for the information that had saved him from an appearance so improper in the front row of a front box. 'I would not,' added he, 'for ten pounds, have seemed so retrograde to any general observance.'"

"He would sometimes found his dislikes on very slender circumstances. Happening one day to mention Mr Flexman, a Dissenting minister, with some compliment to his exact memory in chronological matters ; the Doctor replied : 'Let me hear no more of him, sir. That is the fellow who made the Index to my *Ramblers*, and set down the name of Milton thus : Milton, *Mr John*.'"

Mr Steevens adds this testimony : "It is unfortunate however for Johnson, that his particularities and frailties can be more distinctly traced than his good and amiable exertions. Could the many bounties he studiously concealed,

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the many acts of humanity he performed in private, be displayed with equal circumstantiality, his defects would be so far lost in the blaze of his virtues, that the latter only would be regarded."

Though from my very great admiration of Johnson, I have wondered that he was not courted by all the great and all the eminent persons of his time, it ought fairly to be considered, that no man of humble birth, who lived entirely by literature, in short no author by profession, ever rose in this country, into that personal notice which he did. In the course of this work a numerous variety of names have been mentioned, to which many might be added. I cannot omit Lord and Lady Lucan, at whose house he often enjoyed all that an elegant table, and the best company can contribute to happiness; he found hospitality united with extraordinary accomplishments, and embellished with charms of which no man could be insensible.

On Tuesday, 22nd June, I dined with him at the Literary Club, the last time of his being in that respectable society. The other members present were the Bishop of St Asaph, Lord Eliot, Lord Palmerston, Dr Fordyce, and Mr Malone. He looked ill; but had such a manly fortitude, that he did not trouble the company with melancholy complaints. They all showed evident marks of kind concern about him, with which he was much pleased, and he exerted himself to be as entertaining as his indisposition allowed him.

The anxiety of his friends to preserve so estimable a life, as long as human means might be supposed to have influence, made them plan for him a retreat from the severity of a British winter, to the mild climate of Italy. This scheme was at last brought to a serious resolution at General Paoli's, where I had often talked of it. One essential matter, however, I understood was necessary to be previously settled, which was obtaining such an addition to his income, as would be sufficient to enable him to defray the expense in a manner becoming the first literary character of a great nation, and, independent of all his other merits, the author of *The*

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Dictionary of the English Language. The person to whom I above all others thought I should apply to negotiate this business, was the Lord Chancellor,¹ because I knew that he highly valued Johnson, and that Johnson highly valued his lordship; so that it was no degradation of my illustrious friend to solicit for him the favour of such a man. I have mentioned what Johnson said of him to me when he was at the bar²; and after his lordship was advanced to the seals, he said of him: "I would prepare myself for no man in England but Lord Thurlow. When I am to meet with him I should wish to know a day before." How he would have prepared himself I cannot conjecture. Would he have selected certain topics, and considered them in every view so as to be in readiness to argue them at all points? and what may we suppose those topics to have been? I once started the curious inquiry to the great man who was the subject of this compliment: he smiled, but did not pursue it.

I first consulted with Sir Joshua Reynolds, who perfectly coincided in opinion with me; and I therefore, though personally very little known to his lordship, wrote to him,³ stating the case, and requesting his good offices for Dr Johnson. I mentioned that I was obliged to set out for Scotland early in the week after, so that if his lordship should have any commands for me as to this pious negotiation, he would be pleased to send them before that time; otherwise Sir Joshua Reynolds would give all attention to it.

This application was made not only without any suggestion on the part of Johnson himself, but was utterly unknown to him, nor had he the smallest suspicion of it. Any insinuations, therefore, which since his death have been thrown out, as if he had stooped to ask what was superfluous, are without any

¹ Edward Lord Thurlow.

² Page 287 of this volume.

³ It is strange that Sir John Hawkins should have related that the application was made by Sir Joshua Reynolds, when he could so easily have been informed of the truth by inquiring of Sir Joshua. Sir John's carelessness to ascertain facts is very remarkable.

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foundation. But had he asked it, it would not have been superfluous; for though the money he had saved proved to be more than his friends imagined, or than I believe he himself, in his carelessness concerning worldly matters, knew it to be, had he travelled upon the Continent, an augmentation of his income would by no means have been unnecessary.

On Wednesday, 23rd June, I visited him in the forenoon, after having been present at the shocking sight of fifteen men executed before Newgate. I said to him, I was sure that human life was not machinery, that is to say, a chain of fatality planned and directed by the Supreme Being, as it had in it so much wickedness and misery, so many instances of both, as that by which my mind was now clouded. Were it machinery it would be better than it is in these respects, though less noble, as not being a system of moral government. He agreed with me now, as he always did, upon the great question of the liberty of the human will, which has been in all ages perplexed with so much sophistry. "But, sir, as to the doctrine of necessity, no man believes it. If a man should give me arguments that I do not see, though I could not answer them, should I believe that I do not see?" It will be observed that Johnson at all times made the just distinction between doctrines *contrary* to reason, and doctrines *above* reason.

Talking of the religious discipline proper for unhappy convicts, he said: "Sir, one of our regular clergy will probably not impress their minds sufficiently: they should be attended by a Methodist preacher, or a Popish priest." Let me however observe, in justice to the Reverend Mr Vilette, who has been Ordinary of Newgate for no less than seventeen years, in the course of which he has attended many hundreds of wretched criminals, that his earnest and humane exhortations have been very effectual. His extraordinary diligence is highly praiseworthy, and merits a distinguished reward.

On Thursday, 24th June, I dined with him at Mr Dilly's,

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where were the Reverend Mr Knox, master of Tunbridge School; Mr Smith, Vicar of Southill; Dr Beattie, Mr Pinkerton, author of various literary performances, and the Reverend Dr Mayo. At my desire old Mr Sheridan was invited, as I was earnest to have Johnson and him brought together again by chance, that a reconciliation might be effected. Mr Sheridan happened to come early, and having learnt that Dr Johnson was to be there, went away; so I found, with sincere regret, that my friendly intentions were hopeless. I recollect nothing that passed this day, except Johnson's quickness, who, when Dr Beattie observed, as something remarkable which had happened to him, that he had chanced to see both No. 1 and No. 1000 of the hackney-coaches, the first and the last—"Why, sir," said he, "there is an equal chance for one's seeing those two numbers as any other two." He was clearly right; yet the seeing of the two extremes, each of which is in some degree more conspicuous than the rest, could not but strike one in a stronger manner than the sight of any other two numbers. Though I have neglected to preserve his conversation, it was perhaps at this interview that Mr Knox formed the notion of it which he has exhibited in his *Winter Evenings*.

On Friday, 25th June, I dined with him at General Paoli's, where he says, in one of his letters to Mrs Thrale, "I love to dine." There were a variety of dishes much to his taste, of all which he seemed to me to eat so much, that I was afraid he might be hurt by it; and I whispered to the General my fear, and begged he might not press him. "Alas!" said the General, "see how very ill he looks; he can live but a very short time. Would you refuse any slight gratifications to a man under sentence of death? There is a humane custom in Italy, by which persons in that melancholy situation are indulged with having whatever they like best to eat and drink, even with expensive delicacies."

I showed him some verses on Lichfield by Miss Seward, which I had that day received from her, and had the pleasure to hear him approve of them. He confirmed to me the

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truth of a high compliment which I had been told he had paid to that lady when she mentioned to him *The Colombiade*, an epic poem, by Madame du Boccaige: "Madam, there is not in it anything equal to your description of the sea round the North Pole, in your ode on the death of Captain Cook."

On Sunday, 27th June, I found him rather better. I mentioned to him a young man who was going to Jamaica with his wife and children, in expectation of being provided for by two of her brothers settled in that island, one a clergyman and the other a physician. JOHNSON: It is a wild scheme, sir, unless he has a positive and deliberate invitation. There was a poor girl, who used to come about me, who had a cousin in Barbadoes, that, in a letter to her, expressed a wish she would come out to that island, and expatiated on the comforts and happiness of her situation. The poor girl went out: her cousin was much surprised, and asked her how she could think of coming. "Because," said she, "you invited me." "Not I," answered the cousin. The letter then was produced. "I see it is true," said she, "that I did invite you; but I did not think you would come." They lodged her in an outhouse, where she passed her time miserably; and as soon as she had an opportunity she returned to England. Always tell this, when you hear of people going abroad to relations, upon a notion of being well received. In the case which you mention, it is probable the clergyman spends all he gets, and the physician does not know how much he is to get.

We this day dined at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, with General Paoli, Lord Eliot (formerly Mr Eliot, of Port Eliot), Dr Beattie, and some more company. Talking of Lord Chesterfield—JOHNSON: His manner was exquisitely elegant, and he had more knowledge than I expected. BOSWELL: Did you find, sir, his conversation to be of a superior style? JOHNSON: Sir, in the conversation which I had with him I had the best right to superiority, for it was upon philology and literature.—Lord Eliot, who had travelled at the same

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time with Mr Stanhope, Lord Chesterfield's natural son, justly observed, that it was strange that a man who showed he had so much affection for his son as Lord Chesterfield did, by writing so many long and anxious letters to him, almost all of them when he was Secretary of State, which certainly was a proof of great goodness of disposition, should endeavour to make his son a rascal. His lordship told us, that Foote had intended to bring on the stage a father who had thus tutored his son, and to show the son an honest man to everything else but practising his father's maxims upon him, and cheating him. JOHNSON: I am much pleased with this design; but I think there was no occasion to make the son honest at all. No; he should be a consummate rogue: the contrast between honesty and knavery would be the stronger. It should be contrived so that the father should be the only sufferer by the son's villainy, and thus there would be poetical justice.

He put Lord Eliot in mind of Dr Walter Harte. "I know," said he, "Harte was your lordship's tutor, and he was also tutor to the Peterborough family. Pray, my Lord, do you recollect any particulars that he told you of Lord Peterborough? He is a favourite of mine, and is not enough known: his character has been only ventilated in party pamphlets." Lord Eliot said, if Dr Johnson would be so good as to ask him any questions, he would tell what he could recollect. Accordingly some things were mentioned. "But," said his lordship, "the best account of Lord Peterborough that I have happened to meet with, is, *Captain Carleton's Memoirs*. Carleton was descended of an ancestor who had distinguished himself at the siege of Derry. He was an officer; and, what was rare at that time, had some knowledge of engineering." Johnson said, he had never heard of the book. Lord Eliot had it at Port Eliot; but, after a good deal of inquiry, procured a copy in London, and sent it to Johnson, who told Sir Joshua Reynolds that he was going to bed when it came, but was so much pleased with it, that he sat up till he had read it through, and found in it

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such an air of truth that he could not doubt of its authenticity; adding, with a smile (in allusion to Lord Eliot's having recently been raised to the peerage), "I did not think a *young Lord* could have mentioned to me a book in the English history that was not known to me."

An addition to our company came after we went up to the drawing-room; Dr Johnson seemed to rise in spirits as his audience increased. He said: "He wished that Lord Orford's pictures, and Sir Ashton Lever's museum, might be purchased by the public, because both the money, and the pictures, and the curiosities would remain in the country. Whereas, if they were sold into another kingdom, the nation would indeed get some money, but would lose the pictures and curiosities, which it would be desirable we should have for improvement in taste and natural history. The only question was, that as the nation was much in want of money, whether it would not be better to take a large price from a foreign state."

He entered upon a curious discussion of the difference between intuition and sagacity, one being immediate in its effect, the other requiring a circuitous process; one, he observed, was the *eye* of the mind, the other the *nose* of the mind.

A gentleman present took up the argument against him, and maintained that no man ever thinks of the *nose of the mind*, not adverting that though that figurative phrase seems strange to us, as very unusual, it is truly not more forced than Hamlet's "In my *mind's eye*, Horatio." He persisted much too long, and appeared to Johnson as putting himself forward as his antagonist with too much presumption; upon which he called to him in a loud tone: "What is it you are contending for, if you *be* contending?" And afterwards imagining that the gentleman retorted upon him with a kind of smart drollery, he said: "Mr —, it does not become you to talk so to me. Besides, ridicule is not your talent; you have *there* neither intuition nor sagacity." The gentleman protested that he had intended no improper

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freedom, but had the greatest respect for Dr Johnson. After a short pause, during which we were somewhat uneasy—JOHNSON: Give me your hand, sir. You were too tedious, and I was too short. MR —: Sir, I am honoured by your attention in any way. JOHNSON: Come, sir, let's have no more of it. We offended one another by our contention; let us not offend the company by our compliments.

He now said, "He wished much to go to Italy, and that he dreaded passing the winter in England." I said nothing, but enjoyed a secret satisfaction in thinking that I had taken the most effectual measures to make such a scheme practicable.

On Monday, 28th June, I had the honour to receive from the Lord Chancellor the following letter:

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

SIR,—I should have answered your letter immediately; if (being much engaged when I received it) I had not put it in my pocket, and forgot to open it till this morning.

I am much obliged to you for the suggestion; and I will adopt and press it as far as I can. The best argument, I am sure, and I hope it is not likely to fail, is Dr Johnson's merit. But it will be necessary, if I should be so unfortunate as to miss seeing you, to converse with Sir Joshua on the sum it will be proper to ask—in short, upon the means of setting him out. It would be a reflection on us all, if such a man should perish for want of the means to take care of his health. Yours, etc.,

THURLOW.

This letter gave me a very high satisfaction; I next day went and showed it to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was exceedingly pleased with it. He thought that I should now communicate the negotiation to Dr Johnson, who might afterwards complain if the attention with which it had been honoured, should be too long concealed from him. I intended

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to set out for Scotland next morning, but Sir Joshua cordially insisted that I should stay another day, that Johnson and I might dine with him, that we three might talk of his Italian tour, and as Sir Joshua expressed himself, "have it all out." I hastened to Johnson, and was told by him that he was rather better to-day. BOSWELL: I am very anxious about you, sir, and particularly that you should go to Italy for the winter, which I believe is your own wish. JOHNSON: It is, sir. BOSWELL: You have no objection, I presume, but the money it would require. JOHNSON: Why no, sir.—Upon which I gave him a particular account of what had been done, and read to him the Lord Chancellor's letter. He listened with much attention; then warmly said: "This is taking prodigious pains about a man." "Oh, sir!" said I, with most sincere affection, "your friends would do everything for you." He paused—grew more and more agitated—till tears started into his eyes, and he exclaimed with fervent emotion: "God bless you all." I was so affected that I also shed tears. After a short silence he renewed and extended his grateful benediction: "God bless you all, for Jesus Christ's sake." We both remained for some time unable to speak. He rose suddenly and quitted the room quite melted in tenderness. He stayed but a short time, till he had recovered his firmness; soon after he returned I left him, having first engaged him to dine at Sir Joshua Reynolds's next day. I never was again under that roof which I had so long revered.

On Wednesday, 30th June, the friendly confidential dinner with Sir Joshua Reynolds took place, no other company being present. Had I known that this was the last time that I should enjoy in this world, the conversation of a friend whom I so much respected, and from whom I derived so much instruction and entertainment, I should have been deeply affected. When I now look back to it, I am vexed that a single word should have been forgotten.

Both Sir Joshua and I were so sanguine in our expectations, that we expatiated with confidence on the large provision

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which we were sure would be made for him, conjecturing whether munificence would be displayed in one large donation, or in an ample increase of his pension. He himself caught so much of our enthusiasm, as to allow himself to suppose it not impossible that our hopes might in one way or other be realised. He said that he would rather have his pension doubled than a grant of a thousand pounds; "For," said he, "though probably I may not live to receive as much as a thousand pounds, a man would have the consciousness that he should pass the remainder of his life in splendour, how long soever it might be." Considering what a moderate proportion an income of six hundred pounds a year bears to innumerable fortunes in this country, it is worthy of remark that a man so truly great should think it splendour.

As an instance of extraordinary liberality of friendship, he told us, that Dr Brocklesby had upon this occasion offered him a hundred a year for his life. A grateful tear started into his eye as he spoke this in a faltering tone.

Sir Joshua and I endeavoured to flatter his imagination with agreeable prospects of happiness in Italy. "Nay," said he, "I must not expect much of that; when a man goes to Italy merely to feel how he breathes the air, he can enjoy very little."

Our conversation turned upon living in the country, which Johnson, whose melancholy mind required the dissipation of quick, successive variety, had habituated himself to consider as a kind of mental imprisonment. "Yet, sir," said I, "there are many people who are content to live in the country." JOHNSON: Sir, it is in the intellectual world as in the physical world; we are told by natural philosophers that a body is at rest in the place that is fit for it; they who are content to live in the country are *fit* for the country.

Talking of various enjoyments, I argued that a refinement of taste was a disadvantage, as they who have attained to it must be seldomer pleased than those who have no nice discrimination, and are therefore satisfied with everything that comes in their way. JOHNSON: Nay, sir; that is a

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paltry notion. Endeavour to be as perfect as you can in every respect.

I accompanied him in Sir Joshua Reynolds's coach to the entry of Bolt Court. He asked me whether I would not go with him to his house; I declined it from an apprehension that my spirits would sink. We bade adieu to each other affectionately in the carriage. When he had got down upon the foot-pavement, he called out, "Fare you well"; and without looking back, sprung away with a kind of pathetic briskness, if I may use that expression, which seemed to indicate a struggle to conceal uneasiness, and impressed me with a foreboding of our long, long separation.

I remained one day more in town, to have the chance of talking over my negotiation with the Lord Chancellor; but the multiplicity of his lordship's important engagements did not allow of it; so I left the management of the business in the hands of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Soon after this time Dr Johnson had the mortification of being informed by Mrs Thrale, that "what she supposed he never believed,"¹ was true, namely, that she was actually going to marry Signor Piozzi, an Italian music-master. He endeavoured to prevent it, but in vain. If she would publish the whole of the correspondence that passed between Dr Johnson and her on the subject, we should have a full view of his real sentiments. As it is, our judgment must be biassed by that characteristic specimen, which Sir John Hawkins has given us: "Poor Thrale! I thought that either her virtue or her vice would have restrained her from such a marriage. She is now become a subject for her enemies to exult over, and for her friends, if she has any left, to forget, or pity."²

It must be admitted that Johnson derived a considerable portion of happiness from the comforts and elegancies which he enjoyed in Mr Thrale's family; but Mrs Thrale assures us he was indebted for these to her husband alone, who

¹ *Letters to Mrs Thrale*, vol. ii., page 375.

² Dr Johnson's letter to Sir John Hawkins, *Life*, p. 570.

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certainly respected him sincerely. Her words are¹: "*Veneration for his virtue, reverence for his talents, delight in his conversation, and habitual endurance of a yoke my husband first put upon me, and of which he contentedly bore his share for sixteen or seventeen years, made me go on so long with Mr Johnson; but the perpetual confinement I will own to have been terrifying, in the first years of our friendship, and irksome in the last; nor could I pretend to support it without help when my coadjutor was no more.*" Alas! how different is this from the declarations which I have heard Mrs Thrale make in his lifetime, without a single murmur against any peculiarities, or against any one circumstance which attended their intimacy.

As a sincere friend of the great man whose Life I am writing, I think it necessary to guard my readers against the mistaken notion of Dr Johnson's character, which this lady's *Anecdotes* of him suggest; for from the very nature and form of her book, it "lends deception lighter wings to fly."

"Let it be remembered," says an eminent critic,² "that she has comprised in a small volume all that she could recollect of Dr Johnson in *twenty years*, during which period, doubtless, some severe things were said by him; and they who read the book in *two hours*, naturally enough suppose that his whole conversation was of this complexion. But the fact is, I have been often in his company, and never *once* heard him say a severe thing to anyone; and many others can attest the same. When he did say a severe thing it was generally extorted by ignorance pretending to knowledge, or by extreme vanity or affectation.

"Two instances of inaccuracy," adds he, "are peculiarly worthy of notice:

"It is said,³ '*That natural roughness of his manner so often mentioned, would, notwithstanding the regularity of his notions, burst through them all from time to time; and he once bade a very*

¹ *Anecdotes*, p. 293.

² Who has been pleased to furnish me with his remarks.

³ *Anecdotes*, p. 183.

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celebrated lady, who praised him with too much zeal perhaps, or perhaps too strong an emphasis (which always offended him), consider what her flattery was worth before she choked him with it.

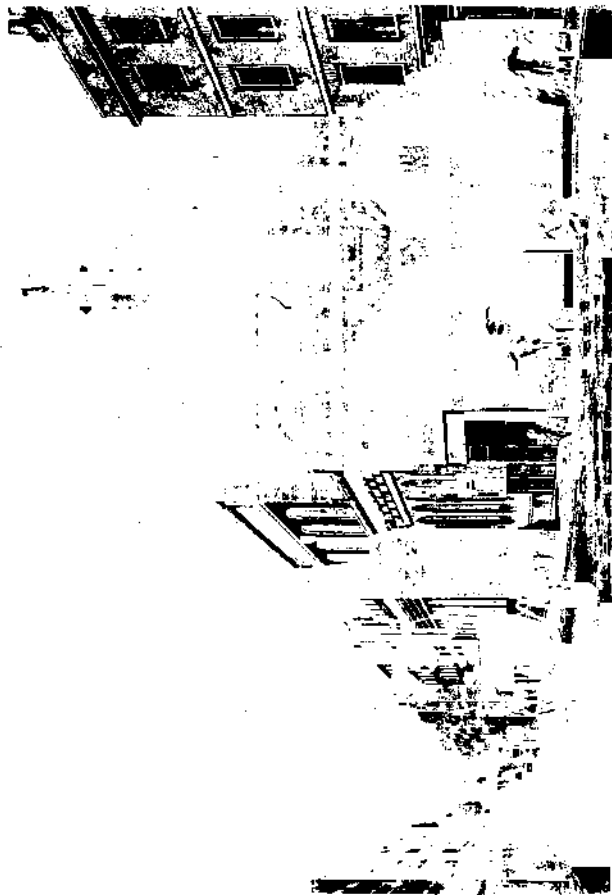
"Now let the genuine anecdote be contrasted with this. The person thus represented as being harshly treated, though a very celebrated lady, was *then* just come to London from an obscure situation in the country. At Sir Joshua Reynolds's one evening she met Dr Johnson. She very soon began to pay her court to him in the most fulsome strain. 'Spare me, I beseech you, dear madam,' was his reply. She still *laid it on*. 'Pray, madam, let us have no more of this,' he rejoined. Not paying any attention to these warnings, she continued still her eulogy. At length, provoked by this indelicate and *vain* obtrusion of compliment, he exclaimed: 'Dearest lady, consider with yourself what your flattery is worth before you bestow it so freely.'

"How different does this story appear, when accompanied with all these circumstances which really belong to it, but which Mrs Thrale either did not know, or has suppressed.

"She says': 'One gentleman, however, who dined at a nobleman's house in his company, and that of Mr Thrale, to whom I was obliged for the anecdote, was willing to enter the lists in defence of King William's character; and having opposed and contradicted Johnson two or three times, petulantly enough, the master of the house began to feel uneasy, and expect disagreeable consequences; to avoid which, he said, loud enough for the Doctor to hear—Our friend here has no meaning now in all this, except just to relate at club to-morrow how he teased Johnson at dinner to-day; this is all to do himself honour.—No, upon my word (replied the other), I see no honour in it, whatever you may do.—Well, sir (returned Mr Johnson, sternly), 'if you do not see the honour, I am sure I feel the disgrace.'

"This is all sophisticated. Mr Thrale was not in the company, though he might have related the story to Mrs

¹ *Anecdotes*, p. 102.



West Street in 1789.

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Thrale. A friend, from whom I had the story, was present ; and it was not at the house of a nobleman. On the observation being made by the master of the house on a gentleman's contradicting Johnson, that he had talked for the honour, etc., the gentleman muttered, in a low voice ; ' I see no honour in it ' ; and Dr Johnson said nothing : so all the rest (though *bien trouvée*) is mere garnish."

I have had occasion several times, in the course of this work, to point out the incorrectness of Mrs Thrale, as to particulars which consisted with my own knowledge. But indeed she has, in flippant terms enough, expressed her disapprobation of that anxious desire of authenticity which prompts a person who is to record conversations, to write them down *at the moment*.¹ Unquestionably, if they are to be recorded at all, the sooner it is done the better. This lady herself says² : "*To recollect, however, and to repeat the sayings of Dr Johnson, is almost all that can be done by the writers of his Life; as his life, at least since my acquaintance with him, consisted in little else than talking, when he was not employed in some serious piece of work.*" She boasts of her having kept a commonplace-book ; and we find she noted, at one time or other, in a very lively manner, specimens of the conversation of Dr Johnson, and of those who talked with him ; but had she done it recently, they probably would have been less erroneous ; and we should have been relieved from those disagreeable doubts of their authenticity, with which we must now peruse them.

She says of him³ : "*He was the most charitable of mortals, without being what we call an active friend. Admirable at giving counsel ; no man saw his way so clearly ; but he would not stir a finger for the assistance of those to whom he was willing enough to give advice.*" And again on the same page : "*If you wanted a slight favour, you must apply to people of other dispositions ; for not a step would Johnson move to obtain a man a vote in a society, to repay a compliment which might be useful or pleasing, to write a letter of request,*

¹ *Anecdotes*, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.* p., 51.

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etc., or to obtain a hundred pounds a year more for a friend who perhaps had already two or three. No force could urge him to diligence, no importunity could conquer his resolution to stand still."

It is amazing that one who had such opportunities of knowing Dr Johnson should appear so little acquainted with his real character. I am sorry this lady does not advert, that she herself contradicts the assertion of his being obstinately defective in the *petite morale*, in the little endearing charities of social life in conferring smaller favours; for she says¹: "*Dr Johnson was liberal enough in granting literary assistance to others, I think; and innumerable are the Prefaces, Sermons, Lectures, and Dedications which he used to make for people who begged of him.*" I am certain that a more active friend has rarely been found in any age. This work, which I fondly hope will rescue his memory from obloquy, contains a thousand instances of his benevolent exertions in almost every way that can be conceived; and particularly in employing his pen with a generous readiness for those to whom its aid could be useful. Indeed his obliging activity in doing little offices of kindness, both by letters and personal application, was one of the most remarkable features in his character; and for the truth of this I can appeal to a number of his respectable friends: Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr Langton, Mr Hamilton, Mr Burke, Mr Windham, Mr Malone, the Bishop of Dromore, Sir William Scott, Sir Robert Chambers. And can Mrs Thrale forget the advertisements which he wrote for her husband at the time of his election contest; the epitaphs on him and her mother; the playful and even trifling verses for the amusement of her and her daughters; his corresponding with her children, and entering into their minute concerns, which shows him in the most amiable light?

She relates,² that Mr Ch—lm—ley unexpectedly rode up to Mr Thrale's carriage, in which Mr Thrale and she, and Dr Johnson were travelling; that he paid them all his

¹ *Anecdotes*, p. 193.

² *Ibid.*, p. 258.

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proper compliments, but observing that Dr Johnson, who was reading, did not see him, *"tapt him gently on the shoulder. 'Tis Mr Ch—lm—ley," says my husband. 'Well, sir—and what if it is Mr Ch—lm—ley,' says the other, sternly, just lifting his eyes a moment from his book, and returning to it again, with renewed avidity."* This surely conveys a notion of Johnson, as if he had been grossly rude to Mr Cholmondeley, a gentleman whom he always loved and esteemed. If, therefore, there was an absolute necessity for mentioning the story at all, it might have been thought that her tenderness for Dr Johnson's character would have disposed her to state anything that could soften it. Why then is there a total silence as to what Mr Cholmondeley told her?—That Johnson, who had known him from his earliest years, having been made sensible of what had doubtless a strange appearance, took occasion, when he afterwards met him, to make a very courteous and kind apology. There is another little circumstance which I cannot but remark. Her book was published in 1785; she had then in her possession a letter from Dr Johnson, dated in 1777,¹ which begins thus: "Cholmondeley's story shocks me, if it be true, which I can hardly think, for I am utterly unconscious of it: I am very sorry, and very much ashamed." Why then publish the anecdote? Or if she did, why not add the circumstances, with which she was well acquainted?

In his social intercourse she thus describes him: "Ever musing till he was called out to converse, and conversing till the fatigue of his friends, or the promptitude of his own temper to take offence, consigned him back again to silent meditation." Yet in the same book² she tells us: "He was, however, seldom inclined to be silent, when any moral or literary question was started; and it was on such occasions that, like the Sage in 'Rasselas,' he spoke, and attention watched his lips; he reasoned, and conviction closed his periods." His conversation, indeed,

¹ *Letters to Mrs Thrale*, vol. ii., p. 12.

² *Anecdotes*, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

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was so far from ever fatiguing his friends, that they regretted when it was interrupted or ceased, and could exclaim in Milton's language :

“ With thee conversing, I forget all time.”

I certainly, then, do not claim too much in behalf of my illustrious friend in saying, that however smart and entertaining Mrs Thrale's *Anecdotes* are, they must not be held as good evidence against him ; for wherever an instance of harshness and severity is told, I beg leave to doubt its perfect authenticity ; for though there may have been *some* foundation for it, yet, like that of his reproof to the “ very celebrated lady,” it may be so exhibited in the narration as to be very unlike the real fact.

The evident tendency of the following anecdote¹ is to represent Dr Johnson very deficient in affection, tenderness, or even common civility. “ *When I one day lamented the loss of a first cousin killed in America—‘ Pr’ythee, my dear,’ said he, ‘ have done with canting ; how would the world be the worse for it, I may ask, if all your relations were at once spitted like larks, and roasted for Presto’s supper?’—Presto was the dog that lay under the table while we talked.*” I suspect this too of exaggeration and distortion. I allow that he made her an angry speech ; but let the circumstances fairly appear as told by Mr Baretti, who was present :

“ Mrs Thrale, while supping very heartily upon larks, laid down her knife and fork, and abruptly exclaimed : ‘ Oh, my dear Mr Johnson, do you know what has happened ? The last letters from abroad have brought us an account that our poor cousin’s head was taken off by a cannon-ball.’ Johnson, who was shocked both at the fact and her light unfeeling manner of mentioning it, replied : ‘ Madam, it would give *you* very little concern if all your relations were spitted like those larks, and dressed for Presto’s supper.’ ”²

¹ *Anecdotes*, p. 63.

² Upon mentioning this to my friend Mr Wilkes, he, with his usual readiness, pleasantly matched it with the following *sentimental anecdote*. He

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It is with concern that I find myself obliged to animadvert on the inaccuracies of Mrs Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, and perhaps I may be thought to have dwelt too long upon her little collection. But as from Johnson's long residence under Mr Thrale's roof, and his intimacy with her, the account which she has given of him may have made an unfavourable and unjust impression, my duty, as a faithful biographer, has obliged me reluctantly to perform this unpleasing task.

Having left the *pious negotiation*, as I called it, in the best hands, I shall here insert what relates to it. Johnson wrote to Sir Joshua Reynolds on 6th July as follows: "I am going, I hope, in a few days, to try the air of Derbyshire, but hope to see you before I go. Let me, however, mention to you what I have much at heart.—If the Chancellor should continue his attention to Mr Boswell's request, and confer with you on the means of relieving my languid state, I am very desirous to avoid the appearance of asking money upon false pretences. I desire you to represent to his lordship, what, as soon as it is suggested, he will perceive to be reasonable.—That, if I grow much worse, I shall be afraid to leave my physicians, to suffer the inconveniences of travel, and pine in the solitude of a foreign country.—That, if I grow much better, of which indeed there is now little appearance, I shall not wish to leave my friends and my domestic comforts; for I do not travel for pleasure or curiosity; yet if I should recover, curiosity would revive.—In my present state, I am desirous to make a struggle for a little longer life, and hope to obtain some help from a softer climate. Do for me what

was invited by a young man of fashion at Paris, to sup with him and a lady, who had been for some time his mistress, but with whom he was going to part. He said to Mr Wilkes that he really felt very much for her, she was in such distress, and that he meant to make her a present of two hundred louis-d'ors. Mr Wilkes observed the behaviour of Mademoiselle, who sighed indeed very piteously, and assumed every pathetic air of grief; but ate no less than three French pigeons, which are as large as English partridges, besides other things. Mr Wilkes whispered the gentleman: "We often say in England *Excessive sorrow is exceeding dry*, but I never heard *Excessive sorrow is exceeding hungry*. Perhaps one hundred will do." The gentleman took the hint.

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you can." He wrote to me 26th July: "I wish your affairs could have permitted a longer and continued exertion of your zeal and kindness. They that have your kindness may want your ardour. In the meantime I am very feeble, and very dejected."

By a letter from Sir Joshua Reynolds I was informed, that the Lord Chancellor had called on him, and acquainted him that the application had not been successful; but that his lordship, after speaking highly in praise of Johnson, as a man who was an honour to his country, desired Sir Joshua to let him know, that on granting a mortgage of his pension, he should draw on his lordship to the amount of five or six hundred pounds; and that his lordship explained the meaning of the mortgage to be, that he wished the business to be conducted in such a manner as that Dr Johnson should appear to be under the least possible obligation. Sir Joshua mentioned, that he had by the same post communicated all this to Dr Johnson.

How Johnson was affected upon the occasion will appear from what he wrote to Sir Joshua Reynolds:

"Ashbourne, Sept. 9. Many words I hope are not necessary between you and me, to convince you what gratitude is excited in my heart by the Chancellor's liberality, and your kind offices. * * *

"I have enclosed a letter to the Chancellor, which, when you have read it, you will be pleased to seal with a head, or any other general seal, and convey it to him: had I sent it directly to him, I should have seemed to overlook the favour of your intervention."

*To the LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR*¹

MY LORD,—After a long and not inattentive observation of mankind, the generosity of your lordship's offer raises in me not less wonder than gratitude. Bounty, so liberally

¹ Sir Joshua Reynolds, on account of the excellence both of the sentiment and expression of this letter, took a copy of it, which he showed to some of his friends; one of whom, who admired it, being allowed to peruse

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bestowed, I should gladly receive, if my condition made it necessary; for, to such a mind, who would not be proud to own his obligations? But it has pleased God to restore me to so great a measure of health, that if I should now appropriate so much of a fortune destined to do good, I could not escape from myself the charge of advancing a false claim. My journey to the continent, though I once thought it necessary, was never much encouraged by my physicians; and I was very desirous that your lordship should be told of it by Sir Joshua Reynolds, as an event very uncertain; for if I grew much better, I should not be willing, if much worse, not able, to migrate.—Your lordship was first solicited without my knowledge; but, when I was told that you were pleased to honour me with your patronage, I did not expect to hear of a refusal; yet, as I have had no long time to brood hope, and have not rioted in imaginary opulence, this cold reception has been scarce a disappointment; and, from your lordship's kindness, I have received a benefit, which only men like you are able to bestow. I shall now live *mihi carior*, with a higher opinion of my own merit. I am, my Lord, your lordship's most obliged, most grateful, and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Sept. 1784.

Upon this unexpected failure I abstain from presuming to make any remarks, or offer any conjectures.

Having, after repeated reasonings, brought Dr Johnson to agree to my removing to London, and even to furnish me with arguments in favour of what he had opposed, I wrote to him requesting he would write them for me; he was so good as to comply, and I shall extract that part of his letter to me of 11th June, as a proof how well he could exhibit a cautious yet encouraging view of it:

it leisurely at home, a copy was made, and found its way into the newspapers and magazines. It was transcribed with some inaccuracies. I print it from the original draft in Johnson's own handwriting.

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"I remember, and entreat you to remember, that *virtus est vitium fugere*; the first approach to riches is security from poverty. The condition upon which you have my consent to settle in London is, that your expense never exceeds your annual income. Fixing this basis of security, you cannot be hurt, and you may be very much advanced. The loss of your Scottish business, which is all that you can lose, is not to be reckoned as any equivalent to the hopes and possibilities that open here upon you. If you succeed, the question of prudence is at an end; everybody will think that done right which ends happily; and though your expectations, of which I would not advise you to talk too much, should not be totally answered, you can hardly fail to get friends who will do for you all that your present situation allows you to hope: and if, after a few years, you should return to Scotland, you will return with a mind supplied by various conversation, and many opportunities of inquiry, with much knowledge and materials for reflection and instruction."

Let us now contemplate Johnson thirty years after the death of his wife, still retaining for her all the tenderness of affection.

To the Reverend Mr BAGSHAW, at Bromley

SIR,—Perhaps you may remember, that in the year 1753, you committed to the ground my dear wife. I now entreat your permission to lay a stone upon her; and have sent the inscription, that, if you find it proper, you may signify your allowance.

You will do me a great favour by showing the place where she lies, that the stone may protect her remains.

Mr Ryland will wait on you for the inscription,¹ and procure it to be engraved. You will easily believe that I shrink from this mournful office. When it is done, if I have strength remaining, I will visit Bromley once again, and pay

¹ Printed in his *Works*.

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you part of the respect to which you have a right from,
Reverend Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

July 12, 1784.

On the same day he wrote to Mr Langton: "I cannot but think that in my languid and anxious state, I have some reason to complain that I receive from you neither inquiry nor consolation. You know how much I value your friendship, and with what confidence I expect your kindness, if I wanted any act of tenderness that you could perform; at least, if you do not know it, I think your ignorance is your own fault. Yet how long is it that I have lived almost in your neighbourhood without the least notice. I do not however, consider this neglect as particularly shown to me; I hear two of your most valuable friends make the same complaint. But why are all thus overlooked? You are not oppressed by sickness, you are not distracted by business; if you are sick, you are sick of leisure:—And allow yourself to be told, that no disease is more to be dreaded or avoided. Rather to do nothing than to do good, is the lowest state of a degraded mind. Boileau says to his pupil:

*'Que les vers ne soient pas vôtre eternal emploi,
Cultivez vos amis.'*——

That voluntary debility, which modern language is content to term indolence, will, if it is not counteracted by resolution, render in time the strongest faculties lifeless, and turn the flame to the smoke of virtue.—I do not expect nor desire to see you, because I am much pleased to find that your mother stays so long with you, and I should think you neither elegant nor grateful, if you did not study her gratification. You will pay my respects to both the ladies, and to all the young people.—I am going Northward for a while, to try what help the country can give me; but, if you will write, the letter will come after me."

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Next day he set out on a jaunt to Staffordshire and Derbyshire, flattering himself that he might be in some degree relieved.

During his absence from London he kept up a correspondence with several of his friends, from which I shall select what appears to me proper for publication, without attending nicely to chronological order.

To Dr BROCKLESBY he writes, Ashbourne, July 20. "The kind attention which you have so long shown to my health and happiness, makes it as much a debt of gratitude as a call of interest, to give you an account of what befalls me, when accident recovers me from your immediate care.—The journey of the first day was performed with very little sense of fatigue; the second day brought me to Lichfield, without much lassitude, but I am afraid that I could not have borne such violent agitation for many days together. Tell Dr Heberden, that in the coach I read *Ciceronianus*, which I concluded as I entered Lichfield. My affection and understanding went along with Erasmus, except that once or twice he somewhat unskilfully entangles Cicero's civil or moral, with his rhetorical character.—I stayed five days at Lichfield, but, being unable to walk, had no great pleasure, and yesterday (19th) I came hither, where I am to try what air and attention can perform.—Of any improvement in my health I cannot yet please myself with the perception.* * *—The asthma has no abatement. Opiates stop the fit, so as that I can sit and sometimes lie easy, but they do not now procure me the power of motion; and I am afraid that my general strength of body does not increase. The weather indeed is not benign; and how low is he sunk whose strength depends upon the weather!—I am now looking into Floyer, who lived with his asthma to almost his ninetieth year. His book by want of order is obscure, and his asthma, I think, not of the same kind with mine. Something however I may perhaps learn.—My appetite still continues keen enough; and what I consider as a symptom of radical health, I have a voracious delight in raw summer fruit, of which I was less

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eager a few years ago.—You will be pleased to communicate this account to Dr Heberden, and if anything is to be done, let me have your joint opinion.—Now—*abite curæ*—let me inquire after the Club.”¹

July 31. “Not recollecting that Dr Heberden might be at Windsor, I thought your letter long in coming. But, you know, *nocitura petuntur*, the letter which I so much desired, tells me that I have lost one of my best and tenderest friends.² My comfort is, that he appeared to live like a man that had always before his eyes the fragility of our present existence, and was therefore, I hope, not unprepared to meet his judge.—Your attention, dear sir, and that of Dr Heberden, to my health is extremely kind. I am loth to think that I grow worse; and cannot fairly prove even to my own partiality, that I grow much better.”

August 5. “I return you thanks, dear sir, for your unwearied attention, both medicinal and friendly, and hope to prove the effect of your care by living to acknowledge it.”

August 12. “Pray be so kind as to have me in your thoughts, and mention my case to others as you have opportunity. I seem to myself neither to gain nor lose strength. I have lately tried milk, but have yet found no advantage, and am afraid of it merely as a liquid. My appetite is still good, which I know is dear Dr Heberden’s criterion of the *vis vite*.—As we cannot now see each other, do not omit to write, for you cannot think with what warmth of expectation I reckon the hours of a post-day.”

August 14. “I have hitherto sent you only melancholy letters, you will be glad to hear some better account. Yesterday the asthma remitted, perceptibly remitted, and I moved with more ease than I have enjoyed for many weeks. May God continue His mercy.—This account I would not delay, because I am not a lover of complaints, or complainers, and yet I have since we parted, uttered nothing till now but terror and sorrow. Write to me, dear sir.”

¹ At the Essex Head, Essex Street.

² Mr Allen, the printer.

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August 16. "Better I hope, and better. My respiration gets more and more ease and liberty. I went to church yesterday, after a very liberal dinner, without any inconvenience; it is indeed no long walk, but I never walked it without difficulty, since I came, before. * * * the intention was only to overpower the seeming *vis inertiae* of the pectoral and pulmonary muscles.—I am favoured with a degree of ease that very much delights me, and do not despair of another race upon the stairs of the Academy.—If I were, however, of a humour to see, or to show the state of my body, on the dark side, I might say :

' Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una? '

The nights are still sleepless, and the water rises, though it does not rise very fast. Let us, however, rejoice in all the good that we have. The remission of one disease will enable nature to combat the rest.—The squills I have not neglected; for I have taken more than a hundred drops a day, and one day took two hundred and fifty, which, according to the popular equivalence of a drop to a grain, is more than half an ounce.—I thank you, dear sir, for your attention in ordering the medicines; your attention to me has never failed. If the virtue of medicines could be enforced by the benevolence of the prescriber, how soon should I be well."

August 19. "The relaxation of the asthma still continues, yet I do not trust it wholly to itself, but soothe it now and then with an opiate. I not only perform the perpetual act of respiration with less labour, but I can walk with fewer intervals of rest, and with greater freedom of motion.—I never thought well of Dr James's compounded medicines; his ingredients appeared to me sometimes inefficacious and trifling, and sometimes heterogeneous and destructive of each other. This prescription exhibits a composition of about three hundred and thirty grains, in which there are four grains of emetic tartar, and six drops thebaic tincture. He that writes thus, surely writes for show.

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The basis of his medicine is the gum ammoniacum, which dear Dr Lawrence used to give, but of which I never saw any effect. We will, if you please, let this medicine alone. The squills have every suffrage, and in the squills we will rest for the present."

August 21. "The kindness which you show by having me in your thoughts upon all occasions, will, I hope, always fill my heart with gratitude. Be pleased to return my thanks to Sir George Baker, for the consideration which he has bestowed upon me.—Is this the balloon that has been so long expected, this balloon to which I subscribed, but without payment? It is pity that philosophers have been disappointed, and shame that they have been cheated; but I know not well how to prevent either. Of this experiment I have read nothing; where was it exhibited? and who was the man that ran away with so much money?—Continue, dear sir, to write often and more at a time; for none of your prescriptions operate to their proper uses more certainly than your letters operate as cordials."

August 26. "I suffered you to escape last post without a letter, but you are not to expect such indulgence very often, for I write not so much because I have anything to say, as because I hope for an answer; and the vacancy of my life here makes a letter of great value.—I have here little company and little amusement, and thus abandoned to the contemplation of my own miseries, I am sometimes gloomy and depressed; this too I resist as I can, and find opium, I think, useful, but I seldom take more than one grain.—Is not this strange weather? Winter absorbed the spring, and now autumn is come before we have had summer. But let not our kindness for each other imitate the inconstancy of the seasons."

Sept. 2. "Mr Windham has been here to see me, he came, I think, forty miles out of his way, and stayed about a day and a half, perhaps I make the time shorter than it was. Such conversation I shall not have again till I come back to the regions of literature, and there Windham is, *inter*

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*stellas*¹ *Luna minores.*" He then mentions the effects of certain medicines, as taken, that "Nature is recovering its original powers, and the functions returning to their proper state. God continue His mercies, and grant me to use them rightly."

Sept. 9. "Do you know the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire? And have you ever seen Chatsworth? I was at Chatsworth on Monday: I had indeed seen it before, but never when its owners were at home; I was very kindly received, and honestly pressed to stay, but I told them that a sick man is not a fit inmate of a great house. But I hope to go again some time."

Sept. 11. "I think nothing grows worse, but all rather better, except sleep, and that of late has been at its old pranks. Last evening, I felt what I had not known for a long time, an inclination to walk for amusement; I took a short walk, and came back again neither breathless nor fatigued.—This has been a gloomy, frigid, ungenial summer, but of late it seems to mend; I hear the heat sometimes mentioned, but I do not feel it,

*'Præterea minimus gelido jam in corpore sanguis
Febre calet solâ.'——*

I hope, however, with good help, to find means of supporting a winter at home, and to hear and tell at the Club what is doing, and what ought to be doing in the world. I have no company here, and shall naturally come home hungry for conversation.—To wish you, dear sir, more leisure would not be kind; but what leisure you have, you must bestow upon me."

Sept. 16. "I have now let you alone for a long time, having indeed little to say. You charge me somewhat unjustly with luxury. At Chatsworth, you should remember,

¹ It is remarkable that so good a Latin scholar as Johnson, should have been so inattentive to the metre, as by mistake to have written *stellas* instead of *ignes*.

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that I have eaten but once; and the Doctor, with whom I live, follows a milk diet. I grow no fatter, though my stomach, if it be not disturbed by physic, never fails me.—I now grow weary of solitude, and think of removing next week to Lichfield, a place of more society, but otherwise of less convenience. When I am settled, I shall write again.—Of the hot weather that you mention, we have had in Derbyshire very much, and for myself I seldom feel heat, and suppose that my frigidity is the effect of my distemper, a supposition which naturally leads me to hope that a hotter climate may be useful. But I hope to stand another English winter.”

Lichfield, Sept. 29. “On one day I had three letters about the air-balloon: yours was far the best, and has enabled me to impart to my friends in the country an idea of this species of amusement. In amusement, mere amusement, I am afraid it must end, for I do not find that its course can be directed so as that it should serve any purposes of communication; and it can give no new intelligence of the state of the air at different heights, till they have ascended above the height of mountains, which they seem never likely to do.—I came hither on the 27th. How long I shall stay, I have not determined. My dropsy is gone, and my asthma much remitted, but I have felt myself a little declining these two days, or at least to-day; but such vicissitudes must be expected. One day may be worse than another; but this last month is far better than the former; if the next should be as much better than this, I shall run about the town on my own legs.”

October 6. “The fate of the balloon I do not much lament: to make new balloons is to repeat the jest again. We now know a method of mounting into the air, and, I think, are not likely to know more. The vehicles can serve no use till we can guide them; and they can gratify no curiosity till we mount with them to greater heights than we can reach without, till we rise above the tops of the highest mountains, which we have yet not done. We know

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the state of the air in all its regions, to the top of Teneriffe, and therefore learn nothing from those who navigate a balloon below the clouds. The first experiment, however, was bold, and deserved applause and reward. But since it has been performed, and its event is known, I had rather now find a medicine that can ease an asthma."

October 25. "You write to me with a zeal that animates, and a tenderness that melts me. I am not afraid either of a journey to London, or a residence in it. I came down with little fatigue, and am now not weaker. In the smoky atmosphere I was delivered from the dropsy, which I consider as the original and radical disease. The town is my element¹; there are my friends, there are my books, to which I have not yet bidden farewell, and there are my amusements. Sir Joshua told me long ago, that my vocation was to public life, and I hope still to keep my station, till God shall bid me *Go in peace.*"

To Mr HOOLE. Ashbourne, Aug. 7. "Since I was here, I have two little letters from you, and have not had the gratitude to write. But every man is most free with his best friends, because he does not suppose that they can suspect him of intentional incivility.—One reason for my omission is, that being in a place to which you are wholly a stranger, I have no topics of correspondence. If you had any knowledge of Ashbourne, I could tell you of two Ashbourne men, who, being last week condemned at Derby to be hanged for a robbery, went and hanged themselves in their cell. But this, however it may supply us with talk, is nothing to you.—Your kindness, I know, would make you glad to hear some good of me, but I have not much good to tell; if I grow not worse, it is all that I can say.—I hope Mrs Hoole receives more help from her migration. Make her my

¹ His love of London continually appears. Once upon reading that line in the curious epitaph quoted in *The Spectator*,

"Born in New England, did in London die";

he laughed and said, "I do not wonder at this. It would have been strange, if born in London, he had died in New England."

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compliments, and write again to, dear Sir, your affectionate servant."

Aug. 13. "I thank you for your affectionate letter. I hope we shall both be the better for each other's friendship, and I hope we shall not very quickly be parted.—Tell Mr Nichols, that I shall be glad of his correspondence, when his business allows him a little remission; though to wish him less business, that I may have more pleasure, would be too selfish.—To pay for seats at the balloon is not very necessary, because, in less than a minute, they who gaze at a mile's distance will see all that can be seen. About the wings, I am of your mind; they cannot at all assist it, nor I think regulate its motion.—I am now grown somewhat easier in my body, but my mind is sometimes depressed.—About the Club, I am in no great pain. The forfeitures go on, and the house, I hear, is improved for our future meetings. I hope we shall meet often, and sit long."

Sept. 4. "Your letter was, indeed, long in coming, but it was very welcome. Our acquaintance has now subsisted long, and our recollection of each other involves a great space, and many little occurrences, which melt the thoughts to tenderness. Write to me, therefore, as frequently as you can.—I hear from Dr Brocklesby and Mr Ryland, that the Club is not crowded. I hope we shall enliven it when winter brings us together."

To Dr BURNET. August 2. "The weather, you know, has not been balmy; I am now reduced to think, and am at last content to talk of the weather. Pride must have a fall,¹—I have lost dear Mr Allen, and wherever I turn, the dead

¹ There was no information for which Dr Johnson was less grateful than for that which concerned the weather. It was in allusion to his impatience with those who were reduced to keep conversation alive by observations on the weather, that he applied the old proverb to himself. If any one of his intimate acquaintance told him it was hot or cold, wet or dry, windy or calm, he would stop them, by saying, "Poh! poh! you are telling us that of which none but men in a mine or a dungeon can be ignorant. Let us bear with patience, or enjoy in quiet, elementary changes, whether for the better or the worse, as they are never secrets."—BURNET.

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or the dying meet my notice, and force my attention upon misery and mortality. Mrs Burney's escape from so much danger, and her ease after so much pain, throws, however, some radiance of hope upon the gloomy prospect. May her recovery be perfect, and her continuance long.—I struggle hard for life. I take physic, and take air; my friend's chariot is always ready. We have run this morning twenty-four miles, and could run forty-eight more. *But who can run the race with death?* ”

Sept. 4. [Concerning a private transaction, in which his opinion was asked, and after giving it he makes the following reflections, which are applicable on other occasions.] “Nothing deserves more compassion than wrong conduct with good meaning; than loss or obloquy suffered by one who, as he is conscious only of good intentions, wonders why he loses that kindness which he wishes to preserve; and not knowing his own fault, if, as may sometimes happen, nobody will tell him, goes on to offend by his endeavours to please.—I am delighted by finding that our opinions are the same.—You will do me a real kindness by continuing to write. A post-day has now been long a day of recreation.”

Nov. 1. “Our correspondence paused for want of topics. I had said what I had to say on the matter proposed to my consideration; and nothing remained but to tell you, that I waked or slept; that I was more or less sick. I drew my thoughts in upon myself, and supposed yours employed upon your book.—That your book has been delayed I am glad, since you have gained an opportunity of being more exact.—Of the caution necessary in adjusting narratives there is no end. Some tell what they do not know, that they may not seem ignorant, and others from mere indifference about truth. All truth is not, indeed, of equal importance; but, if little violations are allowed, every violation will in time be thought little; and a writer should keep himself vigilantly on his guard against the first temptations to negligence or supineness.—I had ceased to write, because respecting you I had no more to say, and respecting myself could say little

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good. I cannot boast of advancement, and in cases of convalescence it may be said, with few exceptions, *non progredi, est regredi*. I hope I may be excepted.—My great difficulty was with my sweet Fanny, who, by her artifice of inserting her letter in yours, had given me a precept of frugality which I was not at liberty to neglect; and I know not who were in town under whose cover I could send my letter. I rejoice to hear that you are all so well, and have a delight particularly sympathetic in the recovery of Mrs Burney."

To Mr LANGTON, Aug. 25. "The kindness of your last letter, and my omission to answer it, begins to give you, even in my opinion, a right to recriminate, and to charge me with forgetfulness of the absent. I will therefore delay no longer to give an account of myself, and wish I could relate what would please either myself or my friend.—On July 13, I left London, partly in hope of help from new air and change of place, and partly excited by the sick man's impatience of the present. I got to Lichfield in a stage vehicle, with very little fatigue, in two days, and had the consolation to find, that since my last visit my three old acquaintance are all dead.—July 20, I went to Ashbourne, where I have been till now; the house in which we live is repairing. I live in too much solitude, and am often deeply dejected: I wish we were nearer, and rejoice in your removal to London. A friend, at once cheerful and serious, is a great acquisition. Let us not neglect one another for the little time which Providence allows us to hope.—Of my health I cannot tell you, what my wishes persuaded me to expect, that it is much improved by the season or by remedies. I am sleepless; my legs grow weary with a very few steps, and the water breaks its boundaries in some degree. The asthma, however, has remitted; my breath is still much obstructed, but is more free than it was. Nights of watchfulness produce torpid days; I read very little, though I am alone; for I am tempted to supply in the day what I lost in bed.—This is my history, like all other histories, a narrative of misery. Yet am I so much better than in the beginning

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of the year, that I ought to be ashamed of complaining. I now sit and write with very little sensibility of pain or weakness; but when I rise, I shall find my legs betraying me.—Of the money which you mentioned I have no immediate need; keep it, however, for me, unless some exigence requires it. Your papers I will show you certainly when you would see them, but I am a little angry at you for not keeping minutes of your own *acceptum et expensum*, and think a little time might be spared from Aristophanes, for the *res familiares*. Forgive me, for I mean well.—I hope, dear sir, that you and Lady Rothes, and all the young people, too many to enumerate, are well and happy. God bless you all.”

To Mr WINDHAM. August. “The tenderness with which you have been pleased to treat me, through my long illness, neither health nor sickness can I hope make me forget; and you are not to suppose, that after we parted you were no longer in my mind. But what can a sick man say, but that he is sick? His thoughts are necessarily concentrated in himself; he neither receives nor can give delight; his inquiries are after alleviations of pain, and his efforts are to catch some momentary comfort.—Though I am now in the neighbourhood of the Peak, you must expect no account of its wonders, of its hills, its waters, its caverns, or its mines; but I will tell you, dear sir, what I hope you will not hear with less satisfaction, that for about a week past my asthma has been less afflictive.”

October 2. “I believe you have been long enough acquainted with the *phenomena* of sickness, not to be surprised that a sick man wishes to be where he is not, and where it appears to everybody but himself that he might easily be, without having the resolution to remove. I thought Ashbourne a solitary place, but did not come hither till last Monday.—I have here more company, but my health has for this last week not advanced; and in the languor of disease how little can be done? Whither or when I shall make my next remove, I cannot tell; but I entreat you, dear sir, to let me know, from time to time, where you may

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be found, for your residence is a very powerful attractive to, Sir, your most humble servant."

To the Right Honourable WILLIAM GERARD HAMILTON

DEAR SIR,—Considering what reason you gave me in the spring to conclude that you took part in whatever good or evil might befall me, I ought not to have omitted so long the account which I am now about to give you.—My diseases are an asthma and a dropsy, and, what is less curable, seventy-five. Of the dropsy, in the beginning of the summer, or in the spring, I recovered to a degree which struck with wonder both me and my physicians: the asthma now is likewise, for a time, very much relieved. I went to Oxford, where the asthma was very tyrannical, and the dropsy began again to threaten me, but seasonable physic stopped the inundation: I then returned to London, and in July took a resolution to visit Staffordshire and Derbyshire, where I am yet struggling with my diseases. The dropsy made another attack, and was not easily ejected, but at last gave way. The asthma suddenly remitted in bed, on the 13th of August, and, though now very oppressive, is, I think, still something gentler than it was before the remission. My limbs are miserably debilitated, and my nights are sleepless and tedious.—When you read this, dear sir, you are not sorry that I wrote no sooner. I will not prolong my complaints. I hope still to see you *in a happier hour*, to talk over what we have often talked, and perhaps to find new topics of merriment, or new incitements to curiosity. I am, dear Sir, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LICHFIELD, Oct. 20, 1784.

To JOHN PARADISE, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Though in all my summer's excursion I have given you no account of myself, I hope you think better of me than to imagine it possible for me to forget

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you, whose kindness to me has been too great and too constant not to have made its impression on a harder breast than mine.—Silence is not very culpable when nothing pleasing is suppressed. It would have alleviated none of your complaints to have read my vicissitudes of evil. I have struggled hard with very formidable and obstinate maladies; and though I cannot talk of health, think all praise due to my Creator and Preserver for the continuance of my life. The dropsy has made two attacks, and has given way to medicine; the asthma is very oppressive, but that has likewise once remitted. I am very weak, and very sleepless; but it is time to conclude the tale of misery.—I hope, dear sir, that you grow better, for you have likewise your share of human evil, and that your lady and the young charmers are well. I am, dear Sir, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LICHFIELD, *Oct. 20, 1784.*

*To Mr GEORGE NICOLL*¹

DEAR SIR,—Since we parted I have been much oppressed by my asthma, but it has lately been less laborious. When I sit I am almost at ease, and I can walk, though yet very little, with less difficulty for this week past than before. I hope I shall again enjoy my friends, and that you and I shall have a little more literary conversation.—Where I now am, everything is very liberally provided for me but conversation. My friend is sick himself, and the reciprocation of complaints and groans affords not much of either pleasure or instruction. What we have not at home this town does not supply, and I shall be glad of a little imported intelligence, and hope that you will bestow now and then a little time on the relief and entertainment of, Sir, yours, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

ASHBOURNE, *August 19, 1784.*

¹ Bookseller to his Majesty.

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To Mr CRUIKSHANK

DEAR SIR,—Do not suppose that I forget you; I hope I shall never be accused of forgetting my benefactors. I had, till lately, nothing to write but complaints upon complaints, of miseries upon miseries, but within this fortnight I have received great relief.—Have your Lectures any vacation? If you are released from the necessity of daily study, you may find time for a letter to me.—[In this letter he states the particulars of his case.]—In return for this account of my health, let me have a good account of yours, and of your prosperity in all your undertakings. I am, dear Sir, your, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

ASHBOURNE, *Sept. 4*, 1784.

To Mr THOMAS DAVIES. August 14. “The tenderness with which you always treat me, makes me culpable in my own eyes for having omitted to write in so long a separation; I had, indeed, nothing to say that you could wish to hear. All has been hitherto misery accumulated upon misery, disease corroborating disease, till yesterday my asthma was perceptibly and unexpectedly mitigated. I am much comforted with this short relief, and am willing to flatter myself that it may continue and improve. I have at present such a degree of ease, as not only may admit the comforts, but the duties of life. Make my compliments to Mrs Davies.—Poor dear Allen, he was a good man.”

To Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS. August 19. “Having had since our separation, little to say that could please you or myself by saying, I have not been lavish of useless letters; but I flatter myself that you will partake of the pleasure with which I can now tell you, that about a week ago, I felt suddenly a sensible remission of my asthma, and consequently a greater lightness of action and motion.—Of this grateful alleviation I know not the cause, nor dare depend upon its continuance, but while it lasts I endeavour to enjoy it, and

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am desirous of communicating, while it lasts, my pleasure to my friends.—Hitherto, dear sir, I had written before the post, which stays in this town but a little while, brought me your letter. Mr Davies seems to have represented my little tendency to recovery in terms too splendid. I am still restless, still weak, still watery, but the asthma is less oppressive.—Poor Ramsay!¹ On which side soever I turn, mortality presents its formidable frown. I left three old friends at Lichfield, when I was last there, and now found them all dead. I no sooner lose sight of dear Allen, than I am told that I shall see him no more. That we must all die, we always knew; I wish I had sooner remembered it. Do not think me intrusive or importunate, if I now call, dear sir, on you to remember it.”

Sept. 2. “I still continue, by God’s mercy, to mend. My breath is easier, my nights are quieter, and my legs are less in bulk, and stronger in use. I have, however, yet a great deal to overcome, before I can yet attain even an old man’s health.—Write, do write to me now and then; we are now old acquaintance, and perhaps few people have lived so much and so long together, with less cause of complaint on either side. The retrospection of this is very pleasant, and I hope we shall never think on each other with less kindness.”

Sept. 18. “I flattered myself that this week would have given me a letter from you, but none has come. Write to me now and then, but direct your next to Lichfield.—I think, and I hope, am sure, that I still grow better; I have sometimes good nights; but am still in my legs weak, but so much mended, that I go to Lichfield in hope of being able to pay my visits on foot, for there are no coaches.—I have three letters this day, all about the balloon. I could have been content with one. Do not write about the balloon, whatever else you may think proper to say.”

To Mr JOHN NICHOLS. Lichfield, Oct. 20. “When you

¹ Allan Ramsay, Esq., painter to his Majesty, who died about this time, much regretted by his friends.

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were here, you were pleased, as I am told, to think my absence an inconvenience. I should certainly have been very glad to give so skilful a lover of antiquities any information about my native place, of which, however, I know not much, and have reason to believe that not much is known.—Though I have not given you any amusement, I have received amusement from you. At Ashbourne, where I had very little company, I had the luck to borrow *Mr Bowyer's Life*; a book so full of contemporary history, that a literary man must find some of his old friends. I thought that I could now and then have told you some hints worth your notice; and perhaps we may talk a life over. I hope we shall be much together; you must now be to me what you were before, and what dear Mr Allen was, besides. He was taken unexpectedly away, but I think he was a very good man.—I have made little progress in recovery. I am very weak, and very sleepless; but I live on and hope."

This various mass of correspondence, which I have thus brought together, is valuable both as an addition to the store which the public already has of Johnson's writings, and as exhibiting a genuine and noble specimen of vigour and vivacity of mind, which neither age nor sickness could impair or diminish.

It may be observed, that his writing in every way, whether for the public, or privately to his friends, was by fits and starts; for we see frequently, that a number of letters are written on the same day. When he had once overcome his aversion to begin, he was, I suppose, desirous to go on in order to relieve his mind from the uneasy reflection of delaying what he ought to do.

While in the country, notwithstanding the accumulation of illness which he endured, his mind did not lose its powers. He translated an Ode of Horace, which is printed in his *Works*, and composed several prayers. I shall insert one of them, which is so wise and energetic, so philosophical and so pious, that I doubt not of its affording consolation to

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many a sincere Christian, when in a state of mind to which I believe the best are sometimes liable.¹

And here I am enabled fully to refute a very unjust reflection both against Dr Johnson and his faithful servant, Mr Francis Barber, by Sir John Hawkins, as if both of them had been guilty of culpable neglect towards a person of the name of Heely, whom Sir John chooses to call a *relation* of Dr Johnson's. The fact is, that Mr Heely was not his relation; he had indeed been married to one of his cousins, but she had died without having children, and he had married another woman, so that even the slight connection which there once had been by *alliance* was dissolved. Dr Johnson, who had shown very great liberality to this man while his first wife was alive, as has appeared in a former part of this work,² was humane and charitable enough to continue his bounty to him occasionally; but surely there was no strong call of duty upon him, or upon his legatee, to do more. The following letter, obligingly communicated to me by Mr Andrew Strahan, will confirm what I have stated :

To Mr HEELY, No. 5, in Pye Street, Westminster

SIR,—As necessity obliges you to call so soon again upon me, you should at least have told the smallest sum that will

¹ *Against inquisitive and perplexing thoughts.* "O Lord, my Maker and Protector, who hast graciously sent me into this world to work out my salvation, enable me to drive from me all such unquiet and perplexing thoughts as may mislead or hinder me in the practice of those duties which Thou hast required. When I behold the works of Thy hands, and consider the course of Thy providence, give me grace always to remember that Thy thoughts are not my thoughts, nor Thy ways my ways. And while it shall please Thee to continue me in this world, where much is to be done, and little to be known, teach me, by Thy Holy Spirit, to withdraw my mind from unprofitable and dangerous inquiries, from difficulties vainly curious, and doubts impossible to be solved. Let me rejoice in the light which Thou hast imparted, let me serve Thee with active zeal and humble confidence, and wait with patient expectation for the time in which the soul which Thou receivest shall be satisfied with knowledge. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."

² Vol. I., p. 356.

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supply your present want; you cannot suppose that I have much to spare. Two guineas is as much as you ought to be behind with your creditor.—If you wait on Mr Strahan, in New Street, Fetter Lane, or in his absence, on Mr Andrew Strahan, show this, by which they are entreated to advance you two guineas, and to keep this as a voucher. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

ASHBOURNE, *August 12, 1784.*

Indeed it is very necessary to keep in mind that Sir John Hawkins has unaccountably viewed Johnson's character and conduct in almost every particular with an unhappy prejudice.¹

We now behold Johnson for the last time, in his native city, for which he ever retained a warm affection, and which, by a sudden apostrophe under the word *Lich*, he introduces

¹ I shall add one instance only to those on which I have thought it incumbent on me to observe. Talking of Mr Garrick's having signified his willingness to let Johnson have the loan of any of his books to assist him in his edition of Shakspeare; Sir John says (page 444): "Mr Garrick knew not what risk he ran by this offer. Johnson had so strange a forgetfulness of obligations of this sort, that few who lent him books ever saw them again." This surely conveys a most unfavourable insinuation, and has been so understood. Sir John mentions the single case of a curious edition of Politian, which he tells us, "appeared to belong to Pembroke College, and which, probably, had been considered by Johnson as his own, for upwards of fifty years." Would it not be fairer to consider this as an inadvertence, and draw no general inference? The truth is, that Johnson was so attentive, that in one of his manuscripts in my possession, he has marked in two columns books borrowed, and books lent.

In Sir John Hawkins's compilation, there are, however, some passages concerning Johnson which have unquestionable merit. One of them I shall transcribe, in justice to a writer whom I have had too much occasion to censure, and to show my fairness as the biographer of my illustrious friend: "There was wanting in his conduct and behaviour, that dignity which results from a regular and orderly course of action, and by an irresistible power commands esteem. He could not be said to be a stayed man, nor so to have adjusted in his mind the balance of reason and passion, as to give occasion to say what may be observed of some men, that all they do is just, fit, and right."

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with reverence, into his immortal work, *The English Dictionary*—*Salve magna parens!*¹ While here, he felt a revival of all the tenderness of filial affection, an instance of which appeared in his ordering the gravestone and inscription, over Elizabeth Blaney,² to be substantially and carefully renewed.

To Mr Henry White, a young clergyman, with whom he now formed an intimacy, so as to talk to him with great freedom, he mentioned that he could not in general accuse himself of having been an undutiful son. "Once, indeed," said he, "I was disobedient; I refused to attend my father to Uttoxeter market. Pride was the source of that refusal, and the remembrance of it was painful. A few years ago, I desired to atone for this fault; I went to Uttoxeter in very bad weather, and stood for a considerable time bare-headed in the rain, on the spot where my father's stall used to stand. In contrition I stood, and I hope the penance was expiatory."

"I told him," says Miss Seward, "in one of my latest visits to him, of a wonderful learned pig, which I had seen at Nottingham; and which did all that we have observed exhibited by dogs and horses. The subject amused him. 'Then,' said he, 'the pigs are a race unjustly calumniated.

¹ The following circumstance, mutually to the honour of Johnson and the corporation of his native city, has been communicated to me by the Reverend Dr Vyse, from the Town-Clerk: "Mr Simpson has now before him, a record of the respect and veneration which the Corporation of Lichfield, in the year 1767, had for the merits and learning of Dr Johnson. His father built the corner-house in the Market-place, the two fronts of which, towards Market and Broad-market Street, stood upon waste land of the Corporation, under a forty years' lease, which was then expired. On the 15th of August, 1767, at a common-hall of the bailiffs and citizens, it was ordered (and that without any solicitation) that a lease should be granted to Samuel Johnson, Doctor of Laws, of the encroachments at his house, for the term of ninety-nine years, at the old rent, which was five shillings. Of which, as Town-Clerk, Mr Simpson had the honour and pleasure of informing him, and that he was desired to accept it, without paying any fine on the occasion, which lease was afterwards granted, and the Doctor died possessed of this property."

² See Vol. I., p. 3.

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Pig has, it seems, *not* been wanting to *man*, but *man* to *pig*. We do not allow *time* for his education, we kill him at a year old.' Mr Henry White, who was present, observed that if this instance had happened in or before Pope's time, he would not have been justified in instancing the swine as the lowest degree of grovelling instinct. Doctor Johnson seemed pleased with the observation, while the person who made it proceeded to remark that great torture must have been employed, ere the indocility of the animal could have been subdued.—'Certainly,' said the Doctor, 'but' (turning to me) 'how old is your pig?' I told him three years old. 'Then,' said he, 'the pig has no cause to complain; he would have been killed the first year if he had not been *educated*, and protracted existence is a good recompense for very considerable degrees of torture.'

As Johnson had now very faint hopes of recovery, and as Mrs Thrale was no longer devoted to him, it might have been supposed that he would naturally have chosen to remain in the comfortable house of his beloved wife's daughter, and end his life where he began it. But there was in him an animated and lofty spirit,¹ and however complicated diseases might depress ordinary mortals, all who saw him, beheld and acknowledged the *invictum animum Catonis*. Such was his intellectual ardour even at this time, that he said to one friend: "Sir, I look upon every day to be lost in which I do not make a new acquaintance." And to another, when talking of his illness: "I will be conquered; I will not capitulate." And such was his love of London, so high a relish had he of its magnificent extent, and variety of intellectual entertainment, that he languished when absent from it, his mind having become quite luxurious from the long habit of enjoying the metropolis; and therefore

¹ Mr Burke suggested to me as applicable to Johnson, what Cicero, in his *Cato Major*, says of Appius: "*Intentum enim animum tanquam arcum habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti*"; repeating at the same time, the following noble words in the same passage: "*Ita enim senectus honesta est si se ipsa defendit, si jus suum retinet, si nemini emancipata est, si usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum vindicet jus suum.*"

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although at Lichfield, surrounded with friends, who loved and revered him, and for whom he had a very sincere affection, he still found that such conversation as London affords could be found nowhere else. These feelings, joined probably to some flattering hopes of aid, from the eminent physicians and surgeons in London, who kindly and generously attended him without accepting of fees, made him resolve to return to the capital.

From Lichfield he came to Birmingham, where he passed a few days with his worthy old schoolfellow, Mr Hector, who thus writes to me: "He was very solicitous with me to recollect some of our most early transactions, and transmit them to him, for I perceived nothing gave him greater pleasure than calling to mind those days of our innocence. I complied with his request, and he only received them a few days before his death. I have transcribed for your inspection, exactly the minutes I wrote to him." This paper having been found in his repositories after his death, Sir John Hawkins has inserted it entire, and I have made occasional use of it and other communications from Mr Hector, in the course of this work. I have both visited and corresponded with him since Dr Johnson's death, and by asking a great variety of particulars have obtained additional information. I followed the same mode with the Reverend Dr Taylor, in whose presence I wrote down a good deal of what he could tell; and he, at my request, signed his name, to give it authenticity. It is very rare to find any person who is able to give a distinct account of the life even of one whom he has known intimately, without questions being put to them. My friend, Dr Kippis, has told me, that on this account it is a practice with him to draw out a biographical catechism.

Johnson then proceeded to Oxford, where he was again kindly received by Dr Adams, who was pleased to give me the following account in one of his letters (17th Feb. 1785): "His last visit was, I believe, to my house, which he left after a stay of four or five days. We had much serious talk

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together, for which I ought to be the better as long as I live. You will remember some discourse which we had in the summer upon the subject of prayer, and the difficulty of this sort of composition. He reminded me of this, and of my having wished him to try his hand, and to give us a specimen of the style and manner that he approved. He added, that he was now in a right frame of mind, and as he could not possibly employ his time better, he would in earnest set about it. But I find upon inquiry, that no papers of this sort were left behind him, except a few short ejaculatory forms suitable to his present situation."

Dr Adams had not then received accurate information on this subject; for it has since appeared that various prayers had been composed by him at different periods, which intermingled with pious resolutions, and some short notes of his life, were entitled by him *Prayers and Meditations*, and have in pursuance of his earnest requisition, in the hopes of doing good, been published, with a judicious well-written Preface, by the Reverend Mr Strahan, to whom he delivered them. This admirable collection, to which I have frequently referred in the course of this work, evinces, beyond all his compositions for the public, and all the eulogies of his friends and admirers, the sincere virtue and piety of Johnson. It proves with unquestionable authenticity, that amidst all his constitutional infirmities, his earnestness to conform his practice to the precepts of Christianity was unceasing, and that he habitually endeavoured to refer every transaction of his life to the will of the Supreme Being.

He arrived in London on the 16th of November, and next day sent to Dr Burney the following note, which I insert as the last token of his remembrance of this ingenious and amiable man, and as another of the many proofs of the tenderness and benignity of his heart.

"Mr Johnson, who came home last night, sends his respects to dear Dr Burney, and all the dear Burneys, little and great."

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To Mr HECTOR, in *Birmingham*

DEAR SIR,—I did not reach Oxford until Friday morning, and then I sent Francis to see the balloon fly, but could not go myself. I stayed at Oxford till Tuesday, and then came in the common vehicle easily to London. I am as I was, and having seen Dr Brocklesby, am to ply the squills; but whatever be their efficacy, this world must soon pass away. Let us think seriously on our duty.—I send my kindest respects to dear Mrs Careless; let me have the prayers of both. We have all lived long, and must soon part. God have mercy on us, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, Nov. 17, 1784.

His correspondence with me after his letter on the subject of my settling in London shall now, so far as is proper, be produced in one series.

26th July, he wrote to me from Ashbourne: "On the 14th I came to Lichfield, and found everybody glad enough to see me. On the 20th, I came hither, and found a house half built, of very uncomfortable appearance, but my own room has not been altered. That a man worn with diseases, in his seventy-second or third year, should condemn part of his remaining life to pass among ruins and rubbish, and that no inconsiderable part, appears to me very strange.—I know that your kindness makes you impatient to know the state of my health, in which I cannot boast of much improvement. I came through the journey without much inconvenience, but when I attempt self-motion I find my legs weak, and my breath very short; this day I have been much disordered. I have no company; the Doctor is busy in his fields, and goes to bed at nine, and his whole system is so different from mine, that we seem formed for different elements; I have, therefore, all my amusement to seek within myself."



A COPPER HALFPENNY TOKEN STRUCK BY HENRY BIGGS
OF MOOR STREET BIRMINGHAM IN 1793. ONLY SIX
IMPRESSIONS WERE MADE WITH THE EDGE READING AS
SHOWN IN THE ENGRAVING.

IT ALSO OCCURS WITH THE EDGE
" BIRMINGHAM W. HAMPTON OR LITCHFIELD "
THIS IS THE COMMON VARIETY.

A HALFPENNY TOKEN

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Having written to him in bad spirits, a letter filled with dejection and fretfulness, and at the same time expressing anxious apprehensions concerning him, on account of a dream which had disturbed me, his answer was chiefly in terms of reproach for a supposed charge of "affecting discontent, and indulging the vanity of complaint." It however proceeded: "Write to me often, and write like a man. I consider your fidelity and tenderness as a great part of the comforts which are yet left me, and sincerely wish we could be nearer to each other. * * * My dear friend, life is very short and very uncertain; let us spend it as well as we can. My worthy neighbour, Allen, is dead. Love me as well as you can. Pay my respects to dear Mrs Boswell.—Nothing ailed me at that time; let your superstition at last have an end."

Feeling very soon, that the manner in which he had written might hurt me, he in two days after, 28th July, wrote to me again, giving me an account of his sufferings, after which follows: "Before this letter you will have had one which I hope you will not take amiss; for it contains only truth, and that truth kindly intended. * * * *Spartam quam nactus es orna*; make the most and best of your lot, and compare yourself not with the few that are above you, but with the multitudes which are below you. * * * Go steadily forward with lawful business or honest diversions. 'Be' (as Temple says of the Dutchmen) '*well when you are not ill, and pleased when you are not angry.*' * * * This may seem but an ill return for your tenderness; but I mean it well, for I love you with great ardour and sincerity. Pay my respects to dear Mrs Boswell, and teach the young ones to love me."

I unfortunately was so much indisposed during a considerable part of the year, that it was not, or at least I thought it was not, in my power to write to my illustrious friend as formerly, or without expressing such complaints as offended him. Having conjured him not to do me the injustice of charging me with affectation, I was with much regret long

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silent. His last letter to me then came, and affected me very tenderly :

To JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I have this summer sometimes amended and sometimes relapsed, but upon the whole, have lost ground very much. My legs are extremely weak, and my breath very short, and the water is now increasing upon me. In this uncomfortable state your letters used to relieve; what is the reason that I have them no longer? Are you sick, or are you sullen? Whatever be the reason, if it be less than necessity, drive it away, and of the short life that we have, make the best use for yourself and for your friends. * * * I am sometimes afraid that your omission to write has some real cause, and shall be glad to know that you are not sick, and that nothing ill has befallen dear Mrs Boswell, or any of your family. I am, Sir, your, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LICHFIELD, Nov. 3, 1784.

Yet it was not a little painful to me to find, that in a paragraph of this letter, which I have omitted, he still persevered in arraigning me as before, which was strange in him who had so much experience of what I suffered. I however wrote to him two as kind letters as I could; the last of which came too late to be read by him, for his illness increased more rapidly upon him than I had apprehended; but I had the consolation of being informed that he spoke of me on his death-bed with affection, and I look forward with humble hope of renewing our friendship in a better world.

I now relieve the readers of this work from any further personal notice of its author, who, if he should be thought to have obtruded himself too much upon their attention, requests them to consider the peculiar plan of his biographical undertaking.

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Soon after Johnson's return to the metropolis, both the asthma and dropsy became more violent and distressful. He had for some time kept a journal in Latin, of the state of his illness, and the remedies which he used, under the title of *Ægri Ephemeris*, which he began on the 6th of July, but continued it no longer than the 8th of November; finding, I suppose, that it was a mournful and unavailing register. It is in my possession, and is written with great care and accuracy.

Still his love of literature¹ did not fail. He drew out

¹ It is truly wonderful to consider the extent and constancy of Johnson's literary ardour, notwithstanding the melancholy which clouded and embittered his existence. Besides the numerous and various works which he executed, he had at different times formed schemes of a great many more, of which the following catalogue was given by him to Mr Langton, and by that gentleman presented to his Majesty.

"DIVINITY.

A small book of precepts and directions for piety: the hint taken from the directions in Morton's exercise.

PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY, and LITERATURE in general.

History of Criticism, as it relates to judging of authors, from Aristotle to the present age. An account of the rise and improvements of that art; of the different opinions of authors, ancient and modern.

Translation of the History of Herodian.

New edition of Fairfax's Translation of Tasso, with notes, glossary, etc.

Chaucer, a new edition of him, from manuscripts and old editions, with various readings, conjectures, remarks on his language, and the changes it had undergone from the earliest times to his age, and from his to the present: with notes explanatory of customs, etc., and references to Boccaccio, and other authors from whom he has borrowed, with an account of the liberties he has taken in telling the stories; his life, and an exact etymological glossary.

Aristotle's Rhetoric, a translation of it into English.

A Collection of Letters, translated from the modern writers, with some account of the several authors.

Oldham's Poems, with notes historical and critical.

Roscommon's Poems, with notes.

Lives of the Philosophers, written with a polite air, in such a manner as may divert as well as instruct.

History of the Heathen Mythology, with an explication of the fables, both allegorical and historical; with references to the poets.

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and gave to his friend Mr John Nichols, what perhaps he alone could have done, a list of the authors of the *Universal History*, mentioning their several shares in that work. It has, according to his direction, been deposited

History of the State of Venice, in a compendious manner.

Aristotle's *Ethics*, an English translation of them with notes.

Geographical Dictionary from the French.

Hierocles upon Pythagoras, translated into English, perhaps with notes.

This is done by Norris.

A book of Letters upon all kinds of subjects.

Claudian, a new edition of his works, *cum notis variorum*, in the manner of Burman.

Tully's *Tusculan Questions*, a translation of them.

Tully's *De Naturâ Deorum*, a translation of those books.

Benzo's *New History of the New World*, to be translated.

Machiavel's *History of Florence*, to be translated.

History of the Revival of Learning in Europe, containing an account of whatever contributed to the restoration of literature; such as controversies, printing, the destruction of the Greek empire, the encouragement of great men, with the lives of the most eminent patrons and most eminent early professors of all kinds of learning in different countries.

A body of Chronology, in verse, with historical notes.

A table of the Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians, distinguished by figures into six degrees of value, with notes giving the reasons of preference or degradation.

A Collection of Letters from English authors, with a preface giving some account of the writers; with reasons for selection, and criticism upon styles; remarks on each letter, if needful.

A Collection of Proverbs from various languages. Jan. 6—53.

A Dictionary to the Common Prayer, in imitation of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible. March—52.

A Collection of Stories and Examples, like those of Valerius Maximus. Jan. 10—53.

From Ælian, a volume of select Stories, perhaps from others. Jan. 28—53.

Collection of Travels, Voyages, Adventures, and Descriptions of Countries.

Dictionary of Ancient History and Mythology.

Treatise on the Study of Polite Literature, containing the history of learning, directions for editions, commentaries, etc.

Maxims, Characters, and Sentiments, after the manner of Bruyère, collected out of ancient authors, particularly the Greek, with Apophthegms.

Classical Miscellanies, Select Translations from ancient Greek and Latin authors.

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in the British Museum, and is printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1784.

During his sleepless nights he amused himself by translating into Latin verse, from the Greek, many of the epigrams in the *Anthologia*. These translations, with some other poems by him in Latin, he gave to his friend Mr Langton, who,

Lives of illustrious persons, as well of the active as the learned, in imitation of Plutarch.

Judgment of the learned upon English authors.

Poetical Dictionary of the English tongue.

Considerations upon the present state of London.

Collection of Epigrams, with notes and observations.

Observations on the English language, relating to words, phrases, and modes of Speech.

Minutiæ Literariæ, Miscellaneous reflections, criticisms, emendations, notes.

History of the Constitution.

Comparison of Philosophical and Christian Morality, by sentences collected from the moralists and fathers.

Plutarch's Lives in English, with notes.

POETRY and works of IMAGINATION

Hymn to Ignorance.

The Palace of Sloth—a vision.

Coluthus, to be translated.

Prejudice—a poetical essay.

The Palace of Nonsense—a vision."

Johnson's extraordinary facility of composition, when he shook off his constitutional indolence, and resolutely sat down to write, is admirably described by Mr Courtenay in his *Poetical Review*, which I have several times quoted:

"While through life's maze he sent a piercing view,
His mind expansive to the object grew.
With various stores of erudition fraught,
The lively image, the deep-searching thought,
Slept in repose;—but when the moment press'd,
The bright ideas stood at once confess'd;
Instant his genius sped its vigorous rays,
And o'er the letter'd world diffus'd a blaze:
As womb'd with fire the cloud electric flies,
And calmly o'er th'horizon seems to rise;
Touch'd by the pointed steel, the lightning flows,
And all th'expanse with rich effulgence glows."

We shall in vain endeavour to know with exact precision every production

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having added a few notes, sold them to the booksellers for a small sum, to be given to some of Johnson's relations, which was accordingly done; and they are printed in the collection of his works.

A very erroneous notion has circulated as to Johnson's deficiency in the knowledge of the Greek language, partly owing to the modesty with which, from knowing how much

of Johnson's pen. He owned to me, that he had written about forty sermons; but as I understood that he had given or sold them to different persons, who were to preach them as their own, he did not consider himself at liberty to acknowledge them. Would those who were thus aided by him who are still alive, and the friends of those who are dead, fairly inform the world, it would be obligingly gratifying a reasonable curiosity, to which there should, I think, now be no objection. I have lying before me, in his handwriting, a fragment of twenty quarto leaves, of a translation into English of Sallust, *De Bello Catalinario*. When it was done I have no notion; but it seems to have no very superior merit to mark it as his. Besides those publications, which with all my chronological care I have ascertained in the course of this work, I am satisfied, from internal evidence, to admit also as genuine the following:

"Considerations on the Case of Dr Trapp's Sermons," † published in 1739, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. It is a very ingenious defence of the right of abridging an author's work, without being held as infringing his property. This is one of the nicest questions in the "Law of Literature"; and I cannot help thinking, that the indulgence of abridging is often exceedingly injurious to authors and booksellers, and should in very few cases be permitted.

Dedication for Mrs Lennox to the Earl of Middlesex, of her *Female Quixote*, in 1762.†

Preface to the Catalogue of the Artists' Exhibition in 1762.†

Preface to Baretti's *Easy Lessons in Italian and English*, in 1775.†

But, though it has been confidently ascribed to him, I cannot allow that he wrote a Dedication to both Houses of Parliament of a book entitled *The Evangelical History Harmonized*. He was no croaker; no declaimer against the times. He would not have written, "That we are fallen upon an age in which corruption is not barely universal, is universally confessed." Nor, "Rapine preys on the public without opposition, and perjury betrays it without inquiry." Nor would he, to excite a speedy reformation, have conjured up such phantoms of terror as these: "A few years longer, and perhaps all endeavours will be in vain. We may be swallowed by an earthquake; we may be delivered to our enemies." This is not Johnsonian.

There are indeed, in this Dedication, several sentences constructed upon

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there was to be learnt, he used to mention his own comparative acquisitions. When Mr Cumberland¹ talked to him of the Greek fragments which are so well illustrated in *The Observer*, and of the Greek dramatists in general, he candidly acknowledged his insufficiency in that particular branch of Greek literature. Yet it may be said, that though not a great, he was a good Greek scholar. Mr Burney, who is universally acknowledged by the best judges, to be one of the few men of this age who are very eminent for their skill in that noble language, has assured me, that Johnson could give a Greek word for almost every English one; and that although not sufficiently conversant in the niceties of the language, he upon some occasions discovered, even in these, a considerable degree of critical acumen. Mr Dalzell, Professor of Greek at Edinburgh, whose skill in it is unquestionable, mentioned to me, in very liberal terms, the impression which was made upon him by Johnson, in a conversation which they had in London concerning that language. As Johnson, therefore, was undoubtedly one of the first Latin scholars in modern times, let us not deny to his fame some additional splendour from Greek.

I shall now fulfil my promise of exhibiting specimens of various sorts of imitation of Johnson's style.

In the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1787, there is an "Essay on the Style of Dr Samuel Johnson," by the Rev. Robert Burrowes, whose respect for the great object the model of those of Johnson. But the imitation of the form, without the spirit of his style, has been so general, that this of itself is not sufficient evidence. Even our newspaper writers aspire to it. In an account of the funeral of Edwin the comedian, in *The Diary* of 9th Nov. 1790, that son of drollery is thus described: "A man who had so often cheered the sullenness of vacancy, and suspended the approaches of sorrow."

I have not thought it necessary to specify every copy of verses written by Johnson, it being my intention to publish an authentic edition of all his Poetry, with Notes.

¹ Mr Cumberland assures me, that he was always treated with great courtesy by Dr Johnson, who, in his *Letters to Mrs Thrale*, vol. ii., p. 68, thus speaks of that learned, and accomplished gentleman: "The want of company is an inconvenience: but Mr Cumberland is a million."

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of his criticism ¹ is thus evinced in the concluding paragraph : " I have singled him out from the whole body of English writers, because his universally acknowledged beauties would be most apt to induce imitation ; and I have treated rather on his faults than his perfections, because an essay might comprise all the observations I could make upon his faults, while volumes would not be sufficient for a treatise on his perfections."

Mr Burrowes has analysed the composition of Johnson, and pointed out its peculiarities with much acuteness ; and I would recommend a careful perusal of his Essay to those, who being captivated by the union of perspicuity and splendour which the writings of Johnson contain, without having a sufficient portion of his vigour of mind, may be in danger of becoming bad copyists of his manner. I however cannot but observe, and I observe it to his credit, that this learned gentleman has himself caught no mean degree of the expansion and harmony which, independent of all other circumstances, characterise the sentences of Johnson. Thus, in the Preface to the volume in which his Essay appears, we find : " If it be said that in societies of this sort, too much attention is frequently bestowed on subjects barren and speculative, it may be answered, that no one science is so little connected with the rest, as not to afford many principles whose use may extend considerably beyond the science to which they primarily belong ; and that no proposition is so purely theoretical as to be totally incapable of being applied to practical purposes. There is no apparent connection between duration and the cycloidal arch, the properties of which duly attended to, have furnished us with our best regulated methods of measuring time : and he who

¹ We must smile at a little inaccuracy of metaphor in the Preface to the *Transactions*, which is written by Mr Burrowes. The critic of the style of Johnson having, with a just zeal for literature, observed that the whole nation are called on to exert themselves, afterwards says : " They are called on by every tie which can have a laudable influence on the heart of man."

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has made himself master of the nature and affections of the logarithmic curve, is not aware that he has advanced considerably towards ascertaining the proportionable density of the air at its various distances from the surface of the earth."

The ludicrous imitators of Johnson's style are innumerable. Their general method is to accumulate hard words, without considering that although he was fond of introducing them occasionally, there is not a single sentence in all his writings where they are crowded together as in the first verse of the following imaginary Ode by him to Mrs Thrale,¹ which appeared in the newspapers :

" *Cervisial coctor's viduate* dame,
Opin'st thou this gigantic frame,
Procumb'g at thy shrine :
Shall, *catenated* by thy charms,
A captive in thy *ambient* arms,
Perennially be thine? "

This, and a thousand other such attempts, are totally unlike the original, which the writers imagined they were turning into ridicule. There is not similarity enough for burlesque, or even for caricature.

Mr Colman, in his *Prose on Several Occasions*, has " A Letter from LEXIPHANES; containing Proposals for a *Glossary* or *Vocabulary* of the *Vulgar Tongue*: intended as a Supplement to a larger Dictionary." It is evidently meant as a sportive sally of ridicule on Johnson, whose style is thus imitated, without being grossly overcharged. " It is easy to foresee, that the idle and illiterate will complain that I have increased their labours by endeavouring to diminish them; and that I have explained what is more easy by what is more difficult—*ignotum per ignotius*. I expect, on the other hand,

¹ Johnson's wishing to unite himself with this rich widow was much talked of, but I believe without foundation. The report, however, gave occasion for a poem, not without characteristic merit, entitled, *Ode to Mrs Thrale, by Samuel Johnson, LL.D., on their supposed approaching Nuptials*: printed for Mr Faulder, in Bond Street.

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the liberal acknowledgments of the learned. He who is buried in scholastic retirement, secluded from the assemblies of the gay, and remote from the circles of the polite, will at once comprehend the definitions, and be grateful for such a seasonable and necessary elucidation of his mother tongue."—"Annexed to this letter is a short specimen of the work, thrown together in a vague and desultory manner, not even adhering to alphabetical concatenation."¹

The serious imitators of Johnson's style, whether intentionally or by the imperceptible effect of its strength and animation, are, as I have had already occasion to observe, so many, that I might introduce quotations from a great proportion of the writers in our language since he appeared. I shall point out only the following.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.

"In other parts of the globe, man, in his rudest state, appears as lord of the creation, giving law to various tribes of animals which he has tamed and reduced to subjection. The Tartar follows his prey on the horse which he has reared, or tends his numerous herds, which furnish him both with food and clothing; the Arab has rendered the camel docile, and avails himself of its persevering strength; the Laplander has formed the reindeer to be subservient to his will; and even the people of Kamschatka have trained their dogs to labour. This command over the inferior creatures is one of the noblest prerogatives of man, and

¹ "*Higgledy-piggledy*—Conglomeration and confusion.

Hodge-podge—A culinary mixture of heterogeneous ingredients; applied metaphorically to all discordant combinations.

Tit for Tat—Adequate retaliation.

Shilly Shally—Hesitation and irresolution.

Fee! fa! fum!—Gigantic intonations.

Rigmarole—Discourse, incoherent and rhapsodical.

Crinum-cranium—Lines of irregularity and involution.

Ding-dong—Tintinabular chimes, used metaphorically to signify dispatch and vehemence."

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among the greatest efforts of his wisdom and power. Without this, his dominion is incomplete. He is a monarch who has no subjects; a master without servants; and must perform every operation by the strength of his own arm.”¹

EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

“Of all our passions and appetites, the love of power is of the most imperious and unsociable nature, since the pride of one man requires the submission of the multitude. In the tumult of civil discord the laws of society lose their force, and their place is seldom supplied by those of humanity. The ardour of contention, the pride of victory, the despair of success, the memory of past injuries, and the fear of future dangers, all contribute to inflame the mind, and to silence the voice of pity.”²

MISS BURNEY

“My family mistaking ambition for honour, and rank for dignity, have long planned a splendid connection for me, to which, though my invariable repugnance has stopped any advances, their wishes and their views immovably adhere. I am but too certain they will now listen to no other. I dread therefore to make a trial where I despair of success; I know not how to risk a prayer with those who may silence me by a command.”³

Reverend Mr NARES⁴

“In an enlightened and improving age, much perhaps is not to be apprehended from the inroads of mere caprice;

¹ *History of America*, vol. i., quarto, p. 332.

² *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. i., chap. iv.

³ *Cecilia*, Book vii., chap. i.

⁴ The passage which I quote is taken from that gentleman's *Elements of Orthoepey*; “containing a distinct View of the whole Analogy of the English

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at such a period it will generally be perceived, that needless irregularity is the worst of all deformities, and that nothing is so truly elegant in language as the simplicity of unviolated analogy.—Rules will therefore be observed, so far as they are known and acknowledged: but, at the same time, the desire of improvement having been once excited will not remain inactive; and its efforts, unless assisted by knowledge, as much as they are prompted by zeal, will not unfrequently be found pernicious; so that the very persons whose intention it is to perfect the instrument of reason, will deprave and disorder it unknowingly. At such a time, then, it becomes peculiarly necessary that the analogy of language should be fully examined and understood; that its rules should be carefully laid down; and that it should be clearly known how much it contains, which being already right should be defended from change and violation: how much it has that demands amendment; and how much that, for fear of greater inconveniences, must perhaps be left unaltered, though irregular.”

A distinguished author in *The Mirror*,¹ a periodical paper published at Edinburgh, has imitated Johnson very closely. Thus, in No. 16—“The effects of the return of spring have been frequently remarked as well in relation to the human mind as to the animal and vegetable world. The reviving power of this season has been traced from the fields to the herds that inhabit them, and from the lower classes of beings up to man. Gladness and joy are described as prevailing through universal Nature, animating the low of the cattle, the carol of the birds, and the pipe of the shepherd.”

language, so far as relates to Pronunciation, Accent, and Quantity,” London, 1784. I beg leave to offer my particular acknowledgments to the author of a work of uncommon merit and great utility. I know no book which contains, in the same compass, more learning, polite literature, sound sense, accuracy of arrangement, and perspicuity of expression.

¹ That collection was presented to Dr Johnson I believe by its authors; and I heard him speak very well of it.

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The Reverend Mr Knox, master of Tunbridge School, appears to have the *imitare auctorem* of Johnson's style perpetually in his mind; and to his assiduous study of it we may partly ascribe the extensive popularity of his writings.¹

In his *Essays, Moral and Literary*, No. 3, we find the following passage:—"The polish of external grace may indeed be deferred till the approach of manhood. When solidity is obtained by pursuing the modes prescribed by our forefathers, then may the file be used. The firm substance will bear attrition, and the lustre then acquired will be durable."

There is, however, one in No. 11, which is blown up into such tumidity as to be truly ludicrous. The writer means to tell us, that Members of Parliament, who have run in debt by extravagance, will sell their votes to avoid an arrest,² which he thus expresses: "They who build houses and collect costly pictures and furniture, with the money of an honest artisan or mechanic, will be very glad of emancipation from the hands of a bailiff, by a sale of their senatorial suffrage."

But I think the most perfect imitation of Johnson is a professed one, entitled *A Criticism on Gray's Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, said to be written by Mr Young, Professor of Greek at Glasgow, and of which let him have the credit, unless a better title can be shown. It has not only the peculiarities of Johnson's style, but that very species of literary discussion and illustration for which he was eminent. Having already quoted so much from others, I shall refer the curious to this performance, with an assurance of much entertainment.

Yet whatever merit there may be in any imitations of Johnson's style, every good judge must see that they are obviously different from the original; for all of them

¹ It were to be wished, that he had imitated that great man in every respect, and had not followed the example of Dr Adam Smith, in ungraciously attacking his venerable *Alma Mater*, Oxford.

² Mr Knox, in his *Moral and Literary Abstraction*, may be excused for not knowing the political regulations of his country. No senator can be in the hands of a bailiff.

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are either deficient in its force, or overloaded with its peculiarities; and the powerful sentiment to which it is suited is not to be found.

Johnson's affection for his departed relations seemed to grow warmer as he approached nearer to the time when he might hope to see them again. It probably appeared to him that he should upbraid himself with unkind inattention were he to leave the world, without having paid a tribute of respect to their memory.

To Mr GREEN, Apothecary, at Lichfield

DEAR SIR,—I have enclosed the Epitaph¹ for my Father, Mother, and Brother, to be all engraved on the large size, and laid in the middle aisle in St Michael's Church, which I request the clergyman and churchwardens to permit.

The first care must be to find the exact place of interment, that the stone may protect the bodies. Then let the stone be deep, massy, and hard; and do not let the difference of ten pounds, or more, defeat our purpose.

I have enclosed ten pounds, and Mrs Porter will pay you ten more, which I gave her for the same purpose. What more is wanted shall be sent; and I beg that all possible haste may be made, for I wish to have it done while I am yet alive. Let me know, dear sir, that you receive this. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Dec. 2, 1784.

To Mrs LUCY PORTER, in Lichfield

DEAR MADAM,—I am very ill, and desire your prayers. I have sent Mr Green the Epitaph, and a power to call on you for ten pounds.

¹ No man understood that species of composition better than Johnson. I should have mentioned in 1773, his epitaph on Mrs Bell, wife of his friend John Bell, Esq. It is printed in his *Works*, as well as the above.

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I laid this summer a stone over Tetty, in the chapel of Bromley in Kent. The inscription is in Latin, of which this is the English. [Here a translation.]

That this is done, I thought it fit that you should know. What care will be taken of us, who can tell? May God pardon and bless us, for Jesus Christ's sake. I am, etc.,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Dec. 2, 1784.

My readers are now at last to behold Samuel Johnson preparing himself for that doom from which the most exalted powers afford no exemption to man. Death had always been to him an object of terror; so that though by no means happy, he still clung to life with an eagerness at which many have wondered. At any time when he was ill, he was very much pleased to be told that he looked better. An ingenious member of the Eumelian Club¹ informs me, that upon one occasion, when he said to him that he saw health returning to his cheek, Johnson seized him by the hand and exclaimed: "Sir, you are one of the kindest friends I ever had."

His own state of his views of futurity will appear truly rational, and may perhaps impress the unthinking with seriousness.

"You know," he says,² "I never thought confidence with respect to futurity any part of the character of a brave, a wise, or a good man. Bravery has no place where it can avail nothing; wisdom impresses strongly the consciousness of those faults, of which it is perhaps itself an aggravation; and goodness, always wishing to be better, and imputing every deficiency to criminal negligence, and every fault to voluntary corruption, never dares to suppose the condition

¹ A club in London, founded by the learned and ingenious physician, Dr Ash, in honour of whose name it was called *Eumelian*, from the Greek *Ευμέλιος*; though it was warmly contended, and even put to a vote, that it should have the more obvious appellation of *Fraxinean*, from the Latin.

² *Letters to Mrs Thrale*, vol. ii., p. 350.

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of forgiveness fulfilled, nor what is wanting in the crime supplied by penitence.

"This is the state of the best; but what must be the condition of him whose heart will not suffer him to rank himself among the best, or among the good? Such must be his dread of the approaching trial, as will leave him little attention to the opinion of those whom he is leaving for ever; and the serenity that is not felt, it can be no virtue to feign."

His great fear of death, and the strange dark manner in which Sir John Hawkins imparts the uneasiness which he expressed on account of offences with which he charged himself, may give occasion to injurious suspicions, as if there had been something of more than ordinary criminality weighing upon his conscience. On that account, therefore, as well as from the regard to truth which he inculcated,¹ I am to mention (with all possible respect and delicacy however), that his conduct after he came to London, and had associated with Savage and others, was not so strictly virtuous, in one respect, as when he was a younger man. It was well known that his amorous inclinations were uncommonly strong and impetuous. He owned to many of his friends, that he used to take women of the town to taverns, and hear them relate their history. In short, it must not be concealed, that like many other good and pious men, amongst whom we may place the Apostle Paul, upon his own authority, Johnson was not free from propensities which were ever "warring against the law of his mind"—and that in his combats with them he was sometimes overcome.

Here let the profane and licentious pause; let them not thoughtlessly say that Johnson was a *hypocrite*, or that his *principles* were not firm, because his *practice* was not uniformly conformable to what he professed.

Let the question be considered independent of moral and religious association; and no man will deny that thousands, in many instances, act against conviction. Is a prodigal, for example, a *hypocrite*, when he owns he is

¹ See what he said to Mr Malone, p. 181 of this volume.

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satisfied that his extravagance will bring him to ruin and misery? We are *sure* he *believes* it; but immediate inclination, strengthened by indulgence, prevails over that belief in influencing his conduct. Why then shall credit be refused to the *sincerity* of those who acknowledge their persuasion of moral and religious duty, yet sometimes fail of living as it requires? I heard Dr Johnson once observe: "There is something noble in publishing truth, though it condemns one's self."¹ And one who said in his presence, "he had no notion of people being in earnest in their good professions, whose practice was not suitable to them," was thus reprimanded by him: "Sir, are you so grossly ignorant of human nature as not to know that a man may be very sincere in good principles, without having good practice?"²

But let no man encourage or soothe himself in "presumptuous sin," from knowing that Johnson was sometimes hurried into indulgences which he thought criminal. I have exhibited this circumstance as a shade in so great a character, both from my sacred love of truth, and to show that he was not so weakly scrupulous as he has been represented by those who imagine that the sins of which a deep sense was upon his mind were merely such little venial trifles as pouring milk into his tea on Good Friday. His understanding will be defended by my statement, if his consistency of conduct be in some degree impaired. But what wise man would, for momentary gratifications, deliberately subject himself to suffer such uneasiness as we find was experienced by Johnson in reviewing his conduct as compared with his notion of the ethics of the Gospel? Let the following passages be kept in remembrance:—"O God, giver and preserver of all life, by whose power I was created, and by whose providence I am sustained, look down upon me with tenderness and mercy; grant that I may not have been created to be finally destroyed; that I may not be preserved to add

¹ *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 3rd edit., p. 209.

² *Ibid.*, p. 374.

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wickedness to wickedness."¹—"O Lord, let me not sink into total depravity; look down upon me, and rescue me at last from the captivity of sin."²—"Almighty and most merciful Father, who hast continued my life from year to year, grant that by longer life I may become less desirous of sinful pleasures, and more careful of eternal happiness."³—"Let not my years be multiplied to increase my guilt; but as my age advances, let me become more pure in my thoughts, more regular in my desires, and more obedient to Thy laws."⁴—"Forgive, O merciful Lord, whatever I have done contrary to Thy laws. Give me such a sense of my wickedness as may produce true contrition and effectual repentance; so that when I shall be called into another state, I may be received among the sinners to whom sorrow and reformation have obtained pardon, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."⁵

Such was the distress of mind, such the penitence of Johnson in his hours of privacy, and in his devout approaches to his Maker. His *sincerity* therefore must appear to every candid mind unquestionable.

It is of essential consequence to keep in view, that there was in this excellent man's conduct no false principle of *commutation*, no *deliberate* indulgence in sin, in consideration of a counterbalance of duty. His offending, and his repenting, were distinct and separate⁶; and when we consider his almost unexampled attention to truth, his inflexible integrity, his constant piety, who will dare to "cast a stone" at him? Besides, let it never be forgotten, that he cannot be charged with any offence indicating badness of *heart*, anything dishonest, base, or malignant; but that, on the contrary, he was charitable in an extraordinary degree:

¹ *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶ Dr Johnson related, with an earnestness of approbation, a story of a gentleman, who, in an impulse of passion, overcame the virtue of a young woman. When she said to him, "I am afraid we have done wrong!" he answered, "Yes, we have done wrong;—for I would not *debauch* her mind."

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so that even in one of his own rigid judgments of himself (Easter Eve, 1781), while he says, "I have corrected no external habits," he is obliged to own, "I hope that since my last communion I have advanced by pious reflections in my submission to God, and my benevolence to man."¹

I am conscious that this is the most difficult and dangerous part of my biographical work, and I cannot but be very anxious concerning it. I trust that I have got through it, preserving at once my regard to truth—to my friend—and to the interests of virtue and religion. Nor can I apprehend that more harm can ensue from the knowledge of the irregularity of Johnson, guarded as I have stated it, than from knowing that Addison and Parnell were intemperate in the use of wine; which Johnson himself, in his *Lives* of those celebrated writers, and pious men, has not forbore to record.

It is not my intention to give a very minute detail of the particulars of Johnson's remaining days, of whom it was now evident that the crisis was fast approaching, when he must "*die like men, and fall like one of the Princes.*" Yet it will be instructive, as well as gratifying to the curiosity of my readers, to record a few circumstances, on the authenticity of which they may perfectly rely, as I have been at the utmost pains to obtain them from the best authority.

Dr Heberden, Dr Brocklesby, Dr Warren, and Dr Butter, physicians, generously attended him, without accepting of any fees, as did Mr Cruikshank, surgeon; and all that could be done from professional skill and ability was tried, to prolong a life so truly valuable. He himself, indeed, having on account of his very bad constitution been perpetually applying himself to medical inquiries, united his own efforts with those of the gentlemen who attended him; and imagining that the dropsical collection of water which oppressed him, might be drawn off, by making incisions in his body, he, with

¹ *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 192.

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his usual resolute defiance of pain, cut deep, when he thought that his surgeon had done it too tenderly.¹

About eight or ten days before his death, when Dr Brocklesby paid him his morning visit, he seemed very low and desponding, and said : " I have been as a dying man all night." He then emphatically broke out, in the words of Shakespeare :

" Canst thou not minister to a mind diseas'd?
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow?
Raze out the written troubles of the brain?
And with some sweet oblivious antidote,
Cleanse the full bosom of that perilous stuff,
Which weighs upon the heart."

To which Dr Brocklesby readily answered from the same great poet :

" —————therein the patient
Must minister unto himself."

Johnson expressed himself much satisfied with the application.

On another day after this, when talking on the subject of prayer, Dr Brocklesby repeated from Juvenal,

" *Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano,*"

and so on to the end of the tenth satire ; but in running it quickly over he happened in the line

" *Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat,*"

to pronounce *supremum* for *extremum* ; at which Johnson's critical ear instantly took offence, and discoursing vehemently

¹ This bold experiment, Sir John Hawkins has related in such a manner as to suggest a charge against Johnson of intentionally hastening his end ; a charge so very inconsistent with his character in every respect, that it is injurious even to refute it, as Sir John has thought it necessary to do. It is evident, that what Johnson did in hopes of relief indicated an extraordinary eagerness to retard his dissolution.

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on the unmetrical effect of such a lapse, he showed himself as full as ever of the spirit of the grammarian.

Having no near relations, it had been for some time Johnson's intention to make a liberal provision for his faithful servant, Mr Francis Barber, whom he looked upon as particularly under his protection, and whom he had all along treated truly as a humble friend. Having asked Dr Brocklesby what would be a proper annuity to bequeath to a favourite servant, and being answered that it must depend on the circumstances of the master; and that in the case of a nobleman fifty pounds a year was considered as an adequate reward for many years' faithful service—"Then," said Johnson, "shall I be *nobilissimus*, for I mean to leave Frank seventy pounds a year, and I desire you to tell him so." It is strange, however, to think, that Johnson was not free from that general weakness of being averse to execute a will, so that he delayed it from time to time; and had it not been for Sir John Hawkins's repeatedly urging it, I think it is probable that his kind resolution would not have been fulfilled. After making one which, as Sir John Hawkins informs us, extended no further than the promised annuity, Johnson's final disposition of his property was established by a Will and Codicil, of which copies are subjoined.¹

¹ "IN THE NAME OF GOD. AMEN. I SAMUEL JOHNSON, being in full possession of my faculties, but fearing this night may put an end to my life, do ordain this my last Will and Testament. I bequeath to God a soul polluted with many sins, but I hope purified by JESUS CHRIST.—I leave seven hundred and fifty pounds in the hands of Bennet Langton, Esq.; three hundred pounds in the hands of Mr Barclay and Mr Perkins, brewers; one hundred and fifty pounds in the hands of Dr Percy, Bishop of Dromore; one thousand pounds, three per cent. annuities, in the publick funds; and one hundred pounds now lying by me in ready money: all these before-mentioned sums and property I leave, I say, to Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir John Hawkins, and Dr William Scott, of Doctors Commons, in trust, for the following uses:—That is to say, to pay to the representatives of the late William Innys, bookseller, in St Paul's Churchyard, the sum of two hundred pounds; to Mrs White, my female servant, one hundred pounds stock in the three per cent. annuities aforesaid. The rest of the aforesaid sums of money and property, together with my books, plate, and household furniture, I leave to the before-mentioned Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir John Hawkins, and Dr

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The consideration of the numerous papers of which he was possessed, seems to have struck Johnson's mind with a sudden anxiety, and as they were in great confusion, it is much to be lamented that he had not entrusted some faithful and discreet person with the care and selection of them; instead of which, he, in a precipitate manner,

William Scott, also in trust, to be applied, after paying my debts, to the use of Francis Barber, my man-servant, a negro, in such a manner as they shall judge most fit and available to his benefit. And I appoint the aforesaid Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir John Hawkins, and Dr William Scott, sole executors of this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all former wills and testaments whatever. In witness whereof I herunto subscribe my name, and affix my seal, this eighth day of December, 1784.

SAM. JOHNSON, (L.S.)

Signed, sealed, published, declared, and delivered by the said testator, as his last will and testament, in the presence of us, the word *two* being first inserted in the opposite page.

GEORGE STRAHAN.
JOHN DESMOULINS."

"By way of Codicil to my last Will and Testament, I SAMUEL JOHNSON, give, devise, and bequeath, my message or tenement, situate at Lichfield in the county of Stafford, with the appurtenances, in the tenure or occupation of Mrs Bond, of Lichfield aforesaid, or of Mr Hinchman, her undertenant, to my executors in trust, to sell and dispose of the same; and the money arising from such sale I give and bequeath as follows, viz. to Thomas and Benjamin the sons of Fisher Johnson, late of Leicester, and ——— Whiting, daughter of Thomas Johnson, late of Coventry, and the grand-daughter of the said Thomas Johnson, one full and equal fourth part each; but in case there shall be more grand-daughters than one of the said Thomas Johnson, living at the time of my decease, I give and bequeath the part or share of that one to, and equally between such grand-daughters. I give and bequeath to the Reverend Mr Rogers of Berkley, near Froome, in the county of Somerset, the sum of one hundred pounds, requesting him to apply the same towards the maintenance of Elizabeth Herne, a lunatick. I also give and bequeath to my god-children, the son and daughter of Mauritius Lowe, painter, each of them, one hundred pounds of my stock in the three per cent. consolidated annuities, to be applied and disposed of by and at the discretion of my Executors, in the education or settlement in the world of them my said legatees. Also I give and bequeath to Sir John Hawkins, one of my Executors, the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius, and Holingshed's and Stowe's *Chronicles*, and also an octavo Common Prayer Book. To Bennet Langton, Esq., I give and bequeath my Polyglot Bible. To Sir Joshua Reynolds, my great French Dictionary, by Martiniere, and my own

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burnt masses of them, as I should apprehend, with little regard to discrimination. Not that I suppose we have thus been deprived of any compositions which he had ever intended for the public eye; but, from what escaped the copy of my folio English Dictionary, of the last revision. To Dr William Scott, one of my Executors, the *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, and Lectius's edition of the Greek Poets. To Mr Windham, *Poetæ Græci Heroici per Henricum Stephanum*. To the Reverend Mr Strahan, vicar of Islington, in Middlesex, Mills's Greek Testament, Beza's Greek Testament by Stephens, all my Latin Bibles, and my Greek Bible by Wechelius. To Dr Heberden, Dr Brocklesby, Dr Butter, and Mr Cruikshank the surgeon who attended me, Mr Holder my apothecary, Gerard Hamilton, Esq., Mrs Gardiner, of Snow-hill, Mrs Frances Reynolds, Mr Hoole, and the Reverend Mr Hoole, his son, each a book at their election, to keep as a token of remembrance. I also give and bequeath to Mr John Desmoulins, two hundred pounds consolidated three per cent. annuities; and to Mr Sastres, the Italian master, the sum of five pounds, to be laid out in books of piety for his own use. And whereas the said Bennet Langton hath agreed, in consideration of the sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds, mentioned in my Will to be in his hands, to grant and secure an annuity of seventy pounds, payable during the life of me and my servant Francis Barber, and the life of the survivor of us, to Mr George Stubbs in trust for us; my mind and will is, that in case of my decease before the said agreement shall be perfected, the said sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds, and the bond for securing the said sum, shall go to the said Francis Barber; and I hereby give and bequeath to him the same, in lieu of the bequest in his favour, contained in my said will. And I hereby empower my Executors to deduct and retain all expences that shall or may be occurred in the execution of my said Will, or of this Codicil thereto, out of such estate and effects as I shall die possessed of. All the rest, residue, and remainder of my estate and effects, I give and bequeath to my said Executors, in trust for the said Francis Barber, his Executors and Administrators. Witness my hand and seal this ninth day of December, 1784.

SAM. JOHNSON, (L.S.)

Signed, sealed, published, declared, and delivered by the said Samuel Johnson, as, and for a Codicil to his last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who, in his presence, and at his request, and also in the presence of each other, have hereto subscribed our names as witnesses.

JOHN COPLEY.
WILLIAM GIBSON.
HENRY COLE."

Upon these testamentary deeds it is proper to make a few observations. His express declaration with his dying breath of his faith as a Christian,

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flames, I judge that many curious circumstances relating both to himself and other literary characters have perished.

Two very valuable articles, I am sure, we have lost, which were two quarto volumes, containing a full, fair, and most particular account of his own life, from his earliest recollection. I owned to him, that having accidentally seen them, I had read a great deal in them; and apologising for the liberty I had taken, asked him if I could help it. He placidly answered: "Why, sir, I do not think you could

as it had been often practised in such solemn writings, was of real consequence from this great man, as the conviction of a mind equally acute and strong might well overbalance the doubts of others who were his contemporaries. The expression *polluted* may to some convey an impression of more than ordinary contamination; but that is not warranted by its genuine meaning, as appears from *The Rambler*, No. 42. The same word is used in the will of Dr Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, who was piety itself.

His legacy of two hundred pounds to the representatives of Mr Innys, bookseller in St Paul's Churchyard, was the effect of a very worthy motive. He told Sir John Hawkins, that his father having become bankrupt, Mr Innys had assisted him with money or credit to continue his business. "This," said he, "I consider as an obligation on me to be grateful to his descendants."

The amount of his property proved to be considerably more than he had supposed it to be. Sir John Hawkins estimates the bequest to Francis Barber at a sum little short of fifteen hundred pounds, including an annuity of seventy pounds to be paid to him by Mr Langton, in consideration of seven hundred and fifty pounds which Johnson had lent to that gentleman. Sir John seems not a little angry at this bequest, and mutters "a caveat against ostentatious bounty and favour to negroes." But surely when a man has money entirely of his own acquisition, especially when he has no near relations, he may, without blame, dispose of it as he pleases, and with great propriety to a faithful servant. Mr Barber, by the recommendation of his master, retired to Lichfield, where he might pass the rest of his days in comfort.

It has been objected that Johnson has omitted many of his best friends when leaving books to several as tokens of his last remembrance. The names of Dr Adams, Dr Taylor, Dr Burney, Mr Hector, Mr Murphy, the Author of this Work, and others who were intimate with him, are not to be found in his Will. This may be accounted for by considering, that as he was very near his dissolution at the time, he probably mentioned such as happened to occur to him; and that he may have recollected, that he had formerly shown others such proofs of his regard, that it was not necessary to crowd his Will with their names. Mrs Lucy Porter was

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have helped it." I said that I had for once in my life felt half an inclination to commit theft. It had come into my mind to carry off those two volumes, and never see him more. Upon my inquiring how this would have affected him—"Sir," said he, "I believe I should have gone mad."¹

During his last illness, Johnson experienced the steady

much displeased that nothing was left to her; but besides what I have now stated, she should have considered that she had left nothing to Johnson by her Will, which was made during his lifetime, as appeared at her decease.

His enumerating several persons in one group, and leaving them "each a book at their election," might possibly have given occasion to a curious question as to the order of choice, had they not luckily fixed on different books. His library, though by no means handsome in its appearance, was sold by Mr Christie for two hundred and forty-seven pounds, nine shillings, many people being desirous to have a book which had belonged to Dr Johnson. In many of them he had written little notes, sometimes tender memorials of his departed wife; as "This was dear Tetty's book": sometimes occasional remarks of different sorts. Mr Lysons, of Clifford's Inn, has favoured me with the two following:

In *Holy Rules and Helps to Devotion*, by Bryan Duppa, Lord Bishop of Winton, "*Preces quidam videtur diligenter tractasse; spero non inauditus.*"

In *The Rosicrucian infallible Axiomata*, by John Heydon, Gent. Prefixed to which are some verses addressed to the author, signed Ambr. Waters, A.M. Coll. Ex. Oxon., "*These Latin verses were written to Hobbes by Bathurst, upon his Treatise on Human Nature, and have no relation to the book.—An odd fraud.*"

¹ One of those volumes, Sir John Hawkins informs us he put into his pocket; for which the excuse he states is, that he meant to preserve it from falling into the hands of a person whom he describes so as to make it sufficiently clear who is meant; "having strong reasons," says he, "to suspect that this man might find and make an ill use of the book." Why Sir John should suppose that the gentleman alluded to would act in this manner, he has not thought fit to explain. But what he did was not approved of by Johnson; who, upon being acquainted of it without delay by a friend, expressed great indignation, and warmly insisted on the book being delivered up; and, in the supposition of his afterwards missing it, without knowing by whom it had been taken, he said, "Sir, I should have gone out of the world distrusting half mankind." Sir John next day wrote a letter to Johnson, assigning the reasons for his conduct; upon which Johnson observed to Mr Langton, "Bishop Sanderson could not have dictated a better letter. I could almost say, *Melius est sic penituisse quam non errasse.*" The agitation into which Johnson was thrown by this incident, probably made him hastily burn those precious records which must ever be regretted.

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and kind attachment of his numerous friends. Mr Hoole has drawn up a narrative of what passed in the visits which he paid to him during that time, from the 10th of November to the 13th of December, the day of his death inclusive, and has favoured me with a perusal of it. Nobody was more attentive to him than Mr Langton, to whom he tenderly said: *Te teneam moriens deficiente manu.* And I think it highly to the honour of Mr Windham, that his important occupations as an active statesman did not prevent him from paying assiduous respect to the dying Sage, whom he revered. Mr Langton informs me, that "one day he found Mr Burke and four or five more friends sitting with Johnson. Mr Burke said to him: 'I am afraid, sir, such a number of us may be oppressive to you.' 'No, sir,' said Johnson, 'it is not so; and I must be in a wretched state indeed, when your company would not be a delight to me.' Mr Burke, in a tremulous voice, expressive of being very tenderly affected, replied: 'My dear sir, you have always been too good to me.' Immediately afterwards he went away. This was the last circumstance in the acquaintance of these two eminent men."

It is 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. Let me particularly name the late Mr La Trobe, and Mr Hutton of the Moravian profession. His intimacy with the English Benedictines at Paris has been mentioned; and as an additional proof of the charity in which he lived with good men of the Romish Church, I am happy in this opportunity of recording his friendship with the Reverend Thomas Hussey, D.D., His Catholic Majesty's Chaplain of Embassy at the Court of London, that very respectable man, eminent not only for his powerful eloquence as a preacher, but for his various abilities and acquisitions. Nay, though Johnson loved a Presbyterian the least, this did not prevent his having a long and uninterrupted social connection with the Reverend

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Dr James Fordyce, who, since his death, hath gratefully celebrated him in a warm strain of devotional composition.

Amidst the melancholy clouds which hung over the dying Johnson, his characteristic manner showed itself on different occasions.

When Dr Warren, in the usual style, hoped that he was better; his answer was: "No, sir. You cannot conceive with what acceleration I advance towards death."

A man whom he had never seen before was employed one night to sit up with him. Being asked next morning how he liked his attendant, his answer was: "Not at all, sir. The fellow's an idiot; he is as awkward as a turn-spit when first put into the wheel, and as sleepy as a dormouse."

Mr Windham having placed a pillow conveniently to support him, he thanked him for his kindness, and said: "That will do—all that a pillow can do."

He repeated with great spirit a poem, consisting of about fifteen stanzas in four lines, in alternate rhymes, which he said he had composed some years before, on occasion of a young gentleman's coming of age; saying he had never repeated it but once since he composed it, and had given but one copy of it. From the specimen of it which Mrs Piozzi has given of it in her *Anecdotes*, page 196, it is much to be wished that we could see the whole.

As he opened a note which his servant brought to him he said: "An odd thought strikes me.—We shall receive no letters in the grave."

He requested three things of Sir Joshua Reynolds: To forgive him thirty pounds which he had borrowed of him—to read the Bible—and never to use his pencil on a Sunday. Sir Joshua readily acquiesced.

Indeed he showed the greatest anxiety for the religious improvement of his friends, to whom he discoursed of its infinite consequence. He begged of Mr Hoole to think of what he had said, and to commit it to writing; and upon being afterwards assured that this was done, pressed his

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hands, and in an earnest tone thanked him. Dr Brocklesby having attended him with the utmost assiduity and kindness as his physician and friend, he was peculiarly desirous that this gentleman should not entertain any loose speculative notions, but be confirmed in the truths of Christianity, and insisted on his writing down in his presence, as nearly as he could collect it, the import of what passed on the subject; and Dr Brocklesby having complied with the request, he made him sign the paper, and urged him to keep it in his own custody as long as he lived.

Johnson, with that native fortitude which amidst all his bodily distress and mental sufferings never forsook him, asked Dr Brocklesby, as a man in whom he had confidence, to tell him plainly whether he could recover. "Give me," said he, "a direct answer." The Doctor having first asked him if he could bear the whole truth, which way soever it might lead, and being answered that he could, declared that in his opinion he could not recover without a miracle. "Then," said Johnson, "I will take no more physic, not even my opiates; for I have prayed that I may render up my soul to God unclouded." In this resolution he persevered, and at the same time used only the weakest kinds of sustenance.

The Reverend Mr Strahan, who was the son of his friend, and had been always one of his great favourites, had, during Johnson's last illness, the satisfaction of contributing to soothe and comfort him. That gentleman's house at Islington, of which he is Vicar, afforded occasionally and easily an agreeable change of place and fresh air; and he attended also upon Johnson in town in the discharge of the sacred offices of his profession.

Mr Strahan has given me the agreeable assurance, that after being in much agitation, Johnson became quite composed, and continued so till his death.

Dr Brocklesby, who will not be suspected of fanaticism, obliged me with the following accounts:

"For some time before his death all his fears were calmed

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and absorbed by the prevalence of his faith, and his trust in the merits and *propitiation* of Jesus Christ.

"He talked often to me about the necessity of faith in the *sacrifice* of Jesus, as necessary beyond all good works whatever for the salvation of mankind.

"He pressed me to study Dr Clarke, and to read his *Sermons*. I asked him why he pressed Dr Clarke, an Arian.¹ 'Because,' said he, 'he is fullest on the *propitiatory sacrifice*.' "

Johnson having thus in his mind the true Christian scheme, at once rational and consolatory, uniting justice and mercy in the Divinity, with the improvement of human nature, while the Holy Sacrament was celebrating in his apartment, fervently uttered this prayer²:

"Almighty and most merciful Father, I am now, as to human eyes it seems, about to commemorate, for the last time, the death of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Saviour and Redeemer. Grant, O Lord, that my whole hope and confidence may be in His merits, and Thy mercy; enforce and accept my imperfect repentance; make this commemoration available to the confirmation of my faith, the establishment of my hope, and the enlargement of my charity; and make the death of Thy Son Jesus Christ effectual to my redemption. Have mercy upon me, and pardon the multitude of my offences. Bless my friends; have mercy upon all men. Support me, by Thy Holy Spirit, in the days of weakness,

¹ The change of his sentiments with regard to Dr Clarke, is thus mentioned to me in a letter from the late Dr Adams, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford: "The Doctor's prejudices were the strongest, and certainly in another sense the weakest, that ever possessed a sensible man. You know his extreme zeal for orthodoxy. But did you ever hear what he told me himself? That he had made it a rule not to admit Dr Clarke's name in his *Dictionary*. This, however, wore off. At some distance of time he advised with me what books he should read in defence of the Christian Religion. I recommended Clarke's *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, as the best of the kind; and I find in what is called his *Prayers and Meditations*, that he was frequently employed in the latter part of his time in reading Clarke's *Sermons*."

² The Reverend Mr Strahan took care to have it preserved, and has inserted it in *Prayers and Meditations*, p. 222.

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and at the hour of death ; and receive me, at my death, to everlasting happiness, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen."

From my brother Thomas David I have these particulars :

"The Doctor, from the time that he was certain his death was near, appeared to be perfectly resigned, was seldom or never fretful or out of temper, and often said to his faithful servant, who gave me this account, 'Attend, Francis, to the salvation of your soul, which is the object of greatest importance': he also explained to him passages in the Scripture, and seemed to have pleasure in talking upon religious subjects.

"On Monday the 13th of December, the day on which he died, a Miss Morris, daughter to a particular friend of his, called, and said to Francis, that she begged to be permitted to see the Doctor, that she might earnestly request him to give her his blessing. Francis went into the room, followed by the young lady, and delivered the message. The Doctor turned himself in the bed, and said: 'God bless you, my dear!' These were the last words he spoke.—His difficulty of breathing increased till about seven o'clock in the evening, when Mr Barber and Mrs Desmoulins, who were sitting in the room, observing that the noise he made in breathing had ceased, went to the bed, and found he was dead."

About two days after his death, the following very agreeable account was communicated to Mr Malone, in a letter by the Honourable John Byng, to whom I am much obliged for granting me permission to introduce it in my work.

"DEAR SIR,—Since I saw you, I have had a long conversation with Cawston,¹ who sat up with Dr Johnson from nine o'clock on Sunday evening till ten o'clock on Monday morning. And from what I can gather from him, it should seem, that Dr Johnson was perfectly composed, steady in hope, and resigned to death. At the interval of each hour, they assisted him to sit up in his bed, and move his legs,

¹ Servant to the Right Honourable William Windham.

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which were in much pain; when he regularly addressed himself to fervent prayer; and though sometimes his voice failed him, his senses never did during that time. The only sustenance he received was cyder and water. He said his mind was prepared, and the time to his dissolution seemed long. At six in the morning he inquired the hour, and on being informed, said that all went on regularly, and he felt he had but a few hours to live.

At ten o'clock in the morning he parted from Cawston, saying: 'You should not detain Mr Windham's servant.—I thank you;—bear my remembrance to your master.' Cawston says that no man could appear more collected, more devout, or less terrified at the thoughts of the approaching minute.

This account, which is so much more agreeable than, and somewhat different from yours, has given us the satisfaction of thinking that that great man died as he lived, full of resignation, strengthened in faith, and joyful in hope."

A few days before his death he had asked Sir John Hawkins, as one of his executors, where he should be buried; and on being answered "Doubtless in Westminster Abbey," seemed to feel a satisfaction very natural to a poet, and indeed, in my opinion, very natural to every man of any imagination who has no family sepulchre in which he can be laid with his fathers. Accordingly, upon Monday, 20th December, his remains were deposited in that noble and renowned edifice; and over his grave was placed a large blue flagstone, with this inscription:

SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

Obiit XIII die Decembris

Anno Domini

M.DCC.LXXXIV

Ætatis sue LXXV.

His funeral was attended by a respectable number of his friends, particularly by many of the members of the

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Literary Club, who were then in town; and was also honoured by the presence of several of the Reverend Chapter of Westminster. His schoolfellow, Dr Taylor, performed the mournful office of reading the service.

I trust I shall not be accused of affectation when I declare that I find myself unable to express all that I felt upon the loss of such a "Guide, Philosopher, and Friend." I shall therefore not say one word of my own, but adopt those of an eminent friend, which he uttered with an abrupt excellence, superior to all studied composition: "He has made a chasm, which not only nothing can fill up, but which nothing has a tendency to fill up.—Johnson is dead.—Let us go to the next best.—There is nobody.—No man can be said to put you in mind of Johnson."

As Johnson had abundant homage paid to him during his life,¹ so no writer in this nation ever had such an accumulation

¹ Besides the Dedications to him by Dr Goldsmith, the Reverend Dr Franklin, and the Reverend Mr Wilson, which I have mentioned according to their dates, there was one by a lady, of a versification of *Aningait and Ayt*, and one by the ingenious Mr Walker, of his *Rhetorical Grammar*. I have introduced into this work several compliments paid to him in the writings of his contemporaries; but the number of them is so great, that we may fairly say that there was almost a general tribute.

Let me not be forgetful of the honour done to him by Colonel Myddelton, of Gwynnynog, near Denbigh; who, on the banks of a rivulet in his Park, where Johnson delighted to stand and repeat verses, erected an urn with the following inscription:

"This spot was often dignified by the presence of

SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

Whose moral writings, exactly conformable to the precepts of Christianity,
Give ardour to Virtue and confidence to Truth."

As no inconsiderable circumstance of his fame we must reckon the extraordinary zeal of the artists to extend and perpetuate his image. I can enumerate a bust by Mr Nollekens, and the many casts which are made from it; several pictures by Sir Joshua Reynolds; one by Mr Zoffani; and one by Mr Opie; and the following engravings of his portrait:—1. One by Cooke, from Sir Joshua, for the Proprietors' edition of his folio *Dictionary*.—2. One from ditto by ditto, for their quarto edition.—3. One from Opie, by Heath, for Harrison's edition of his *Dictionary*.—4. One from

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of literary honours after his death. A sermon upon that event was preached in St Mary's Church, Oxford, before the University, by the Reverend Mr Agutter, of Magdalen College. The Lives, the Memoirs, the Essays, both in prose and verse, which have been published concerning him, would make many volumes. The numerous attacks too upon him, I consider as making part of his consequence, upon the principle which he himself so well knew and asserted. Many who trembled at his presence were forward in assault when they no longer apprehended danger. When one of his little pragmatistical foes was invidiously snarling at his fame, the Reverend Dr Parr exclaimed, with his usual bold animation: "Aye, now that the old lion is dead, every ass thinks he may kick at him."

A monument for him in Westminster Abbey was resolved upon soon after his death, and has been supported by a most respectable contribution. But the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's having come to a resolution of admitting monuments there, upon a liberal and magnificent plan, that cathedral was afterwards fixed on as the place; and in the cathedral

Nollekens's bust of him, by Bartolozzi, for Fielding's quarto edition of his *Dictionary*.—5. One small from Harding, by Trotter, for his *Beauties*.—6. One small from Sir Joshua, by Trotter, for his *Lives of the Poets*.—7. One small one from Sir Joshua, by Hall, for *The Rambler*.—8. One small from an original drawing in the possession of Mr John Simco, etched by Trotter, for another edition of his *Lives of the Poets*.—9. One small, no painter's name, etched by Taylor, for his *Johnsoniana*.—10. One folio whole length, with his oak stick, as described in Boswell's *Tour*, drawn and etched by Trotter.—11. One large mezzotinto from Sir Joshua, by Doughty.—12. One large Roman head from Sir Joshua, by Marchi.—13. One octavo, holding a book to his eye, from Sir Joshua, by Hall, for his *Works*.—14. One small from a drawing from the life, and engraved by Trotter, for his *Life* published by Kearsley.—15. One large from Opie, by Mr Townley, an ingenious engraver now at Berlin. This is one of the finest mezzotintos that ever was executed; and what renders it of extraordinary value, the plate was destroyed after four or five impressions only were taken off. One of them is in the possession of Sir William Scott.—16. One large from Sir Joshua's first picture of him, by Heath, for this work.—17. And one for Lavater's *Essay on Physiognomy*, in which Johnson's countenance is analysed upon the principles of that fanciful writer.

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of his native city of Lichfield a smaller one is to be erected. To compose his epitaph has excited the warmest competition of genius. If *laudari à laudato viro* be praise which is highly estimable, I should not forgive myself were I to omit the following sepulchral verses on the author of *The English Dictionary*, written by the Right Honourable Henry Flood :

“ No need of Latin or of Greek to grace
Our Johnson's mem'ry, and inscribe his grave ;
His native language claims this mournful space,
To pay the Immortality he gave.”

The character of Samuel Johnson has, I trust, been so developed in the course of this work, that they who have honoured it with a perusal may be considered as well acquainted with him. As, however, it may be expected that I should collect into one view the capital and distinguishing features of this extraordinary man, I shall endeavour to acquit myself of that part of my biographical undertaking,¹ however difficult it may be to do that which many of my readers will do better for themselves.

His figure was large and well formed, and his countenance of the cast of an ancient statue ; yet his appearance was rendered strange and somewhat uncouth, by convulsive cramps, by the scars of that distemper which it was once imagined the royal touch could cure, and by a slovenly mode of dress. He had the use only of one eye ; yet so much does mind govern and even supply the deficiency of organs, that his visual perceptions, as far as they extended, were uncommonly quick and accurate. So morbid was his temperament, that he never knew the natural joy of a free and vigorous use of his limbs : when he walked, it was like the struggling gait of one in fetters ; when he rode, he had no command or direction of his horse, but was carried as if

¹ As I certainly do not see any reason to give a different character of my illustrious friend now, from what I formerly gave, the greatest part of the sketch of him in my *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, is here adopted.

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in a balloon. That with his constitution and habits of life he should have lived seventy-five years, is a proof that an inherent *vivida vis* is a powerful preservative of the human frame.

Man is in general made up of contradictory qualities, and these will ever show themselves in strange succession, where a consistency in appearance at least, if not in reality, has not been attained by long habits of philosophical discipline. In proportion to the native vigour of the mind, the contradictory qualities will be the more prominent, and more difficult to be adjusted; and therefore we are not to wonder, that Johnson exhibited an eminent example of this remark which I have made upon human nature. At different times he seemed a different man, in some respects; not, however, in any great or essential article, upon which he had fully employed his mind and settled certain principles of duty, but only in his manners, and in displays of argument and fancy in his talk. He was prone to superstition, but not to credulity. Though his imagination might incline him to a belief of the marvellous and the mysterious, his vigorous reason examined the evidence with jealousy. He was a sincere and zealous Christian, of high Church of England and monarchical principles, which he would not tamely suffer to be questioned; and had perhaps, at an early period, narrowed his mind somewhat too much, both as to religion and politics. His being impressed with the danger of extreme latitude in either, though he was of a very independent spirit, occasioned his appearing somewhat unfavourable to the prevalence of that noble freedom of sentiment which is the best possession of man. Nor can it be denied that he had many prejudices; which, however, frequently suggested many of his pointed sayings, that rather show a playfulness of fancy than any settled malignity. He was steady and inflexible in maintaining the obligations of religion and morality, both from a regard for the order of society, and from a veneration for the Great Source of all order; correct, nay, stern in his taste; hard to please, and easily offended; impetuous and

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irritable in his temper, but of a most humane and benevolent heart,¹ which showed itself not only in a most liberal charity, as far as his circumstances would allow, but in a thousand instances of active benevolence. He was afflicted with a bodily disease which made him restless and fretful, and with a constitutional melancholy, the clouds of which darkened the brightness of his fancy, and gave a gloomy cast to his whole course of thinking: we therefore ought not to wonder at his sallies of impatience and passion at any time, especially when provoked by obtrusive ignorance or presuming petulance; and allowance must be made for his uttering hasty and satirical sallies, even against his best friends. And surely, when it is considered that "amidst sickness and sorrow" he exerted his faculties in so many works for the benefit of mankind, and particularly that he achieved the great and admirable *Dictionary* of our language, we must be astonished at his resolution. The solemn text "of him to whom much is given, much will be required," seems to have been ever present to his mind in a rigorous sense, and to have made him dissatisfied with his labours and acts of goodness, however comparatively great; so that the unavoidable consciousness of his superiority was in that respect a cause of disquiet. He suffered so much from this, and from the gloom which perpetually haunted him, and made solitude frightful, that it may be said of him: "If in this life only he had hope, he was of all men most miserable." He loved praise when it was brought to him; but was too proud to seek for it. He was somewhat susceptible of flattery. As he was general and unconfined in his studies, he cannot be considered as master of any one particular science; but he had accumulated a vast and various

¹ In the *Olla Podrida*, a collection of essays published at Oxford, there is an excellent paper upon the character of Johnson, said to be written by the Reverend Dr Horne, now Bishop of Norwich. The following passage is eminently happy:—"To reject wisdom, because the person of him who communicates it is uncouth, and his manners are inelegant;—what is it, but to throw away a pine-apple, and assign for a reason the roughness of its coat."

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collection of learning and knowledge, which was so arranged in his mind as to be ever in readiness to be brought forth. But his superiority over other learned men consisted chiefly in what may be called the art of thinking, the art of using his mind; a certain continual power of seizing the useful substance of all that he knew, and exhibiting it in a clear and forcible manner; so that knowledge, which we often see to be no better than lumber in men of dull understanding, was in him true, evident, and actual wisdom. His moral precepts are practical, for they are drawn from an intimate acquaintance with human nature. His maxims carry conviction, for they are founded on the basis of common sense. His mind was so full of imagery, that he might have been perpetually a poet; yet it is remarkable, that however rich his prose is in that respect, the poetical pieces which he wrote were in general not so, but rather strong sentiment and acute observation, conveyed in good verse, particularly in heroic couplets. Though usually grave and even awful in his deportment, he possessed uncommon and peculiar powers of wit and humour; he frequently indulged himself in colloquial pleasantry; and the heartiest merriment was often enjoyed in his company; with this great advantage, that as it was entirely free from any poisonous tincture of vice or impiety, it was salutary to those who shared in it. He had accustomed himself to such accuracy in his common conversation,¹ that he at all times delivered himself with a force,

¹ Though a perfect resemblance of Johnson is not to be found in any age, parts of his character are admirably expressed by Clarendon, in drawing that of Lord Falkland, whom the noble and masterly historian describes at his seat near Oxford: "Such an immenseness of wit, such a solidity of judgment, so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination.—His acquaintance was cultivated by the most polite and accurate men, so that his house was a university in less volume, whither they came not so much for repose as study, and to examine and refine those grosser propositions, which laziness and consent made current in conversation."

Bayle's account of Menage may also be quoted as exceedingly applicable to the great subject of this work: "His illustrious friends erected a very glorious monument to him in the collection entitled *Menagiana*. Those,

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and elegant choice of expression, the effect of which was aided by his having a loud voice, and a slow deliberate utterance. He united a most logical head with a most fertile imagination, which gave him an extraordinary advantage in arguing; for he could reason close or wide, as he saw best for the moment. Exulting in his intellectual strength and dexterity, he could, when he pleased, be the greatest sophist that ever contended in the lists of declamation; and from a spirit of contradiction, and a delight in showing his powers, he would often maintain the wrong side with equal warmth and ingenuity; so that, when there was an audience, his real opinions could seldom be gathered from his talk; though when he was in company with a single friend, he would discuss a subject with genuine fairness. But he was too conscientious to make error permanent and pernicious, by deliberately writing it; and in all his

who judge of things aright, will confess that this collection is very proper to show the extent of genius and learning which was the character of Menage. And I may be bold to say, that *the excellent works he published will not distinguish him from other learned men so advantageously as this.* To publish books of great learning, to make Greek and Latin verses exceedingly well turned, is not a common talent, I own; neither is it extremely rare. It is incomparably more difficult to find men who can furnish discourse about an infinite number of things, and who can diversify them an hundred ways. How many authors are there, who are admired for their works, on account of the vast learning that is displayed in them, who are not able to sustain a conversation. Those, who knew Menage only by his books, might think he resembled those learned men: but if you show the *Menagiana*, you distinguish him from them, and make him known by a talent which is given to very few learned men. There it appears that he was a man who spoke off hand a thousand good things. His memory extended to what was ancient and modern; to the court and to the city; to the dead and to the living languages; to things serious and things jocose; in a word, to a thousand sorts of subjects. That which appeared a trifle to some readers of the *Menagiana*, who did not consider circumstances, caused admiration in other readers, who minded the difference between what a man speaks without preparation, and that which he prepares for the press. And therefore we cannot sufficiently commend the care which his illustrious friends took to erect to him a monument so capable of giving him immortal glory. They were not obliged to rectify what they had heard him say; for in so doing they had not been faithful historians of his conversation."

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numerous works he earnestly inculcated what appeared to him to be the truth. His piety was constant, and was the ruling principle of all his conduct ; and the more we consider his character, we shall be the more disposed to regard him with admiration and reverence.

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THE PRINCIPAL CORRECTIONS
AND ADDITIONS

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF

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OF

DR JOHNSON

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HENRY BALDWIN

FOR CHARLES DILLY IN THE POULTRY

M DCC XCIII

[Price Two Shillings and Sixpence]

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VOLUME I

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P. 2, l. 8, upon *neighbourhood* put the following note—Extract of a letter, dated "Trentham, St Peter's day, 1716," written by the Rev. George Plaxton, Chaplain at that time to Lord Gower, which may serve to show the high estimation in which the Father of our great Moralist was held :—"Johnson, the Litchfield Librarian, is now here; he propagates learning all over this diocese, and advanceth knowledge to its just heighth; all the Clergy here are his Pupils, and suck all they have from him; Allen cannot make a warrant without his precedent, nor our quondam John Evans draw a recognizance *sine directione Michaelis*."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1791.

P. 20, l. 31, after Dr Adams, *read*—now.

P. 28, l. 5, for unconverted, *read*—a holy life.

P. 32, l. 27, *dele* Spenser.—He was of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge.

P. 37, l. 9, for Brodley, *read*—Bradley.

P. 43, l. 28. On Floyer's put the following note—Sir John Floyer's Treatise on Cold Baths.—*Gent. Mag.*, 1734, p. 197.

P. 44, l. 20, instead of and I am assured, etc., to the end of the paragraph, *read*—but with what facility and elegance he could warble the amorous lay, will appear from the following lines which he wrote for his friend Mr Edmund Hector.

P. 45, l. 6. On *tomb* put the following note—In my first edition I was induced by the authority of Miss Seward to doubt the authenticity of Mrs Piozzi's account of these lines being written for Mr Hector. But that gentle-

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man has since assured me of the fact. I am obliged in so many instances to notice Mrs Piozzi's incorrectness of relation, that I gladly seize this opportunity of acknowledging that however often, she is not always inaccurate.

P. 46, l. 26, insert the year 1736. See his own inscription, p. 151.

P. 51, after l. 14, *read*—Both of them used to talk pleasantly of this their first journey to London. Garrick, evidently meaning to embellish a little, said one day in my hearing, "we rode and tied." And the Bishop of Killaloe informed me, that at another time, when Johnson and Garrick were dining together in a pretty large company, Johnson humorously ascertaining the chronology of something, expressed himself thus: "That was the year when I came to London with twopence halfpenny in my pocket." Garrick overhearing him, exclaimed: "Eh? what do you say? with twopence halfpenny in your pocket?"—JOHNSON: Why, yes, when I came with twopence halfpenny in my pocket, and thou Davy with three halfpence in thine.

P. 52, l. 9. On *known*, put the following note—One curious anecdote was communicated by himself to Mr John Nichols. Mr Wilcox, the bookseller, on being informed by him that his intention was to get his livelihood as an author, eyed his robust frame attentively, and with a significant look, said: "You had better buy a porter's knot." He however added: "Wilcox was one of my best friends."

P. 54, l. 1. On *Hervey* put the following note—The Honourable Henry Hervey, third son of the first Earl of Bristol, quitted the army and took orders. He married a sister of Sir Thomas Aston, by whom he got the Aston Estate, and assumed the name and arms of that Family.—*Vide* Collins's *Peerage*.

P. 74, after the note *add*—Mr Spearing, attorney at law, was so good as to furnish me with several circumstances of probable conjecture that it was the school of Newport in Shropshire. But Mr Henn, one of the masters of the school of Appleby in Leicestershire, has demonstrated *that* to be the school for which Johnson was a candidate. See his letter in *Gent. Mag.*, May, 1793.

P. 81, l. 1. On *rate* put the following note—This book was published.

P. 87, l. 16, for Sir Francis, *read*—Admiral.

P. 91, *delete* note marked 2, and read as follows—Not the Royal Society; but the Society for the Encouragement of Learning, of which Dr Birch was a leading member. Their object was to assist authors in printing expensive works. It existed from about 1735 to 1746, when having incurred a considerable debt, it was dissolved.

P. 103, l. 30. On *witness* put the following note—I suspect Dr Taylor was inaccurate in this statement. The emphasis should be equally upon *shall* and *not*, as both concur to form the negative injunction; and *false witness*, like the other acts prohibited in the Decalogue, should not be marked by any peculiar emphasis, but only be distinctly enunciated.

P. 104, l. 16. On *language* put the following note—This character of *The Life of Savage* was not written by Fielding, as has been supposed, but most probably by Ralph, who, as appears from the minutes of the partners of *The Champion*, in the possession of Mr Reed of Staple Inn, succeeded Fielding in his share of the paper, before the date of that eulogium.

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P. 104, l. 16, *dele*—This paper, etc., to the end of the paragraph.

P. 105, l. 1. On *a respectable gentleman* put the following note—The late Francis Cockayne Cust, Esq., one of his Majesty's counsel learned in the law.

P. 107, l. 9 of note, for Earl, *read*—Viscount.

P. 108, l. 4, for 1749, *read*—1744.

P. 116, l. 29. On *pen* put the following note—See Sir John Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*.

P. 123, l. 14, for Young, *read*—Yonge.

P. 124, l. 10. On *drama* put the following note—Aaron Hill (vol. ii. p. 355) in a letter to Mr Mallet, gives the following account of *Irene* after having seen it: "I was at the anomalous Mr Johnson's benefit, and found the Play his proper representative; strong sense ungraced by sweetness or decorum."

Ibid., l. 3 from the foot, after lace, *read*—and a gold laced hat. He humorously observed to Mr Langton, "that when in that dress he could not treat people with the same ease as when in his usual plain clothes." Dress indeed we must allow has more effect even upon strong minds than one should suppose, without having had the experience of it.

P. 131, l. 3 from the foot of note, for fame, *read*—renommé.

P. 135, ll. 11, 12, for four octavo, *read*—six duodecimo.

P. 140, l. 2, for History of all Religions, *read*—View of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World.

Ibid., l. 6, for one, *read*—A GREAT PERSONAGE.

P. 146, l. 11, for illustrious, *read*—industrious.

P. 150, l. 24, for one, *read*—two.

Ibid., after line 25, *read the following paragraph*—"March 28, 1753, I kept this day as the anniversary of my *Tetty's* death, with prayer and tears in the morning. In the evening I prayed for her, conditionally if it were lawful.

P. 154, after l. 17, *read*—*The following very solemn and affecting Prayer was found after Dr Johnson's decease, by his faithful servant Mr Francis Barber, who delivered it to my worthy friend the Reverend Mr Strahan, Vicar of Islington, who at my earnest request has obligingly favoured me with a copy of it; which he and I compared with the original. I present it to the world as an undoubted proof of a circumstance in the character of my illustrious friend, which though some whose hard minds I never shall envy, may attack as superstitious, will I am sure endear him more to numbers of good men. I have an additional, and that a personal motive for presenting it, because it sanctions what I myself have always maintained and am fond to indulge.*

"April 26, 1752, being after 12 at Night of the 25th.

"O Lord! Governor of heaven and earth, in whose hands are embodied and departed Spirits, if thou hast ordained the Souls of the Dead to minister to the Living, and appointed my departed Wife to have care of me, grant that I may enjoy the good effects of her attention and ministrations, whether exercised by appearance, impulses, dreams, or in any other manner agreeable

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to thy Government. Forgive my presumption, enlighten my ignorance, and however meaner agents are employed, grant me the blessed influences of thy holy Spirit, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Amen.

What actually followed upon this most interesting piece of devotion by Johnson, we are not informed; but I, whom it has pleased God to afflict in a similar manner to that which occasioned it, have certain experience of benignant communication by dreams.

P. 154, l. 27. On Dr Bathurst put the following note—Dr Bathurst, though a Physician of no inconsiderable merit, had not the good fortune to get much practice in London. He was, therefore, willing to accept of employment abroad, and to the regret of all who knew him fell a sacrifice to the destructive climate, in the expedition against the Havannah. Mr Langton recollects the following passage in a letter from Dr Johnson to Mr Beauchamp: "The Havannah is taken;—a conquest too dearly obtained; for, Bathurst died before it.

'Vix Priamus tanti Troja totaque fuit.'"

P. 157, l. 4 from the foot, after Mr Langton, *read*—a gentleman eminent not only for worth and learning, but for an inexhaustible fund of entertaining conversation.

P. 167, l. 14. On me put the following note—Dr Johnson appeared to have had a remarkable delicacy with respect to the circulation of this letter; for Dr Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury, informs me that having many years ago pressed him to be allowed to read it to the second Lord Hardwicke, who was very desirous to hear it (promising at the same time, that no copy of it should be taken) Johnson seemed much pleased that it had attracted the attention of a nobleman of such a respectable character; but after pausing some time, declined to comply with the request; saying, with a smile, "No, sir; I have hurt the dog too much already"; or words to that purpose.

P. 169, l. 20. On Warburton put the following note—Soon after Edwards's *Canons of Criticism* came out, Johnson was dining at Tonson the Bookseller's, with Hayman the Painter and some more company. Hayman related to Sir Joshua Reynolds, that the conversation having turned upon Edwards's book, the gentlemen praised it much, and Johnson allowed its merit. But when they went farther, and appeared to put that author upon a level with Warburton, "Nay," said Johnson, "he has given him some smart hits to be sure; but there is no proportion between the two men; they must not be named together. A fly, sir, may sting a stately horse and make him wince; but one is but an insect, and the other is a horse still."

P. 190, after l. 23, *read*—

*To BENNET LANGTON, Esq., at Langton, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire **

SIR,—It has been long observed, that men do not suspect faults which they do not commit; your own elegance of manners, and punctuality of com-

* This is Dr Johnson's first letter to Mr Langton.

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plaisance, did not suffer you to impute to me that negligence of which I was guilty, and which I have not since atoned. I received both your letters, and received them with pleasure proportionate to the esteem which so short an acquaintance strongly impressed, and which I hope to confirm by nearer knowledge, though I am afraid that gratification will be for a time withheld.

I have indeed, published my Book,* of which I beg to know your father's judgment, and yours; and I have not stayed long enough to watch its progress into the world. It has, you see, no patrons, and, I think, has yet had no opponents, except the critics of the coffee-house, whose outcries are soon dispersed into the air, and are thought on no more: from this, therefore, I am at liberty, and think of taking the opportunity of this interval to make an excursion, and why not then into Lincolnshire? or, to mention a stronger attraction, why not to dear Mr Langton? I will give the true reason, which I know you will approve:—I have a mother more than eighty years old, who has counted the days to the publication of my book, in hopes of seeing me; and to her, if I can disengage myself here, I resolve to go.

As I know, dear sir, that to delay my visit for a reason like this, will not deprive me of your esteem, I beg it may not lessen your kindness. I have very seldom received an offer of friendship which I so earnestly desire to cultivate and mature. I shall rejoice to hear from you, till I can see you, and will see you as soon as I can; for when the duty that calls me to Lichfield, is discharged, my inclination will carry me to Langton. I shall delight to hear the ocean roar, or see the stars twinkle, in the company of men to whom Nature does not spread her volumes or utter her voice in vain.

Do not, dear sir, make the slowness of this letter a precedent for delay, or imagine that I approved the incivility that I have committed; for I have known you enough to love you, and sincerely to wish a further knowledge; and I assure you, once more, that to live in a house that contains such a father and such a son, will be accounted a very uncommon degree of pleasure, by, dear Sir, your most obliged, and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 6, 1755.

P. 195, l. 32. On *Excise* put the following note—He thus defines *Excise*, “A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom *Excise* is paid.” The Commissioners of *Excise*, being offended by this severe reflection, consulted Mr Murray, then Attorney-General, to know whether redress could be legally obtained. I wished to have procured for my readers a copy of the opinion which he gave, and which may now be justly considered as history: but the mysterious secrecy of office it seems would not permit it. I am, however, informed, by very good authority, that its import was, that the passage might be considered as actionable; but that it would be more prudent in the board not to prosecute. Johnson never made the smallest alteration in this passage. We find he still retained his early prejudice against *Excise*; for in

* His *Dictionary*.

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The Idler, No. 5, there is the following very extraordinary paragraph : "The authenticity of *Clarendon's* history, though printed with the sanction of one of the first Universities of the world, had not an unexpected manuscript been happily discovered, would, with the help of factious credulity, have been brought into question, by the two lowest of all human beings, a Scribbler for a party, and a Commissioner of Excise."—The persons to whom he alludes were Mr John Oldmixon, and George Duckett, Esq.

P. 198, l. 10, for never altered the passage, *read*—did not alter the passage till many years afterwards. And on *afterwards* put the following note—In the third edition, published in 1773, he left out the words *perhaps never*, and added the following paragraph : "It sometimes begins middle or final syllables in words compounded, as *block-head*, or derived from the Latin as *compre-hended*."

P. 200, after *pursued*, l. 2, *read*—On the 13th of the same month he wrote in his Journal the following scheme of life, for Sunday, "Having lived" (as he with tenderness of conscience expresses himself) "not without an habitual reverence for the Sabbath, yet without that attention to its religious duties which Christianity requires" : 1. "To rise early, and in order to do it, to go to sleep early on Saturday. 2. "To use some extraordinary devotion in the morning. 3. "To examine the tenor of my life, and particularly the last week ; and to mark my advances in religion, or recession from it. 4. "To read the Scripture methodically with such helps as are at hand. 5. "To go to church twice. 6. "To read books of Divinity, either speculative or practical. 7. "To instruct my family. 8. "To wear off by meditation any worldly soil contracted in the week."

P. 212, l. 3. On *cultivated* put the following note—The celebrated orator, Mr Flood, has shown himself to be of Dr Johnson's opinion ; having by his will bequeathed his estate, after the death of his wife Lady Frances, to the University of Dublin ; "desiring that immediately after the said estate shall come into their possession, they shall appoint two professors, one for the study of the native Erse or Irish language, and the other for the study of Irish antiquities and Irish history, and for the study of any other European language illustrative of, or auxiliary to the study of Irish antiquities or Irish history ; and that they shall give yearly two liberal premiums for two compositions, one in verse, and the other in prose in the Irish language."

Ibid., l. 25, for 1755, *read*—1757.

P. 214, after l. 21, *read*—

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq., at Langton, Lincolnshire

DEAREST SIR,—I must have indeed slept very fast, not to have been awakened by your letter. None of your suspicions are true ; I am not much richer than when you left me ; and, what is worse, my omission of an answer to your first letter, will prove that I am not much wiser. But I go on as I formerly did, designing to be some time or other both rich and wise ; and yet cultivate neither mind nor fortune. Do you take notice of my example, and learn the danger of delay. When I was as you are now, towering in confidence

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of twenty-one, little did I suspect that I should be at forty-nine what I now am.

But you do not seem to need my admonition. You are busy in acquiring and in communicating knowledge, and while you are studying, enjoy the end of study, by making others wiser and happier. I was much pleased with the tale that you told me of being tutor to your sisters. I, who have no sisters nor brothers, look with some degree of innocent envy on those who may be said to be born to friends; and cannot see, without wonder, how rarely that native union is afterwards regarded. It, sometimes, indeed, happens, that some supervenient cause of discord may overpower this original amity; but it seems to me more frequently thrown away with levity, or lost by negligence, than destroyed by injury or violence. We tell the ladies that good wives make good husbands; I believe it is a more certain position that good brothers make good sisters.

I am satisfied with your stay at home, as Juvenal with his friend's retirement to Cumæ: I know that your absence is best, though it be not best for me.

*Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici,
Laudo tamen vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
Destinet, atque unum civem donare Sibyllæ."*

Langton is a good Cumæ, but who must be Sibylla? Mrs Langton is as wise as Sibyl, and as good; and will live, if my wishes can prolong life, till she shall in time be as old, but she differs in this, that she has not scattered her precepts in the wind, at least not those which she bestowed upon you.

The two Wartons just looked into the town, and were taken to see *Cleone*, where, David * says, they were starved for want of company to keep them warm. David and Doddy † have had a new quarrel, and, I think, cannot conveniently quarrel any more. *Cleone* was well acted by all the characters, but Bellamy left nothing to be desired. I went the first night, and supported it as well as I might; for Doddy, you know, is my patron, and I would not desert him. The play was very well received. Doddy, after the danger was over, went every night to the stage side, and cried at the distress of poor Cleone.

I have left off housekeeping, and therefore made presents of the game which you were pleased to send me. The pheasant I gave to Mr Richardson, ‡ the bustard to Dr Lawrence, and the pot I placed with Miss Williams, to be eaten by myself. She desires that her compliments and good wishes may be accepted by the family; and I make the same request for myself.

Mr Reynolds has within these few days raised his price to twenty guineas a head, and Miss is much employed in miniatures. I know not anybody [else] whose prosperity has increased since you left them.

Murphy is to have his *Orphan of China* acted next month; and is, therefore, I suppose, happy. I wish I could tell you of any great good to which I was approaching, but at present my prospects do not much delight me; however,

* Mr Garrick.

† Mr Dodsley, the author of *Cleone*.

‡ Mr Samuel Richardson, author of *Clarissa*.

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I am always pleased when I find that you, dear Sir, remember, your affectionate, humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Jan. 9, 1758.

P. 221, after l. 4, read—

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq., of Trinity College, Oxford

DEAR SIR,—Though I might have expected to hear from you, upon your entrance into a new state of life at a new place, yet recollecting (not without some degree of shame), that I owe you a letter upon an old account, I think it my part to write first. This, indeed, I do not only from complaisance but from interest; for living on in the old way, I am very glad of a correspondent so capable as yourself, to diversify the hours. You have, at present, too many novelties about you to need any help from me to drive along your time.

I know not anything more pleasant, or more instructive, than to compare experience with expectation, or to register from time to time the difference between idea and reality. It is by this kind of observation that we grow daily less liable to be disappointed. You, who are very capable of anticipating futurity, and raising phantoms before your own eyes, must often have imagined to yourself an academical life, and have conceived what would be the manners, the views, and the conversation, of men devoted to letters; how they would choose their companions, how they would direct their studies, and how they would regulate their lives. Let me know what you expected and what you have found. At least record it to yourself before custom has reconciled you to the scenes before you, and the disparity of your discoveries to your hopes has vanished from your mind. It is a rule never to be forgotten, that whatever strikes strongly, should be described while the first impression remains fresh upon the mind.

I love, dear sir, to think on you, and, therefore, should willingly write more to you, but that the post will not now give me leave to do more than send my compliments to Mr Warton, and tell you that I am, dear Sir, most affectionately, your very humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

June 27, 1758.

P. 221, l. 4, read—

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq., at Langton, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire

DEAR SIR,—I should be sorry to think that what engrosses the attention of my friend, should have no part of mine. Your mind is now full of the fate of Dury*; but his fate is past, and nothing remains but to try what reflection

* Major General Alexander Dury, of the first regiment of footguards, who fell in the gallant discharge of his duty, near St Cas, in the well-known unfortunate expedition against France, in 1748. His lady and Mr Langton's mother were sisters. He left an only son, Lieutenant Colonel Dury, who has a company in the same regiment.

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will suggest to mitigate the terrors of a violent death, which is more formidable at the first glance, than on a nearer and more steady view. A violent death is never very painful; the only danger is lest it should be unprovided. But if a man can be supposed to make no provision for death in war, what can be the state that would have awakened him to the care of futurity? when would that man have prepared himself to die, who went to seek death without preparation? What then can be the reason why we lament more him that dies of a wound, than him that dies of a fever? A man that languishes with disease, ends his life with more pain, but with less virtue; he leaves no example to his friends, nor bequeaths any honour to his descendants. The only reason why we lament a soldier's death, is, that we think he might have lived longer; yet this cause of grief is common to many other kinds of death which are not so passionately bewailed. The truth is, that every death is violent which is the effect of accident; every death, which is not gradually brought on by the miseries of age, or when life is extinguished for any other reason than that it is burnt out. He that dies before sixty of a cold or consumption, dies, in reality, by a violent death; yet his death is borne with patience only because the cause of his untimely end is silent and invisible. Let us endeavour to see things as they are, and then inquire whether we ought to complain. Whether to see life as it is, will give us much consolation, I know not; but the consolation which is drawn from truth, if any there be, is solid and durable; that which may be derived from error, must be, like its original, fallacious and fugitive. I am, dear, dear, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Sept. 21, 1758.

P. 223, l. 27, for the, *read*—my.

P. 224, l. 3, for du, *read*—de la.

P. 228, l. 4, for chum, *read*—*Cham*, *delete* the note on that word, and *read*—In my first edition this word was printed *Chum*, as it appears in one of Mr Wilkes's *Miscellanies*, and I animadverted on Dr Smollet's ignorance; for which let me propitiate the *manes* of that ingenious and benevolent gentleman. *Chum* was certainly a mistaken reading for *Cham* the title of the Sovereign of Tartary, which is well applied to Johnson, the Monarch of Literature: and was an epithet familiar to Smollet. See *Roderick Random*, chap. 56. For this correction I am indebted to Lord Palmerston whose talents and literary acquirements accord well with his respectable pedigree of *Temple*.

Ibid., ll. 28, 29, *delete* He recollects the precise time to be three days before George II. died.

P. 231, l. 6, for Ambassador, *read*—Envoy.

P. 233, after l. 22, *read*—

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq., at Langton, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire

DEAR SIR,—You that travel about the world, have more materials for letters, than I, who stay at home; and should, therefore, write with frequency

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equal to your opportunities. I should be glad to have all England surveyed by you, if you would impart your observations in narratives as agreeable as your last. Knowledge is always to be wished to those who can communicate it well. While you have been riding and running, and seeing the tombs of the learned, and the camps of the valiant, I have only stayed at home, and intended to do great things, which I have not done. Beau * went away to Cheshire, and has not yet found his way back. Chambers passed the vacation at Oxford.

I am very sincerely solicitous for the preservation or curing of Mr Langton's sight, and am glad that the surgeon at Coventry gives him so much hope. Mr Sharpe is of opinion that the tedious maturation of the cataract is a vulgar error, and that it may be removed as soon as it is formed. This notion deserves to be considered; I doubt whether it be universally true; but if it be true in some cases, and those cases can be distinguished, it may save a long and uncomfortable delay.

Of dear Mrs Langton you give me no account; which is the less friendly, as you know how highly I think of her, and how much I interest myself in her health. I suppose you told her of my opinion, and likewise suppose it was not followed; however, I still believe it to be right.

Let me hear from you again, wherever you are, or whatever you are doing; whether you wander or sit still, plant trees or make *Rustics*,† play with your sisters or muse alone; and in return I will tell you the success of Sheridan, who at this instant is playing Cato, and has already played Richard twice. He had more company the second than the first night, and will make I believe a good figure in the whole, though his faults seem to be very many; some of natural deficiency, and some of laborious affectation. He has, I think, no power of assuming either that dignity or elegance which some men, who have little of either in common life, can exhibit on the stage. His voice when strained is displeasing, and when low is not always heard. He seems to think too much on the audience, and turns his face too often to the galleries.

However, I wish him well; and, among other reasons, because I like his wife.‡

Make haste to write to, dear Sir, your most affectionate servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Oct. 18, 1760.

P. 234, l. 4, *dele* the words between *booksellers* and *was*.

Ibid., l. 24, for a book on the authenticity of the Gospel History, *read*—An Inquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue.

* Topham Beauclerk, Esq.

† Essays with that title, written about this time by Mr Langton, but not published.

‡ Mrs Sheridan was author of *Memoirs of Miss Sydney Biddulph*, a novel of great merit, and of some other pieces.—See her character, vol. i., p. 254.

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P. 234, l. 29. On *merit* put the following note—I have both the books. Innes was the clergyman who brought Psalmanazar to England, and was an accomplice in his extraordinary fiction.

Ibid., l. 31, for redemption, *read*—the resurrection.

Ibid., l. 34, for Queen, *read*—Princess Dowager of Wales.

P. 235, l. 32. On *Milan* put the following note—The originals of Dr Johnson's three letters to Mr Baretti, which are among the very best he ever wrote, were communicated to the proprietors of that instructive and elegant monthly miscellany, *The European Magazine*, in which they first appeared.

P. 245, l. 19, after *as*, *read*—wide *as*.

P. 249, after l. 12, *read*—

The present Earl of Bute has been pleased to favour me with a copy of the following letter to his late Father which I am very happy to insert in this work, as it does great honour both to the writer and to the noble Person to whom it is addressed.

To the Right Honourable the EARL OF BUTE

MY LORD,—When the bills were yesterday delivered to me by Mr Wedderburne, I was informed by him of the future favours which his Majesty has, by your Lordship's recommendation, been induced to intend for me.

Bounty always receives part of its value from the manner in which it is bestowed; your Lordship's kindness includes every circumstance that can gratify delicacy, or enforce obligation. You have conferred your favours on a man who has neither alliance nor interest, who has not merited them by services, nor courted them by officiousness; you have spared him the shame of solicitation, and the anxiety of suspense.

What has been thus elegantly given, will, I hope, not be reproachfully enjoyed; I shall endeavour to give your Lordship the only recompense which generosity desires—the gratification of finding that your benefits are not improperly bestowed. I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

July 20, 1761.

Ibid., l. 18. On *England* put the following note—At one of these seats Dr Amyat, Physician in London, told me he happened to meet him. In order to amuse him till dinner should be ready, he was taken out to walk in the garden. The master of the house thinking it proper to introduce something scientific into the conversation, addressed him thus: "Are you a botanist, Dr Johnson?" "No, sir (answered Johnson), I am not a botanist; and (alluding, no doubt, to his near-sightedness) should I wish to become a botanist, I must first turn myself into a reptile."

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P. 251, after l. 2, *read*—

To the Right Honourable the EARL OF BUTE *

MY LORD,—That generosity, by which I was recommended to the favour of his Majesty, will not be offended at a solicitation necessary to make that favour permanent and effectual.

The pension appointed to be paid me at Michaelmas I have not received, and know not where or from whom I am to ask it. I beg, therefore, that your Lordship will be pleased to supply Mr Wedderburne with such directions as may be necessary, which, I believe, his friendship will make him think it no trouble to convey to me.

To interrupt your Lordship, at a time like this, with such petty difficulties, is improper and unseasonable; but your knowledge of the world has long since taught you, that every man's affairs, however little, are important to himself. Every man hopes that he shall escape neglect: and, with reason, may every man, whose vices do not preclude his claim, expect favour from that beneficence which has been extended to, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged, and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

TEMPLE LANE, Nov. 3, 1762.

Ibid., l. 30, for his, *read*—the.

Ibid., l. 30, after manner, *read*—of DICTIONARY JOHNSON as he was then called, and on *called* put the following note—As great men of antiquity such as Scipio *Africanus* had an epithet added to their names, in consequence of some celebrated action, so my illustrious friend was called DICTIONARY JOHNSON, from that wonderful achievement of genius and labour, his *Dictionary of the English Language*; the merit of which I contemplate with more and more admiration.

P. 254, l. 31. On *retribution* put the following note—My position has been well illustrated by Mr Belsham of Bedford in his *Essay on Dramatic Poetry, Essays Philosophical, Historical and Literary*. London, 1791. Vol. ii. 8vo. p. 317. I wish indeed that the ingenious author had not thought it necessary to introduce any *instance* of “a man eminently virtuous”; as he would then have avoided mentioning such a ruffian as Brutus under that description.

Ibid., l. 33, after humanity, *read*—in the amiable and pious Heroine, who goes to her grave unrelieved but resigned, and full of hope of “heaven's mercy.”

P. 255, l. 25. On *shop* put the following note—Mr Murphy in his *Essay on the Life and Genius of Dr Johnson*, has given an account of this meeting considerably different from mine, I am persuaded without any consciousness of error. His memory, at the end of near thirty years, has undoubtedly deceived him, and he supposes himself to have been present at a scene, which

* Lord Macartney obligingly favoured me with a copy of this letter, in his own hand-writing, from the original, which was found, by the present Earl of Bute, among his late father's papers.

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he has probably heard inaccurately described by others. In my note taken on the very day, in which I am confident I marked everything material that passed, no mention is made of this gentleman; and I am sure that I should not have omitted one so well known in the literary world. It may easily be imagined that this my first interview with Dr Johnson, with all its circumstances, made a strong impression on my mind, and would be registered with peculiar attention.

P. 272, l. 23. On *two beautiful young ladies* put the following note—Miss Hornecks, one of whom is now married to Henry Bunbury, Esq., and the other to Colonel Gwyn.

P. 273, l. 6. On *myself* put the following note—He went home with Mr Burke to supper; and broke his shin by attempting to exhibit to the company how much better he could jump over a stick than the puppets.

Ibid., l. 13. On *Durham* put the following note—I am willing to hope that there may have been some mistake as to this anecdote, though I had it from a Dignitary of the Church. Dr Isaac Goldsmith, his near relation, was Dean of Cloyne, in 1747.

P. 278, l. 9, *dele* certain, and after writer *read*—Mr (now Dr) John Ogilvie, one of the Presbyterian Ministers of Scotland.

P. 279, *dele* the last paragraph; as it is repeated *verbatim* Vol. II., p. 422.

P. 280, l. 12, after Mr *read*—John.

Ibid., l. 13, *dele* a Scotch clergyman, and on *Ogilvie* put the following note—The northern bard mentioned page 228. When I asked Dr Johnson's permission to introduce him, he obligingly agreed; adding, however, with a sly pleasantry, "but he must give us none of his poetry." It is remarkable that Johnson and Churchill, however much they differed in other points, agreed on this subject. See Churchill's *Journey*. It is, however, but justice to Dr Ogilvie to observe, that his *Day of Judgment*, has no inconsiderable share of merit.

P. 282, l. 34, after and, *read*—however respectable.

P. 285, after l. 27, *read*—as follows. Yet there is no doubt that at earlier periods he was wont often to exercise both his pleasantry and ingenuity in talking Jacobitism. My much-respected friend, Dr Douglas, now Bishop of Salisbury, has favoured me with the following admirable instance from his Lordship's own recollection.

"One day when dining at old Mr Langton's, where Miss Roberts, his niece, was one of the company, Johnson, with his usual complacent attention to the fair sex, took her by the hand and said: 'My dear, I hope you are a Jacobite.' Old Mr Langton, who, though a high and steady Tory, was attached to the present Royal Family, seemed offended, and asked Johnson with great warmth 'what he could mean by putting such a question to his niece?' 'Why, sir (said Johnson), I meant no offence to your niece, I meant her a great compliment. A Jacobite, sir, believes in the divine right of kings. He that believes in the divine right of kings believes in a divinity. A Jacobite believes in the divine right of bishops. He that believes in the divine right of bishops believes in the divine authority of the Christian religion.

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Therefore, sir, a Jacobite is neither an Atheist nor a Deist. That cannot be said of a Whig; for *Whiggism is a negation of all principle.*" He used to tell, with great humour, from my relation to him, the following little story of my early years, which was literally true: "Boswell, in the year 1745, was a fine boy, wore a white cockade, and prayed for King James, till one of his uncles (General Cochran) gave him a shilling on condition that he should pray for King George, which he accordingly did. So you see (says Boswell) that *Whigs of all ages are made the same way.*"

P. 289, l. 3 from the foot, for *decree* from, *read*—Judgment of.

P. 307, l. 20. On *fashionable baronet* put the following note—My friend Sir Michael Le Fleming. This gentleman with all his experience of sprightly and elegant life, inherits, with the beautiful family Domain, no inconsiderable share of that love of literature which distinguished his venerable grandfather, the Bishop of Carlisle. He one day observed to me, of Dr Johnson, in a felicity of phrase: "There is a blunt dignity about him on every occasion."

P. 325, after l. 25, *read*—Generally when he had concluded a period in the course of a dispute, by which time he was a good deal exhausted by violence and vociferation; he used to blow out his breath like a whale. This I suppose was a relief to his lungs; and seemed in him to be a contemptuous mode of expression, as if he had made the arguments of his opponent fly like chaff before the wind.

P. 326, ll. 17, 18. On *dear Miss Reynolds* put the following note—Sir Joshua's sister, for whom Johnson had a particular affection, and to whom he wrote many letters which I have seen, and which I am sorry her too nice delicacy will not permit to be published.

P. 327, after l. 9, *read*—as follows—The concluding words are very remarkable, and show that he laboured under a severe depression of spirits. "Since the last Easter I have reformed no evil habit, my time has been unprofitably spent, and seems as a dream that has left nothing behind. *My memory grows confused, and I know not how the days pass over me.* Good Lord deliver me."

P. 329, l. 30, after thirty *read*—five.

Ibid., l. 34, on *gentility* put the following note—Mrs Burney informs me that she heard Dr Johnson say, "An English Merchant is a new species of Gentleman." He, perhaps, had in his mind the following ingenious passage in *The Conscious Lovers*, Act iv., Scene ii. where Mr Sealord thus addresses Sir John Bevil, "Give me leave to say, that we merchants are a species of gentry that have grown into the world this last century, and are as honourable, and almost as useful as you landed-folks, that have always thought yourselves so much above us; for your trading forsooth is extended no farther than a load of hay, or a fat ox.—You are pleasant people indeed! because you are generally bred up to be lazy, therefore I warrant you industry is dishonourable."

P. 334, after the letter to Dr Burney, *read*—as follows. From one of his Journals I transcribed what follows:—"At church, Oct. —65—To avoid all singularity; *Bonaventura*.*—To come in before service, and compose

* He was probably proposing to himself the model of this excellent person, who, for his piety, was named the *Seraphic Doctor*.

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my mind by meditation, or by reading some portions of scripture. *Tetty*.—If I can hear the sermon, to attend it, unless attention be more troublesome than useful.—To consider the act of prayer as a reposal of myself upon God, and a resignation of all into his holy hand.”

P. 345, after l. 5, read—

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq., at Langton, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire

DEAR SIR,—What your friends have done, that from your departure till now nothing has been heard of you, none of us are able to inform the rest ; but as we are all neglected alike, no one thinks himself entitled to the privilege of complaint.

I should have known nothing of you or of Langton, from the time that dear Miss Langton left us, had not I met Mr Simpson, of Lincoln, one day in the street, by whom I was informed that Mr Langton, your Mamma, and yourself, had been all ill, but that you were all recovered.

That sickness should suspend your correspondence, I did not wonder ; but hoped that it would be renewed at your recovery.

Since you will not inform us where you are, or how you live, I know not whether you desire to know anything of us. However, I will tell you that THE CLUB subsists ; but we have the loss of Burke's company since he has been engaged in public business, in which he has gained more reputation than perhaps any man at his [first] appearance ever gained before. He made two speeches in the House for repealing the Stamp Act, which were publicly commended by Mr Pitt, and have filled the town with wonder.

Burke is a great man by nature, and is expected soon to attain civil greatness. I am grown greater too, for I have maintained the newspapers these many weeks ; and what is greater still, I have risen every morning since New Year's day, at about eight ; when I was up, I have indeed done but little, yet it is no slight advancement to obtain for so many hours more the consciousness of being.

I wish you were in my new study, I am now writing the first letter in it. I think it looks very pretty about me.

Dyer is constant at THE CLUB ; Hawkins is remiss ; I am not over diligent. Dr Nugent, Dr Goldsmith, and Mr Reynolds, are very constant. Mr Lye is printing his Saxon and Gothic dictionary ; all THE CLUB subscribes.

You will pay my respects to all my Lincolnshire friends. I am, dear Sir, most affectionately yours,

SAM. JOHNSON.

March 9, 1766,

JOHNSON'S COURT, FLEET STREET.

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq., at Langton, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire

DEAR SIR,—In supposing that I should be more than commonly affected by the death of Peregrine Langton,* you were not mistaken ; he was one of

* Mr Langton's uncle.

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those whom I loved at once by instinct and by reason. I have seldom indulged more hope of anything than of being able to improve our acquaintance to friendship. Many a time have I placed myself again at Langton, and imagined the Pleasure with which I should walk to Partney * in a summer morning ; but this is no longer possible. We must now endeavour to preserve what is left us—his example of piety and economy. I hope you make what inquiries you can, and write down what is told you. The little things which distinguish domestic characters are soon forgotten ; if you delay to inquire, you will have no information ; if you neglect to write, information will be vain.

His art of life certainly deserves to be known and studied. He lived in plenty and elegance upon an income which, to many would appear indigent, and to most scanty. How he lived, therefore, every man has an interest in knowing. His death, I hope, was peaceful ; it was surely happy.

I wish I had written sooner, lest, writing now, I should renew your grief ; but I would not forbear saying what I have now said.

This loss is, I hope, the only misfortune of a family to whom no misfortune at all should happen, if my wishes could avert it. Let me know how you all go on. Has Mr Langton got him the little horse that I recommended ? It would do him good to ride about his estate in fine weather.

Be pleased to make my compliments to Mrs Langton, and to dear Miss Langton, and Miss Di, and Miss Juliet, and to everybody else.

THE CLUB holds very well together. Monday is my night.† I continue to rise tolerably well, and read more than I did. I hope something will yet come on it. I am, Sir, your most affectionate servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 10, 1766,
JOHNSON'S COURT.

Mr Langton did not disregard Dr Johnson's counsel, but wrote the following account, which he has been pleased to communicate to me :

"The circumstances of Mr Peregrine Langton were these. He had an annuity for life of two hundred pounds *per annum*. He resided in a village in Lincolnshire ; the rent of his house, with two or three small fields, was twenty-eight pounds ; the county he lived in was not more than moderately cheap ; his family consisted of a sister, who paid him eighteen pounds annually for her board, and a niece. The servants were two maids, and two men in livery. His common way of living, at his table, was three or four dishes ; the appurtenances to his table were neat and handsome ; he frequently entertained company at dinner, and then his table was well served with as many dishes as were usual at the tables of the other gentlemen in the neighbourhood. His own appearance, as to clothes, was genteelly neat and plain. He had always a post-chaise, and kept three horses.

"Such, with the resources I have mentioned, was his way of living, which

* The place of residence of Mr Peregrine Langton.

† Of his being in the Chair of the LITERARY CLUB, which at this time met once a week in the evening.

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he did not suffer to employ his whole income ; for he had always a sum of money lying by him for any extraordinary expenses that might arise. Some money he put into the stocks ; at his death, the sum he had there amounted to one hundred and fifty pounds. He purchased out of his income his household furniture and linen, of which latter he had a very ample store ; and, as I am assured by those that had very good means of knowing, not less than the tenth part of his income was set apart for charity : at the time of his death, the sum of twenty-five pounds was found, with a direction to be employed in such uses.

“ He had laid down a plan of living proportioned to his income, and did not practise any extraordinary degree of parsimony, but endeavoured that in his family there should be plenty without waste ; as an instance that this was his endeavour, it may be worth while to mention a method he took in regulating a proper allowance of malt liquor to be drunk in his family, that there might not be a deficiency, or any intemperate profusion : On a complaint made that his allowance of a hogshead in a month was not enough for his own family, he ordered the quantity of a hogshead to be put into bottles, had it locked up from the servants, and distributed out, every day, eight quarts, which is the quantity each day at one hogshead in a month ; and told his servants, that if that did not suffice, he would allow them more ; but, by this method, it appeared at once that the allowance was much more than sufficient for his small family ; and this proved a clear conviction, that could not be answered, and saved all future dispute. He was, in general, very diligently and punctually attended and obeyed by his servants ; he was very considerate as to the injunctions he gave, and explained them distinctly ; and, at their first coming to his service, steadily exacted a close compliance with them, without any remission ; and the servants finding this to be the case, soon grew habitually accustomed to the practice of their business, and then very little further attention was necessary. On extraordinary instances of good behaviour, or diligent service, he was not wanting in particular encouragements and presents above their wages ; it is remarkable that he would permit their relations to visit them, and stay at his house two or three days at a time.

“ The wonder, with most that hear an account of his economy, will be, how he was able, with such an income, to do so much, especially when it is considered that he paid for everything he had : he had no land, except the two or three small fields which I have said he rented ; and instead of gaining anything by their produce, I have reason to think he lost by them ; however, they furnished him with no further assistance towards his housekeeping, than grass for his horses (not hay, for that I know he bought), and for two cows. Every Monday morning he settled his family accounts, and so kept up a constant attention to the confining his expenses within his income ; and to do it more exactly, compared those expenses with a computation he had made, how much that income would afford him every week and day of the year. One of his economical practices was, as soon as any repair was wanting in or about his house, to have it immediately performed. When he had money to spare, he chose to lay in a provision of linen or clothes, or any other

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necessaries; as then, he said, he could afford it, which he might not be so well able to do when the actual want came; in consequence of which method, he had a considerable supply of necessary articles lying by him, beside what was in use.

"But the main particular that seems to have enabled him to do so much with his income, was, that he paid for everything as soon as he had it, except, alone, what were current accounts, such as rent for his house and servants' wages; and these he paid at the stated times with the utmost exactness. He gave notice to the tradesmen of the neighbouring market-towns that they should no longer have his custom if they let any of his servants have anything without their paying for it. Thus he put it out of his power to commit those imprudences to which those are liable that defer their payments by using their money some other way than where it ought to go. And whatever money he had by him, he knew that it was not demanded elsewhere, but that he might safely employ it as he pleased.

"His example was confined, by the sequestered place of his abode, to the observation of few, though his prudence and virtue would have made it valuable to all who could have known it.—These few particulars, which I knew myself, or have obtained from those who lived with him, may afford instruction, and be an incentive to that wise art of living, which he so successfully practised."

P. 354, l. 25. On *man* put the following note—the Rev. Mr John Campbell, Minister of the parish of Kippen, near Stirling, who has lately favoured me with a long, intelligent, and very obliging letter upon this work, makes the following remark. "Dr Johnson has alluded to the worthy man employed in the translation of the New Testament. Might not this have afforded you an opportunity of paying a proper tribute of respect to the memory of the Rev. Mr James Stuart, late Minister of Killin, distinguished by his eminent Piety, Learning and Taste. The amiable simplicity of his life, his warm benevolence, his indefatigable and successful exertions for civilising and improving the Parish of which he was Minister for upwards of fifty years, entitle him to the gratitude of his country, and the veneration of all good men. It certainly would be a pity, if such a character should be permitted to sink into oblivion."

P. 361, l. 6 from the foot. On *universality* put the following note—

"The Reverend Mr Strahan clearly recollects having been told by Johnson that the King observed that Pope made Warburton a Bishop. 'True, sir (said Johnson), but Warburton did more for Pope; he made him a Christian'; alluding, no doubt, to his ingenious Comments on the *Essay on Man*."

P. 365, after l. 3, read—

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq., at Mr Rothwell's, Perfumer, in
New Bond Street, London

DEAR SIR,—That you have been all summer in London, is one more reason for which I regret my long stay in the country. I hope that you will not leave

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the town before my return. We have here only the chance of vacancies in the passing carriages, and I have bespoken one that may, if it happens, bring me to town on the fourteenth of this month; but this is not certain.

It will be a favour if you communicate this to Mrs Williams; I long to see all my friends. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LICHFIELD, Oct. 10, 1767.

P. 370, l. 32, after *cold*, *read*—as follows—Dr John Campbell, the celebrated writer, took a great deal of pains to ascertain this fact, and attempted to account for it on physical principles, from the effect of effluvia from human bodies. Johnson at another time praised Macaulay for his "*magnanimity*," in asserting this wonderful story, because it was well attested. A Lady of Norfolk, by a letter to my friend Dr Burney, has favoured me with the following solution: "Now for the explication of this seeming mystery, which is so very obvious as, for that reason, to have escaped the penetration of Dr Johnson and his friend, as well as that of the author. Reading the book with my ingenious friend the late Reverend Mr Christian of Darking—after ruminating a little, 'The cause (says he) is a natural one. The situation of St Kilda renders a North-East Wind indispensably necessary before a stranger can land. The wind, not the stranger, occasions an epidemic cold!' If I am not mistaken, Mr Macaulay is dead; if living, this solution might please him, as I hope it will Mr Boswell, in return for the many agreeable hours his Works have afforded us."

P. 372, l. 24. On *Maupertuis* put the following note—I should think it impossible not to wonder at the variety of Johnson's reading, however desultory it may have been. Who could have imagined that the High Church of England-man would be so prompt in quoting *Maupertuis*, who, I am sorry to think, stands in the list of those unfortunate mistaken men, who call themselves *esprits forts*. I have, however, a high respect for that Philosopher whom the Great Frederick of Prussia loved and honoured, and addressed pathetically in one of his poems,

*"Maupertuis, cher Maupertuis,
Que notre vie est peu de chose."*

There was in *Maupertuis* a vigour and yet a tenderness of sentiment, united with strong intellectual powers, and uncommon ardour of soul. Would he had been a Christian! I cannot help earnestly venturing to hope that he is one now.

Ibid., l. 28, for upon whom, *read*—on which.

P. 373, l. 21, after *pleasing*, *read*—as follows—Here he discovered that acute discrimination, that solid judgment, and that knowledge of human nature, for which he was upon all occasions remarkable. Taking care to keep in view the moral and religious duty, as understood in our nation, he showed clearly from reason and good sense, the greater degree of culpability in the

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one sex deviating from it than the other; and, at the same time, inculcated a very useful lesson as to *the way to keep him*.

P. 378, l. 36. On *facts* put the following note—My respectable friend, upon reading this passage, observed, that he probably must have said not simply “strong facts,” but “strong facts well arranged.” His Lordship, however, knows too well the value of written documents to insist on setting his recollection against my notes taken at the time. He does not attempt to *traverse the record*. The fact, perhaps, may have been, either that the additional words escaped me in the noise of a numerous company, or that Dr Johnson, from his impetuosity, and eagerness to seize an opportunity to make a lively retort, did not allow Dr Douglas to finish his sentence.

P. 380, l. 18, for this, *read*—the preceding, and after Academy, *read*—of Arts in London.

Ibid., l. 19, before the, *read*—now; and on *Literature* put the following note—In which place he has been succeeded by Bennet Langton, Esq. When that truly religious gentleman was elected to this honorary Professorship, at the same time that Edward Gibbon, Esq., noted for introducing a kind of sneering infidelity into his Historical Writings, was elected Professor in Ancient History in the room of Dr Goldsmith, I observed that it brought to my mind, “Wicked Will Whiston and good Mr Ditton.”—I am now also of that admirable institution as Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, by the favour of the Academicians and the approbation of the Sovereign.

P. 382, l. 2. On *avowed* put the following note—In the Preface to my *Account of Corsica*, published in 1768, I thus express myself: “He who publishes a book affecting not to be an author, and professing an indifference for literary fame, may possibly impose upon many people such an idea of his consequence as he wishes may be received. For my part, I should be proud to be known as an author, and I have an ardent ambition for literary fame; for, of all possessions, I should imagine literary fame to be the most valuable. A man who has been able to furnish a book, which has been approved by the world, has established himself as a respectable character in distant society, without any danger of having that character lessened by the observation of his weaknesses. To preserve a uniform dignity among those who see us every day, is hardly possible; and to aim at it, must put us under the fetters of perpetual restraint. The author of an approved book may allow his natural disposition an easy play, and yet indulge the pride of superior genius, when he considers that by those who know him only as an author, he never ceases to be respected. Such an author, when in his hours of gloom and discontent, may have the consolation to think, that his writings are, at that very time, giving pleasure to numbers; and such an author may cherish the hope of being remembered after death, which has been a great object to the noblest minds in all ages.”

P. 384, after the note *read* as follows—He has since published I don’t know how many pages in one of his curious books, attempting, in much anger, but with pitiful effect, to persuade mankind that my illustrious friend was not the great and good man which they esteemed and ever will esteem him to be.

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P. 400, l. 26, for *was*, *read*—appeared to me; and after awkward, *read*—for I fancied that.

Ibid., l. 27. On it put the following note—I have since had reason to think that I was mistaken; for I have been informed by a Lady, who was long intimate with her, and likely to be a more accurate observer of such matters, that she had acquired such a niceness of touch, as to know, by the feeling on the outside of the cup, how near it was to being full.

P. 405, l. 5, after Blackmore's, *read*—supposed.

Ibid., l. 8. On *won* put the following note—An acute correspondent of *The European Magazine*, April 1792, has completely exposed a mistake which has been unaccountably frequent in ascribing these lines to Blackmore, notwithstanding that Sir Richard Steel, in that very popular work *The Spectator*, mentions them as written by the author of *The British Princes*, the Honourable Edward Howard. The correspondent above mentioned, shows this mistake to be so inveterate, that not only *I* defended the lines as Blackmore's, in the presence of Dr Johnson, without any contradiction or doubt of their authenticity, but that the Reverend Mr Whitaker has asserted in point, that he understands they were *suppressed* in the late edition or editions of Blackmore. "After all (says this intelligent writer) it is not unworthy of particular observation, that these lines so often quoted do not exist either in Blackmore or Howard." In *The British Princes*, 8vo. 1669, now before me, p. 96, they stand thus :

"A vest as admir'd Voltiger had on,
Which, from this Island's foes, his grandsire won,
Whose artful colour pass'd the Tyrian dye,
Oblig'd to triumph in this legacy."

"It is probable, I think, that some wag, in order to make Howard still more ridiculous than he really was, has formed the couplet as it now circulates."

P. 410, l. 17, for October, *read*—November.

Ibid., last line after music, *read*—by Mr Dibdin.

P. 422, ll. 3, 4, for a six weeks Tour through the South of England, *read*—An eight days Journey from London to Portsmouth.

P. 427, l. 1, for or, *read*—nor.

Ibid., after l. 18, *read*—SPEAKING of Homer, whom he venerated as the prince of poets, Johnson remarked that the advice given to Diomed by his father, when he sent him to the Trojan war, was the noblest exhortation that could be instanced in any heathen writer, and comprised in a single line :

αἰὲν ἀρῖστευεῖν, καὶ ἐνπειροχὸν ἐμμεναὶ ἀλλῶν

which, if I recollect well, is translated by Dr Clarke thus : *semper appetere præstantissima, & omnibus aliis antecellere.*

"He observed, 'it was a most mortifying reflection for any man to consider *what he had done*, compared with *what he might have done*.'"

"He said few people had intellectual resources sufficient to forego the

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pleasures of wine. They could not otherwise contrive how to fill the interval between dinner and supper.

"He went with me one Sunday to hear my old Master Gregory Sharpe preach at the Temple.—In the prefatory prayer, Sharpe ranted about *Liberty*, as a blessing most fervently to be implored, and its continuance prayed for; Johnson observed, that our *liberty* was in no sort of danger.—He would have done much better, to pray against our *licentiousness*.

"One evening at Mrs Montagu's, where a splendid company was assembled, consisting of the most eminent literary characters, I thought he seemed highly pleased with the respect and attention that were shown him, and asked him on our return home if he was not highly *gratified* by his visit. 'No, sir (said he), not highly *gratified*; yet I do not recollect to have passed many evenings *with fewer objections*.'

"Though of no high extraction himself, he had much respect for birth and family, especially among ladies. He said, 'adventitious accomplishments may be possessed by all ranks; but one may easily distinguish the *born gentlewoman*.'

"He said, 'the poor in England were better provided for than in any other country of the same extent: he did not mean little Cantons, or petty Republics. Where a great proportion of the people (said he) are suffered to languish in helpless misery, that country must be ill policed, and wretchedly governed; a decent provision for the poor is the true test of civilisation.—Gentlemen of education, he observed, were pretty much the same in all countries; the condition of the lower orders, the poor especially, was the true mark of national discrimination.'

"When the corn laws were in agitation in Ireland, by which that country has been enabled not only to feed itself, but export corn to a large amount; Sir Thomas Robinson observed, that those laws might be prejudicial to the corn trade of England. 'Sir Thomas (said he), you talk the language of a Savage: what, sir? would you prevent any people from feeding themselves if by any honest means they can do it.'

"It being mentioned, that Garrick assisted Dr Brown, the author of the Estimate, in some dramatic composition. 'No, sir (said Johnson), he would no more suffer Garrick to write a line in his play, than he would suffer him to mount his Pulpit.'

"Speaking of Burke, he said, 'It was commonly observed, he spoke too often in parliament; but nobody could say he did not speak well, though too frequently and too familiarly.'

"Speaking of economy, he remarked, it was hardly worth while to save anxiously twenty pounds a year. If a man could save to that degree, so as to enable him to assume a different rank in society, then, indeed, it might answer some purpose.

"He observed, a principal source of erroneous judgment was, viewing things partially and only on *one side*; as for instance, *fortune hunters*, when they contemplated the fortunes *singly and separately*, it was a dazzling and tempting object; but when they came to possess the wives and their

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fortunes *together*, they began to suspect they had not made quite so good a bargain.

"Speaking of the late Duke of Northumberland living very magnificently when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, somebody remarked, it would be difficult to find a suitable successor to him; then exclaimed Johnson, *he is only fit to succeed himself*.

"He advised me, if possible, to have a good orchard. He knew, he said, a clergyman of small income, who brought up a family very respectably, which he chiefly fed with apple dumplings.

"He said, he had known several good scholars among the Irish gentlemen; but scarcely any of them correct in *quantity*. He extended the same observation to Scotland.

"Speaking of a certain Prelate, who exerted himself very laudably in building churches and parsonage-houses; however, said he, I do not find that he is esteemed a man of much professional learning, or a liberal patron of it;—yet, it is well, where a man possesses any strong positive excellence.—Few have all kinds of merit belonging to their character. We must not examine matters too deeply—No, sir, *a fallible being will fail somewhere*.

"Talking of the Irish clergy, he said, Swift was a man of great parts, and the instrument of much good to his country.—Berkeley was a profound scholar, as well as a man of fine imagination; but Usher, he said, was the great luminary of the Irish Church; and a greater, he added, no Church could boast of; at least in modern times.

"We dined *tête à tête* at the Mitre, as I was preparing to return to Ireland, after an absence of many years. I regretted much leaving London, where I had formed many agreeable connections; 'Sir (said he), I don't wonder at it; no man, fond of letters, leaves London without regret. But remember, sir, you have seen and enjoyed a great deal.—You have seen life in its highest decorations, and the world has nothing new to exhibit.—No man is so well qualified to leave public life as he who has long tried it and known it well. We are always hankering after untried situations, and imagining greater felicity from them than they can afford. No, sir, knowledge and virtue may be acquired in all countries, and your local consequence will make you some amends for the intellectual gratifications you relinquish. Then he quoted the following lines with great pathos:—

'He who has early known the pomps of state,
(For things unknown, 'tis ignorance to condemn;)
And after having viewed the gaudy bait,
Can boldly say, the trifle I condemn;
With such a one contented could I live,
Contented could I die';—

"He then took a most affecting leave of me; said, he knew, it was a point of *duty* that called me away—'We shall all be sorry to lose you,' said he. *Laudo tamen.*"

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P. 428, after l. 20, *read*—

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—After much lingering of my own, and much of the ministry, I have, at length, got out my paper.* But delay is not yet at an end; not many had been dispersed, before Lord North ordered the sale to stop. His reasons I do not distinctly know. You may try to find them in the perusal.† Before his order, a sufficient number were dispersed to do all the mischief, though, perhaps, not to make all the sport that might be expected from it.

Soon after your departure, I had the pleasure of finding all the danger past with which your navigation was threatened. I hope nothing happens at home to abate your satisfaction; but that Lady Rothes, and Mrs Langton, and the young ladies are all well.

I was last night at THE CLUB. Dr Percy has written a long ballad in many fits; it is pretty enough. He has printed, and will soon publish it. Goldsmith is at Bath, with Lord Clare. At Mr Thrale's, where I am now writing, all are well. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

March 20, 1771.

P. 433, after line 10, *read*—

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq., at Langton, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire

DEAR SIR,—I am lately returned from Staffordshire and Derbyshire. The last letter mentions two others which you have written to me since you received my pamphlet. Of these two I never had but one, in which you mentioned a design of visiting Scotland, and, by consequence, put my journey to Langton out of my thoughts. My summer wanderings are now over, and I am engaging in a very great work, the revision of my *Dictionary*; from which I know not, at present, how to get loose.

If you have observed, or been told, any errors or omissions, you will do me a great favour by letting me know them.

Lady Rothes, I find, has disappointed you and herself. Ladies will have these tricks. The Queen and Mrs Thrale, both ladies of experience, yet both missed their reckoning this summer. I hope, a few months will recompense your uneasiness.

Please to tell Lady Rothes how highly I value the honour of her invitation, which it is my purpose to obey as soon as I have disengaged myself. In the meantime I shall hope to hear often of her Ladyship, and every day better news and better, till I hear that you have both the happiness, which to both is very sincerely wished, by, Sir, your most affectionate, and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

August 29, 1771.

* “Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands.”

† By comparing the first with the subsequent editions, this curious circumstance of ministerial authorship may be discovered.

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VOLUME II

P. 6, l. 1, on *sunk* put the following note—

TO JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.

EDINBURGH, May 3, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR,—As I suppose your great work will soon be reprinted, I beg leave to trouble you with a remark on a passage of it, in which I am a little misrepresented. Be not alarmed; the misrepresentation is not imputable to you. Not having the book at hand, I cannot specify the page, but I suppose you will easily find it. Dr Johnson says, speaking of Mrs Thrale's family, "Dr Beattie *sunk upon us* that he was married," or words to that purpose. I am not sure that I understand *sunk upon us*, which is a very uncommon phrase: but it seems to me to imply (and others, I find, have understood it in the same sense) *studiously concealed from us his being married*. Now, sir, this was by no means the case. I could have no motive to conceal a circumstance, of which I never was nor can be ashamed; and of which Dr Johnson seemed to think, when he afterwards became acquainted with Mrs Beattie, that I had, as was true, reason to be proud. So far was I from concealing her, that my wife had at that time almost as numerous an acquaintance in London as I had myself; and was, not very long after, kindly invited and elegantly entertained at Streatham by Mr and Mrs Thrale.

My request, therefore, is, that you would rectify this matter in your new edition. You are at liberty to make what use you please of this letter.

My best wishes ever attend you and your family. Believe me to be, with the utmost regard and esteem, dear Sir, your obliged and affectionate humble servant,

J. BEATTIE.

I have from my respect for Dr Beattie, and regard to his extreme sensibility, inserted the foregoing letter, though I cannot but wonder at his considering as any imputation a phrase commonly used among the best friends.

P. 15, l. 29, for Young, *read*—Yonge.

P. 52, after l. 31, *read*—I have been unexpectedly favoured with a packet from Philadelphia, from Mr *James Abercrombie*, a gentleman of that country, who is pleased to honour me with very high praise of my *Life of Dr Johnson*. To have the fame of my illustrious friend and his faithful biographer echoed from the New World is extremely flattering; and my grateful acknowledgments have been wafted across the Atlantic. Mr Abercrombie has politely conferred on me a considerable additional obligation, by transmitting to me copies of two letters from Dr Johnson to American gentlemen. "Gladly, sir (says he), would I have sent you the originals, but being the only relics of the kind in America, they are considered by the possessors, of such inestimable value, that no possible consideration would induce them to part

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with them. In some future publication of yours relative to that great and good man, they may perhaps be thought worthy of insertion."

To Mr B——

This gentleman, who now resides in America in a public character of considerable dignity, desired that his name might not be transcribed at full length.

SIR,—That in the hurry of a sudden departure you should yet find leisure to consult my convenience, is a degree of kindness, and an instance of regard, not only beyond my claims, but above my expectation. You are not mistaken in supposing that I set a high value on my American friends, and that you should confer a very valuable favour upon me by giving me an opportunity of keeping myself in their memory.

I have taken the liberty of troubling you with a packet, to which I wish a safe and speedy conveyance, because I wish a safe and speedy voyage to him that conveys it. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LONDON, JOHNSON'S COURT, FLEET STREET,

March 4, 1773.

To the Reverend Mr White, now Doctor White, and Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania. (During his first visit to England in 1771, as a candidate for holy orders, he was several times in company with Dr Johnson, who expressed a wish to see the edition of his *Rasselas*, which Dr White told him had been printed in America. Dr White, on his return, immediately sent him a copy.)

DEAR SIR,—Your kindness for your friends accompanies you across the Atlantic. It was long since observed by Horace, that no ship could leave care behind; you have been attended in your voyage by other powers—by benevolence and constancy; and I hope care did not often show her face in their company.

I received the copy of *Rasselas*. The impression is not magnificent, but it flatters an author, because the printer seems to have expected that it would be scattered among the people. The little book has been well received, and is translated into Italian, French, German, and Dutch. It has now one honour more by an American edition.

I know not that much has happened since your departure that can engage our curiosity. Of all public transactions the whole world is now informed by the newspapers. Opposition seems to despond; and the dissenters, though they have taken advantage of unsettled times, and a government much enfeebled, seem not likely to gain any immunities.

Dr Goldsmith has a new comedy in rehearsal at Covent Garden, to which the manager predicts ill success. I hope he will be mistaken. I think it deserves a very kind reception.

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I shall soon publish a new edition of my large *Dictionary*; I have been persuaded to revise it, and have mended some faults, but added little to its usefulness.

No book has been published since your departure; of which much notice is taken. Faction only fills the town with pamphlets, and greater subjects are forgotten in the noise of discord.

Thus have I written, only to tell you how little I have to tell. Of myself I can only add, that having been afflicted many weeks with a very troublesome cough, I am now recovered.

I take the liberty which you give me of troubling you with a letter, of which you will please to fill up the direction. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

JOHNSON'S COURT, FLEET STREET, LONDON,

March 4, 1773.

P. 60, l. 3. On *tune* put the following note—The Humours of Ballamagairy.

P. 75, l. 27. On *precedence* put the following note—Here is another instance of his high admiration of Milton as a poet, notwithstanding his just abhorrence of that sour Republican's political principles. His candour and discrimination are equally conspicuous. Let us hear no more of his "injustice to Milton."

P. 76, l. 14, after me, *read*—I sat in a state of anxiety which even the charming conversation of Lady Di Beauclerk could not entirely dissipate.

Ibid., l. 33. On *more* put the following note—Dr Johnson's memory here was not perfectly accurate; *Eugenio* does not conclude thus. There are eight more lines after the last of those quoted by him; and the passage which he meant to recite is as follows:

"Say now, ye fluttering, poor assuming elves,
Stark full of pride, of folly, of—yourselves;
Say where's the wretch of all your impious crew
Who dares confront his character to view?
Behold Eugenio, view him o'er and o'er,
Then sink into yourselves, and be no more."

Mr Reed informs me that the author of *Eugenio*, a Wine Merchant at Wrexham in Denbighshire, soon after its publication, viz. 17th May, 1737, cut his own throat, and that it appears by Swift's Works, that the poem had been shown to him, and received some of his corrections. Johnson had read *Eugenio* on his first coming to town, for we see it mentioned in one of his letters to Mr Cave, which has been inserted in this work.

P. 77, l. 7. On *corps* put the following note—Probably I have mistaken the word, and imagined it to be *Corps*, from its similarity of sound to the real one. For an accurate and shrewd unknown gentleman, to whom I am indebted for some remarks on my work, observes on this passage—"Q. if not on the word *Fort*? A vociferous French preacher said of Bourdaloue:

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‘Il preche fort bien, et moi bien fort.’ — *Menagiana*.” See also *Anecdotes Littéraires*, Article Bourdaloue.

P. 112, after Dr Johnson’s letter to Mr Boswell, read—

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq., at Langton, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire

DEAR SIR,—You have reason to reproach me that I have left your last letter so long unanswered, but I had nothing particular to say. Chambers, you find, is gone far, and poor Goldsmith is gone much further. He died of a fever, exasperated, as I believe, by the fear of distress. He had raised money and squandered it, by every artifice of acquisition, and folly of expense. But let not his frailties be remembered; he was a very great man.

I have just begun to print my *Journey to the Hebrides*, and am leaving the press to take another journey into Wales, whither Mr Thrale is going, to take possession of, at least, five hundred a year, fallen to his lady. All at Streatham, that are alive are well.

I have never recovered from the last dreadful illness, but flatter myself that I grow gradually better; much, however, yet remains to mend. *Κύριε ἐλέησον.*

If you have the Latin version of *Busy, curious thirsty fly*, be so kind as to transcribe and send it; but you need not be in haste, for I shall be I know not where, for at least five weeks. I wrote the following tetrastich on poor Goldsmith:

“Τὸν τάφον εἰσπορεύς τὸν Ὀλιβαρίοιο, κονίην
 Ἀφροσι μὴ σεμνήν, Ξεῖνε, πῶδέσσι πάτεϊ·
 Οἷσι μέμηλε φύσις μέτρων χάρις, ἔργα παλαιῶν
 Κλαίετε ποιήτην, ἰσόρικον, φύσικον.”

Please to make my most respectful compliments to all the ladies, and remember me to young George and his sisters. I reckon George begins to show a pair of heels.

Do not be sullen now, but let me find a letter when I come back. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate, humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

July 5, 1774.

To MR ROBERT LEVET

LLEWENNY, IN DENBIGHSHIRE,
Aug. 16, 1774.

DEAR SIR,—Mr Thrale’s affairs have kept him here a great while, nor do I know exactly when we shall come hence. I have sent you a bill upon Mr Strahan.

I have made nothing of the *Ipecacuanha*, but have taken abundance of pills, and hope that they have done me good.

Wales, so far as I have yet seen of it, is a very beautiful and rich country,

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all enclosed and planted. Denbigh is not a mean town. Make my compliments to all my friends, and tell Frank I hope he remembers my advice. When his money is out, let him have more. I am, Sir, your humble servant,
SAM. JOHNSON.

P. 116, l. 12, after provoking, *read*—

To Mr PERKINS *

SIR,—You may do me a very great favour. Mrs Williams, a gentlewoman whom you may have seen at Mr Thrale's, is a petitioner for Mr Hetherington's charity : petitions are this day issued at Christ's Hospital.

I am a bad manager of business in a crowd ; and if I should send a mean man, he may be put away without his errand. I must therefore entreat that you will go, and ask for a petition for Anna Williams, whose paper of inquiries was delivered with answers at the counting-house of the hospital on Thursday the 20th. My servant will attend you thither, and bring the petition home when you have it.

The petition, which they are to give us, is a form which they deliver to every petitioner, and which the petitioner is afterwards to fill up, and return to them again. This we must have, or we cannot proceed according to their directions. You need, I believe, only ask for a petition ; if they inquire for whom you ask you can then tell them.

I beg pardon for giving you this trouble ; but it is a matter of great importance. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

October 25, 1774.

P. 122, l. 3 of note, after Mr Alderman Boydell, *read*—that eminent Patron of the Arts.

P. 127, l. 2. On *copy* put the following note—I have deposited it in the British Museum.

P. 132, l. 8, after instructive, *read*—Mr Tytler, the acute and able vindicator of Mary Queen of Scots, in one of his letters to Mr James Elphinstone, published in that gentleman's *Forty Years' Correspondence*, says, "I read Dr Johnson's *Tour* with very great pleasure. Some few errors he has fallen into, but of no great importance, and those are lost in the numberless beauties of his work.

"If I had leisure, I could perhaps point out the most exceptionable places ;

* Mr Perkins was for a number of years the worthy superintendent of Mr Thrale's great brewery, and after his death became one of the proprietors of it, and now resides in Mr Thrale's house in Southwark, which was the scene of so many literary meetings, and in which he continues the liberal hospitality for which it was eminent. Dr Johnson esteemed him much. He hung up in the counting-house a fine proof of the admirable mezzotinto of Dr Johnson, by Doughty ; and when Mrs Thrale asked him somewhat flippantly, "Why do you put him up in the counting-house?" he answered, "Because, madam, I wish to have one wise man there." "Sir," said Johnson, "I thank you. It is a very handsome compliment, and I believe you speak sincerely."

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but at present I am in the country, and have not his book at hand. It is plain he meant to speak well of Scotland; and he has in my apprehension done us great honour in the most capital article, the character of the inhabitants."

P. 132, l. 22, after done, *read*—would Mr Tytler, surely "—a *Scot* if ever *Scot* there were," have expressed himself thus?

P. 142, l. 26. On it put the following note—This doubt has been much agitated, I think without good reason. Dr Johnson here speaks only to the *internal evidence*. I take leave to differ from him, having a very high estimation of the powers of Dr Swift. His *Sentiments of a Church of England-man*; his *Sermon on the Trinity*, and other serious pieces, prove his learning as well as his acuteness in logic and metaphysics; and his various compositions of a different cast exhibit not only wit, humour, and ridicule; but a knowledge "of nature, and art, and life." A combination therefore of those powers, when (as the *Apology* says) the author was young, his invention at the height, and his reading fresh in his head," might surely produce *The Tale of a Tub*.

P. 148, l. 19. On *score* put the following note—I use the phrase *in score*, as Dr Johnson has explained it in his *Dictionary*. "*A Song in score*, the words with the musical notes of a song annexed." But I understand that in scientific propriety it means all the parts of a musical composition noted down in the characters by which it is exhibited to the eye of the skilful.

P. 164, l. 3 from the foot, for *May*, *read*—April.

P. 165, l. 2, after circle, *read*—Nor did he omit to pique his *mistress* a little with jealousy of her housewifery; for he said (with a smile), "Mrs Abington's jelly, my dear Lady, was better than yours."

P. 173, after line 9 from the foot, *read*—

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I have inquired more minutely about the medicine for the rheumatism, which I am sorry to hear that you still want. The receipt is this:

Take equal quantities of flour of sulphur, and *flour* of mustard seed, make them an electuary with honey or treacle; and take a bolus as big as a nutmeg several times a day, as you can bear it; drinking after it a quarter of a pint of the infusion of the root of Lovage.

Lovage, in Ray's *Nomenclature*, is Levisticum; perhaps the Botanists may know the Latin name.

Of this medicine I pretend not to judge. There is all the appearance of its efficacy, which a single instance can afford; the patient was very old, the pain very violent, and the relief, I think, speedy and lasting.

My opinion of alterative medicine is not high, but *quid tentasse nocebit?* if it does harm, or does no good, it may be omitted; but that it may do good, you have, I hope, reason to think is desired by, Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

April 17, 1775.

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P. 178, l. 27, after *severe*, *read*—the audience being much affected by the innocent looks of Polly, when she came to those two lines, which exhibit at once a painful and ridiculous image :

“ For on the rope that hangs my Dear,
Depends poor Polly’s life.”

P. 184, l. 1. On 1746 put the following note :—

“ My very honourable friend General Sir George Howard, who served in the Duke of Cumberland’s army, has assured me that the cruelties were not imputable to his Royal Highness.”

P. 185, after last line, *read*—

To BENNET LANGTON, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I have an old amanuensis in great distress. I have given what I think I can give, and begged till I cannot tell where to beg again. I put into his hands this morning four guineas. If you could collect three guineas more, it would clear him from his present difficulty. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 21, 1775.

P. 190, l. 21, after *Continent*, *read*—

To Mr ROBERT LEVET

Sept. 18, 1775.
CALAIS.

DEAR SIR,—We are here in France, after a very pleasing passage of no more than six hours. I know not when I shall write again, and therefore I write now, though you cannot suppose that I have much to say. You have seen France yourself. From this place we are going to Rouen, and from Rouen to Paris, where Mr Thrale designs to stay about five or six weeks. We have a regular recommendation to the English resident, so we shall not be taken for vagabonds. We think to go one way and return another, and for as much as we can, I will try to speak a little French ; I tried hitherto but little, but I spoke sometimes. If I heard better, I suppose I should learn faster. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

To the Same

PARIS, *Oct. 22, 1775.*

DEAR SIR,—We are still here, commonly very busy in looking about us. We have been to-day at Versailles. You have seen it, and I shall not describe it. We came yesterday from Fontainebleau, where the Court is now. We went to see the King and Queen at dinner, and the Queen was so impressed

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by Miss,* that she sent one of the gentlemen to inquire who she was. I find all true that you have ever told me of Paris. Mr Thrale is very liberal, and keeps us two coaches, and a very fine table; but I think our cookery very bad. Mrs Thrale got into a convent of English nuns, and I talked with her through the grate, and I am very kindly used by the English Benedictine friars. But upon the whole I cannot make much acquaintance here; and though the churches, palaces, and some private houses are very magnificent, there is no very great pleasure after having seen many, in seeing more: at least the pleasure, whatever it be, must some time have an end, and we are beginning to think when we shall come home. Mr Thrale calculates that as we left Streatham on the fifteenth of September, we shall see it again about the fifteenth of November.

I think I had not been on this side of the sea five days before I found a sensible improvement in my health. I ran a race in the rain this day, and beat Baretto. Baretto is a fine fellow, and speaks French, I think, quite as well as English.

Make my compliments to Mrs Williams; and give my love to Francis and tell my friends that I am not lost. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate humble, etc.

SAM. JOHNSON.

P. 210, after l. 9, *read*—When at Paris, Johnson thus characterised Voltaire to Freron the Journalist: "*Vir est acerrimi ingenii et paucarum literarum.*"

P. 220, l. 17 from the foot, for *his*, *read*—this.

P. 230, l. 22. On *name* put the following note—He said when he was in Scotland, that he was Johnson of *that ilk*.

P. 245, l. 19, for almost nothing, *read*—scarcely any thing, and upon *thing* put the following note—It has been mentioned to me, by an accurate English friend, that Dr Johnson could never have used the phrase *almost nothing*, as not being English; and therefore I have put another in its place. At the same time, I am not quite convinced it is not good English. For the best writers use the phrase "*little or nothing*"; i.e. almost so little as to be nothing.

Ibid., l. 2 from the foot. On *expect* put the following note—Yet surely it is a very useful work, and of wonderful research and labour for one man to have executed.

P. 248, l. 24. On *inn* put the following note—Sir John Hawkins has preserved very few *Memorabilia* of Johnson. There is, however, to be found, in his bulky tome, a very excellent one upon this subject. "In contradiction to those, who, having a wife and children, prefer domestic enjoyments to those which a tavern affords, I have heard him assert, *that a tavern chair was the throne of human felicity.*—'As soon (said he) as I enter the door of a tavern, I experience an oblivion of care, and a freedom from solicitude: when I am seated, I find the master courteous, and the servants

* Miss Thrale.

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obsequious to my call; anxious to know and ready to supply my wants: wine there exhilarates my spirits, and prompts me to free conversation and an interchange of discourse with those whom I most love: I dogmatise and am contradicted, and in this conflict of opinions and sentiments I find delight.”

Ibid., l. 29. On *inn* put the following note—I give them as they are found in the corrected edition of his Works, published after his death. In Dodsley's *Collection* the stanza ran thus:

“ Who'er has travell'd life's dull round,
Whate'er his *various tour* has been,
May sigh to think *how oft* he found
His warmest welcome at an Inn.”

Then *read*—in the text as follows—My illustrious friend, I thought, did not sufficiently admire Shenstone. That ingenious and elegant gentleman's opinion of Johnson appears in one of his letters to Mr Graves, dated Feb. 9, 1760. “ I have lately been reading one or two volumes of *The Rambler*; who, excepting against some few hardnesses in his manner, and the want of more examples to enliven, is one of the most nervous, most perspicuous, most concise, most harmonious prose writers I know. A learned diction improves by time.”

P. 249, l. 16, after dignified, *read*—This passage does not appear in the printed work; Dr Grainger, or some of his friends, it should seem, having become sensible that introducing even *Rats*, in a grave poem, might be liable to banter. He, however, could not bring himself to relinquish the idea; for they are thus, in a still more ludicrous manner, periphrastically exhibited in his poem as it now stands:

“ Nor with less waste the whisker'd vermin race
A countless clan despoil the lowland cane,”

Ibid., in the notes after above-mentioned, *read*—“ The above was written by the Bishop when he had not the poem itself to recur to; and though the account given was true of it at one period, yet as Dr Grainger afterwards altered the passage in question; the remarks in the text do not now apply to the printed poem.”

P. 250, l. 26, after acquaintance, *read*—as follows—“ He had practised physic in various situations with no great emolument. A West-India gentleman, whom he delighted by his conversation, gave him a bond for a handsome annuity during his life, on the condition of his accompanying him to the West Indies, and living with him there for two years. He accordingly embarked with the gentleman; but upon the voyage fell in love with a young woman who happened to be one of the passengers, and married the wench. From the imprudence of his disposition he quarrelled with the gentleman, and declared he would have no connection with him. So he forfeited the annuity.”

P. 251, l. 11. On *it* put the following note—My worthy friend Mr Langton,

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to whom I am under innumerable obligations in the course of my Johnsonian History, has furnished me with a droll illustration of this question. An honest carpenter, after giving some anecdote, in his presence, of the ill-treatment which he had received from a clergyman's wife, who was a noted termagant, and whom he accused of unjust dealing in some transaction with him, added: "I took care to let her know what I thought of her." And being asked, "What did you say?" answered, "I told her she was a *scoundrel*."

P. 253, l. 14, after neglected, *read*—He said to me at another time, "Sir, the holidays observed by our Church are of great use in religion." There can be no doubt of this, in a limited sense; I mean if the number of such consecrated portions of time be not too extensive. The excellent Mr Nelson's *Festivals and Fasts*, which has, I understand, the greatest sale of any book ever printed in England, except the Bible, is a most valuable help to devotion; and in addition to it I would recommend two sermons on the same subject, by Mr Pott, Archdeacon of St Albans, equally distinguished for piety and elegance. I am sorry to have it to say, that Scotland is the only Christian country, Catholic or Protestant, where the great events of our religion are not solemnly commemorated by its ecclesiastical establishment, on days set apart for the purpose.

P. 255, l. 10, for that, *read*—another.

P. 263, l. 6. On *mulberry tree* put the following note—See an accurate and animated statement of Mr Gastrel's barbarity, by Mr Malone, in a note on "Some Account of the Life of William Shakspeare," prefixed to his admirable edition of that Poet's works, vol. i., p. 118.

Ibid., l. 7, after believe, *read*—on the same authority.

P. 268, l. 6, for Palermينو, *read*—Palmerino.

P. 271, l. 8, on *thoughts* put the following note—The phrase "vexing thoughts," is, I think, very expressive. It has been familiar to me from my childhood; for it is to be found in "The Psalms in metre," used in the churches (I believe I should say *kirk*s) of Scotland. Psal. xliii. v. 5:

"Why art thou then cast down, my soul?
What should discourage thee?
And why with *vexing thoughts* art thou
Disquieted in me?"

Some allowance must no doubt be made for early prepossession. But at a maturer period of life, after looking at various metrical versions of the Psalms, I am well satisfied that the version used in Scotland is, upon the whole, the best; and that it is vain to think of having a better. It has in general a simplicity and *unction* of sacred Poesy; and in many parts its transfusion is admirable.

P. 276, l. 5, after school, *read*—I have acted in the same manner with regard to my own two sons; having placed the eldest at Eton, and the second at Westminster. I cannot say which is best. But in justice to both those noble seminaries, I with high satisfaction declare, that my boys have derived

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from them a great deal of good, and no evil: and I trust they shall, like Horace, be grateful to their father for giving them so valuable an education.

P. 276, l. 7. On *rich* put the following note—Dr Adam Smith, who was for some time a Professor in the University of Glasgow, has uttered, in his *Wealth of Nations*, some reflections upon this subject which are certainly not well founded, and seem to be invidious.

P. 278, note 1, *delete* all that now stands after *paper*, and *read*—as follows—An arrest of Judgment having been moved for, the case was afterwards solemnly argued. My friend Mr Const, whom I delight in having an opportunity to praise, not only for his abilities, but his manners; a gentleman whose ancient German blood has been mellowed in England, and who may be truly said to unite the *Baron* and the *Barrister*, was one of the counsel for Mr Topham. He displayed much learning and ingenuity upon the general question; which, however, was not decided, as the Court granted an arrest chiefly on the informality of the indictment. No man has a higher reverence for the law of England than I have, but, with all deference I cannot help thinking, that prosecution by indictment, if a defendant is never to be allowed to justify, must often be very oppressive, unless Juries, whom I am more and more confirmed in holding to be judges of law as well as of fact, resolutely interpose. Of late an Act of Parliament has passed declaratory of their full right to one as well as the other, in matter of libel; and the bill having been brought in by a popular gentleman, many of his party have in most extravagant terms declaimed on the wonderful acquisition to the liberty of the press. For my own part I ever was clearly of opinion that this right was inherent in the very constitution of a Jury, and indeed in sense and reason inseparable from their important function. To establish it, therefore, by Statute, is, I think, narrowing its foundation, which is the broad and deep basis of Common Law. Would it not rather weaken the right of primogeniture, or any other old and universally-acknowledged right, should the legislature pass an Act in favour of it? In my "Letter to the People of Scotland, against diminishing the number of the Lords of Session," published in 1785, there is the following passage, which, as a concise, and I hope a fair and rational state of the matter, I presume to quote:

"The Juries of England are Judges of *law* as well as of *fact*, in *many civil*, and in *all criminal* trials. That my principles of *resistance* may not be misapprehended any more than my principles of *submission*, I protest that I should be the last man in the world to encourage Juries to contradict rashly, wantonly, or perversely, the opinion of the Judges. On the contrary, I would have them listen respectfully to the advice they receive from the Bench, by which they may often be well directed in forming *their own opinion*; which, 'and not another's,' is the opinion they are to return *upon their oaths*. But where, after due attention to all that the Judge has said, they are decidedly of a different opinion from him, they have not only a *power* and a *right*, but they are *bound in confidence* to bring in a verdict accordingly."

P. 281, note—put the *past* instead of the *present* tense, and *add*, He died on the 31st of December 1791.

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P. 282, l. 19, on Ballow put the following note—There is an account of him in Sir John Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*.

P. 283, l. 2, for this, *read*—such cessations of acquaintance.

Ibid., l. 5. On *itself* put the following note—I have in vain endeavoured to find out what parts Johnson wrote for Dr James. Perhaps medical men may.

P. 286, l. 14, after made, *read*—He added, "I would not have you read anything else of Cheyne, but his book on Health, and his *English Malady*."

P. 287, l. 16 from the foot, for positively averred, *read*—fallaciously advertised so as to make it be believed.

P. 288, l. 17. On *Cibber* put the following note—In the *Monthly Review* for May 1792, there is a circumstantial statement which seems to prove in a satisfactory manner that Dr Johnson was mistaken. It is, however, to be observed, that the story told by Johnson does not rest solely upon my record of his conversation; for he himself has published it in his *Life of Hammond*, where he says, "the manuscript of Shiels is now in my possession." Very probably he had trusted to Shiels's word, and never looked at it so as to compare it with *The Lives of the Poets*, as published under Mr Cibber's name. What became of that manuscript I know not. I should have liked much to examine it. I suppose it was thrown into the fire in that impetuous combustion of papers, which Johnson I think rashly executed, when *moribundus*.

P. 293, l. 5. On *Jack* put the following note—A noted highwayman, who after having been several times tried and acquitted, was at last hanged. He was remarkable for foppery in his dress, and particularly for wearing a bunch of sixteen strings at the knees of his breeches.

Ibid., l. 11, after Mr Cradock, *read*—of Leicestershire, author of *Zobeide*, a tragedy, a very pleasing gentleman, to whom my friend Dr Farmer's very excellent Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare is addressed.

Ibid., l. 13, after works, *read*—particularly a fantastical translation of the New Testament, in modern phrase, and with a Socinian twist.

Ibid., l. 16. On *tragedy* put the following note—See an ingenious Essay on this subject by the late Dr Moor, Greek Professor, at Glasgow.

P. 305, after l. 36, *read*—He on the same account made a similar remark on Patrick Lord Elibank: "Sir, there is nothing *conclusive* in his talk."

P. 312, l. 34, for pointed, *read*—printed.

P. 323, l. 2 of note, for startle, *read*—he surprised.

P. 328, after l. 34, *read*—The following letters concerning an Epitaph which he wrote for the monument of Dr Goldsmith, in Westminster Abbey, afford at once a proof of his unaffected modesty, his carelessness as to his own writings, and of the great respect which he entertained for the taste and judgment of the excellent and eminent person to whom they are addressed:—

To Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS

DEAR SIR,—I have been kept away from you, I know not well how, and of these vexatious hindrances I know not when there will be an end. I

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therefore send you the poor dear Doctor's epitaph. Read it first yourself; and if you then think it right, show it to THE CLUB. I am, you know, willing to be corrected. If you think anything much amiss, keep it to yourself, till we come together. I have sent two copies, but prefer the card. The dates must be settled by Dr Percy. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 16, 1776.

To the Same

SIR,—Miss Reynolds has a mind to send the Epitaph to Dr Beattie; I am very willing, but having no copy, cannot immediately recollect it. She tells me you have lost it. Try to recollect and put down as much as you retain; you perhaps may have kept what I have dropped. The lines for which I am at a loss, are something of *rerum civilium sive naturalium*.* It was a sorry trick to lose it; help me if you can. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

June 22, 1776.

The gout grows better but slowly.

P. 328, l. 35, for an, *read*—this and *dele* the words between *Epitaph* and *gave*.

P. 330, add to the *note* as follows—At another time when somebody endeavoured to argue in favour of its being in English, Johnson said: "The language of the country of which a learned man was a native, is not the language fit for his epitaph, which should be in ancient and permanent language. Consider, sir; how you should feel, were you to find at Rotterdam an epitaph upon Erasmus *in Dutch*!" For my own part I think it would be best to have Epitaphs written both in a learned language, and in the language of the country; so that they might have the advantage of being more universally understood, and at the same time be secured of classical stability. I cannot, however, but be of opinion, that it is not sufficiently discriminative. Applying to Goldsmith equally the epithets of "*Poeta, Historici, Physici*," is surely not right; for as to his claim to the last of those epithets, I have heard Johnson himself say "Goldsmith, sir, will give us a very fine book upon the subject; but if he can distinguish a cow from a horse, that, I believe, may be the extent of his knowledge of natural history." His book is indeed an excellent performance, though in some instances he appears to have trusted too much to Buffon, who, with all his theoretical ingenuity and extraordinary eloquence, I suspect had little actual information in the science on which he wrote so admirably. For instance, he tells us that the *cow* sheds her horns every two years; a most palpable error, which Goldsmith has faithfully transferred into his book. It is wonderful that Buffon, who lived so

* These words must have been in the other copy. They are not in that which was preferred.

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much in the country, at his noble seat, should have fallen into such a blunder. I suppose he has confounded the *coto* with the *deer*.

P. 335, after l. 23, *read*—

To Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS

SIR,—A young man, whose name is Paterson, offers himself this evening to the Academy. He is the son of a man for whom I have long had a kindness, and who is now abroad in distress. I shall be glad that you will be pleased to show him any little countenance, or pay him any small distinction. How much it is in your power to favour or to forward a young man I do not know; nor do I know how much this candidate deserves favour by his personal merit, or what hopes his proficiency may now give of future eminence. I recommend him as the son of my friend. Your character and station enable you to give a young man great encouragement by very easy means. You have heard of a man who asked no other favour of Sir Robert Walpole, than that he would bow to him at his levee. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Aug. 3, 1776.

P. 336, after l. 26, *read*—

To Mr ROBERT LEVETT

DEAR SIR,—Having spent about six weeks at this place, we have at length resolved upon returning. I expect to see you all in Fleet Street on the 30th of this month.

I did not go into the sea till last Friday, but think to go most of this week, though I know not that it does me any good. My nights are very restless and tiresome, but I am otherwise well.

I have written word of my coming to Mrs Williams. Remember me kindly to Francis and Betsy. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

BRIGHTHELMSTONE, Oct. 21, 1776.

For this and Dr Johnson's other letters to Mr Levett, I am indebted to my old acquaintance Mr Nathaniel Thomas, whose worth and ingenuity have been long known to a respectable, though not a wide circle; and whose collection of medals would do credit to persons of greater opulence.

P. 348, l. 12 from the foot, on *Johnson* put the following note—*Johnson* is the most common English formation of the Surname from *John*; *Johnston* the Scotch. My illustrious friend observed, that many north Britons pronounced his name in their own way.

P. 355, to the note add—Mr O'Connor has since died at the age of eighty-two. See a well-drawn character of him in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1791.

P. 357, l. 4, for its design being supposed favourable to the ministry, *read*—he being a writer for ministry in one of the newspapers.

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P. 358, l. 10, for concluded with, *read*—introduced.

P. 361, l. 1. On *Carlisle* put the following note—Dr Johnson had himself talked of our seeing Carlisle together. *High* was a favourite word of his to denote a person of rank. He said to me, "Sir, I believe we may meet at the house of a Roman Catholic lady in Cumberland; a high lady, sir." I afterwards discovered that he meant Mrs Strickland, sister of Charles Townley, Esq., whose very noble collection of statues and pictures is not more to be admired, than his extraordinary and polite readiness in showing it, which I and several of my friends have agreeably experienced. They who are possessed of valuable stores of gratification to persons of taste, should exercise their benevolence in imparting the pleasure. Grateful acknowledgments are due to Welbore Ellis Agar, Esq., for the liberal access which he is pleased to allow to his exquisite collection of pictures.

P. 381, l. 7, after have, *read*—generously.

P. 389, l. 14. On *it* put the following note—Dr Gisborn, Physician to his Majesty's Household, has obligingly communicated to me a fuller account of this story than had reached Dr Johnson. The affected gentleman, was the late John Gilbert Cooper, Esq., author of a *Life of Socrates*, and of some poems in Dodsley's *Collection*. Mr Fitzherbert found him one morning, apparently, in such violent agitation, on account of the indisposition of his son, as to seem beyond the power of comfort. At length, however, he exclaimed, "I'll write an *Elegy*." Mr Fitzherbert being satisfied, by this, of the sincerity of his emotions, slyly said: "Had you not better take a post-chaise and go and see him?" It was the shrewdness of the insinuation which made the story be circulated.

P. 398, to the note add—To this observation much praise has been justly given. Let me then now do myself the honour to mention that the lady who made it was the late Margaret Montgomerie, my very valuable wife, and the very affectionate mother of my children, who, if they inherit her good qualities, will have no reason to complain of their lot. *Dos magna parentum virtus.*

P. 401, for Sir Thomas Lambe, *read*—Mr John Lambe, and on *Lambe* put the following note—See Hutton's *History of Derby*, a book which is deservedly esteemed for its information, accuracy, and good narrative. Indeed the age in which we live is eminently distinguished by topographical excellence.

P. 410, l. 13. On *Ireland* put the following note—In this censure which has been carelessly uttered, I carelessly joined. But in justice to Dr Kippis, who with that manly candid good temper which marks his character, set me right, I now with pleasure retract it; and I desire it may be particularly observed, as pointed out by him to me, that, "The new lives of dissenting Divines, in the first four volumes of the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, are those of John Abernethy, Thomas Amory, George Benson, Hugh Broughton the learned Puritan, Simon Browne, Joseph Boyse of Dublin, Thomas Cartwright the learned Puritan, and Samuel Chandler. The only doubt I have ever heard suggested is, whether there should have

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been an article of Dr Amory. But I was convinced, and am still convinced, that he was entitled to one, from the reality of his learning, and the excellent and candid nature of his practical writings.

"The new lives of clergymen of the Church of England, in the same four volumes, are as follows:—John Balguy, Edward Bentham, George Berkely Bishop of Cloyne, William Berriman, Thomas Birch, William Borlase, Thomas Bott, James Bradley, Thomas Broughton, John Brown, John Burton, Joseph Butler Bishop of Durham, Thomas Carte, Edmund Castell, Edmund Chishull, Charles Churchill, William Clarke, Robert Clayton Bishop of Clogher, John Conybeare Bishop of Bristol, George Costard, and Samuel Croxall.—'I am not conscious (says Dr Kippis) of any partiality in conducting the work. I would not willingly insert a Dissenting Minister that does not justly deserve to be noticed or omit an established clergyman that does. At the same time, I shall not be deterred from introducing Dissenters into the *Biographia*, when I am satisfied that they are entitled to that distinction, from their writings, learning and merit.'"

Let me add that the expression "A friend to the Constitution in Church and State" was not meant as any reflection upon this Reverend Gentleman, as if he were an enemy to the political constitution of his country, as established at the revolution, but from my steady and avowed predilection for a *Tory*, was quoted from Johnson's *Dictionary* where that distinction is so defined.

P. 413, l. 2 from the foot. On *abilities* put the following note—Now, at the distance of twelve years since this conversation passed, the observation which I have had an opportunity of making in Westminster Hall, has convinced me, that, however true the opinion of Dr Johnson's legal friend may have been some time ago, the same certainty of success cannot now be promised to the same display of merit. The reasons however, of the rapid rise of some, and the disappointment of others equally respectable, are such as it might seem improper to mention, and would require a longer detail than would be proper for this work.

P. 426, l. 22, after did, *read*—say.

P. 431, after l. 6 from the foot, *read*—

His argument for the negro was as follows—"It must be agreed that in most ages many countries have had part of their inhabitants in a state of slavery; yet it may be doubted whether slavery can ever be supposed the natural condition of man. It is impossible not to conceive that men in their original state were equal; and very difficult to imagine how one would be subjected to another but by violent compulsion. An individual may, indeed, forfeit his liberty by a crime; but he cannot by that crime forfeit the liberty of his children. What is true of a criminal seems true likewise of a captive. A man may accept life from a conquering enemy on condition of perpetual servitude; but it is very doubtful whether he can entail that servitude on his descendants; for no man can stipulate without commission for another. The condition which he himself accepts his son or grandson perhaps would have rejected. If we should admit, what perhaps may with more reason

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be denied, that there are certain relations between man and man which may make slavery necessary and just, yet it can never be proved that he who is now suing for his freedom ever stood in any of those relations. He is certainly subject by no law, but that of violence, to his present master ; who pretends no claim to his obedience, but that he bought him from a merchant of slaves, whose right to sell him never was examined. It is said that according to the constitutions of Jamaica he was legally enslaved ; these constitutions are merely positive ; and apparently injurious to the rights of mankind, because whoever is exposed to sale is condemned to slavery without appeal, by whatever fraud or violence he might have been originally brought into the merchant's power. In our own time Princes have been sold, by wretches to whose care they were entrusted, that they might have a European education ; but when once they were brought to a market in the plantations, little would avail either their dignity or their wrongs. The laws of Jamaica afford a Negro no redress. His colour is considered as a sufficient testimony against him. It is to be lamented that moral right should ever give way to political convenience. But if temptations of interest are sometimes too strong for human virtue, let us at least retain a virtue where there is no temptation to quit it. In the present case there is apparent right on one side, and no convenience on the other. Inhabitants of this island can neither gain riches nor power by taking away the liberty of any part of the human species. The sum of the argument is this : No man is by nature the property of another : The defendant is, therefore, by nature free : The rights of nature must be some way forfeited before they can be justly taken away : That the defendant has by any act forfeited the rights of nature we require to be proved, and if no proof of such forfeiture can be given, we doubt not but the justice of the court will declare him free."

I record Dr Johnson's argument fairly upon this particular case ; where, perhaps, he was in the right. But I beg leave to enter my most solemn protest against his general doctrine with respect to the *Slave trade*. For I will resolutely say, that his unfavourable notion of it was owing to prejudice, and imperfect, or false information. The wild and dangerous attempt which has for some time been persisted in to obtain an act of our Legislature, to abolish so very important and necessary a branch of commercial interest, must have been crushed at once, had not the insignificance of the zealots who vainly took the lead in it, made the vast body of Planters, Merchants, and others, whose immense properties are involved in that trade, reasonably enough suppose that there could be no danger. The encouragement which the attempt has received excites my wonder and indignation ; and though some men of superior abilities have supported it ; whether from a love of temporary popularity, when prosperous ; or a love of general mischief, when desperate ; my opinion is unshaken. To abolish a *status*, which in all ages God has sanctioned, and man has continued, would not only be *robbery* to an innumerable class of our fellow-subjects ; but it would be extreme cruelty to the African savages, a portion of whom it saves from massacre, or intolerable bondage in their own country, and introduces into a much happier state of

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life; especially now when their passage to the West Indies and their treatment there is so humanely regulated. To abolish that trade would be to

“ ————shut the gates of mercy on mankind.”

Whatever may have passed elsewhere concerning it, The House of Lords is wise and independent :

*Intaminatis fulget honoribus;
Nec sumis aut ponis secures
Arbitrio popularis auræ.*

“ I have read, conversed, and thought much upon the subject, and would recommend to all who are capable of conviction, an excellent Tract by my learned and ingenious friend John Ranby, Esq., entitled ‘Doubts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade.’ To Mr Ranby’s ‘Doubts’ I will apply Lord Chancellor Hardwicke’s expression in praise of a Scotch Law Book, called *Dirleton’s Doubts*; ‘His *Doubts* (said his Lordship) are better than most people’s *Certainties*.’ ”

P. 438, *note* 2, for *Nimium ne crede colori*, *read*—*Quamvis ille niger quamvis tu candidus esses.*

P. 451, l. 15. On *again* put the following note—The following plausible but over prudent counsel on this subject is given by an Italian writer, quoted by “*Rhedi de generatione insectarum*,” with the epithet of “*divini poetæ*” :

*“ Sempre à quel ver c’ha faccia di menzogna
Dee l’uom chiudere le labbra quanto ei puote;
Però ches senza colpa fa vergogna.”*

P. 457, l. 4. On *prison* put the following note—Pope thus introduces this story :

“ Faith in such case if you should prosecute,
I think Sir Godfrey should decide the suit,
Who sent the thief who stole the cash away,
And punish’d him that put it in his way.”

Imitations of Horace, Book II., Epist. ii.

P. 458, l. 13. On *himself* put the following note—The reverse of the story of *Cambabus*, on which Mr David Hume told Lord Macartney, that a friend of his had written a tragedy. It is, however, possible that I may have been inaccurate in my perception of what Dr Johnson related, and that he may have been talking of the same ludicrous tragical subject that Mr Hume had mentioned.

P. 461, l. 29. On *sitting* put the following note—Lord Macartney observes upon this passage. “ I have heard him tell many things, which, though embellished by their mode of narrative, had their foundation in truth : but I never remember anything approaching to this. If he had written it, I should have supposed some wag had put the figure of one before the three.”—I am,

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however, absolutely certain that Dr Campbell told me it; and I gave particular attention to it, being myself a lover of wine, and therefore curious to hear whatever is remarkable concerning drinking. There can be no doubt that some men can drink, without suffering any injury, such a quantity as to others appears incredible. It is but fair to add, that Dr Campbell told me, he took a very long time to this great potation; and I have heard Dr Johnson say, "Sir, if a man drinks very slowly, and lets one glass evaporate before he takes another, I know not how long he may drink." Dr Campbell mentioned a Colonel of Militia who sat with him all the time, and drank equally.

P. 467, l. 19, *dele* i.

Ibid., l. 20, for i, *read*—y.

P. 468, after l. 4, *read*—than when he boasts of his consistency :

*Me constare mihi scis et decedere tristem
Quandocumque irahunt invisa negotia Romam.*

Ibid., l. 10, for—was an old fellow at Ballanacrazy, *read*—liv'd a young man in Ballinocrazy.

P. 474, l. 7. On *something* put the following note—It was called *The Siege of Aleppo*. Mr Hawkins, the author of it, was formerly Professor of Poetry at Oxford. It is printed in his *Miscellanies*, 3 vols. octavo.

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P. 4, l. 7. On *Percies* put the following note—See this accurately stated, and the descent of his family from the Earls of Northumberland clearly deduced in the Reverend Dr Nash's excellent *History of Worcestershire*, vol. ii., p. 318. The Doctor has subjoined a note, in which he says, "The Editor hath seen and carefully examined the proofs of all the particulars above mentioned, now in the possession of the Reverend Thomas Percy."

The same proofs I have also myself carefully examined, and have seen some additional proofs which have occurred since the Doctor's book was published; and both as a Lawyer accustomed to the consideration of evidence, and as a Genealogist versed in the study of pedigrees, I am fully satisfied. I cannot help observing, as a circumstance of no small moment, that in tracing the Bishop of Dromore's genealogy, essential aid was given by the late Elizabeth Duchess of Northumberland, Heiress of that illustrious House; a lady not only of high dignity of spirit, such as became her noble blood, but of excellent understanding and lively talents. With a fair pride I can boast of the Honour of her Grace's correspondence, specimens of which adorn my archives.

P. 5, there is this sentence—I could not help thinking that this was too high praise of a writer who traversed a wide extent of country in such haste that he could put together only curt frittered fragments of his own, and afterwards procured supplemental intelligence from parochial ministers, and others not the best qualified or most impartial narrators, whose

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ungenerous prejudice against the house of Stuart glares in misrepresentation; a writer, who at best treats merely of superficial objects, and shows no philosophical investigation of character and manners, such as Johnson has exhibited in his masterly *Journey*, over part of the same ground; and who it should seem from a desire of ingratiating himself with the Scotch, has flattered the people of North Britain so inordinately and with so little discrimination, that the judicious and candid amongst them must be disgusted, while they value more the plain, just, yet kindly report of Johnson.—Then read as follows :—

Having impartially censured Mr Pennant, as a Traveller in Scotland, let me allow him from authorities much better than mine, his deserved praise as an able Zoologist; and let me also from my own understanding and feelings, acknowledge the merit of his *London*, which, though said to be not quite accurate in some particulars, is one of the most pleasing topographical performances that ever appeared in any language. Mr Pennant, like his countrymen in general, has the true spirit of a *Gentleman*. As a proof of it, I shall quote from his *London* the passage, in which he speaks of my illustrious friend. “ I must by no means omit *Bolt Court* the long residence of Doctor SAMUEL JOHNSON, a man of the strongest natural abilities, great learning, a most retentive memory, of the deepest and most unaffected piety and morality, mingled with those numerous weaknesses and prejudices which his friends have kindly taken care to draw from their dread abode,* I brought on myself his transient anger, by observing that in his tour in *Scotland*, he once had ‘ long and woeful experience of oats being the food of men in *Scotland* as they were of horses in *England*.’ † It was a national reflection unworthy of him, and I shot my bolt. In return he gave me a tender hug *Con amore*, he also said of me ‘ *The dog is a whig*’; ‡ I admired the virtues of Lord *Russel*, and pitied his fall. I should have been a Whig at the Revolution. There have been periods since, in which I should have been, what I now am, a moderate Tory, a supporter, as far as my little influence extends, of a well-poised balance between the crown and people: but should the scale preponderate against the *Salus populi*, that moment may it be said ‘ *The dog’s a Whig!*’ ”

P. 9. On BOSWELL put the following note—Though the Bishop of Dromore kindly answered the letters which I wrote to him, relative to Dr Johnson’s early history; yet, in justice to him, I think it proper to add, that the account of the foregoing conversation and the subsequent transaction, as well as of some other conversations in which he is mentioned, has been given to the public without previous communication with his Lordship.

P. 15, l. 4. On *trade* put the following note—As Physicians are called the

* This is the common cant against faithful Biography. Does this worthy gentleman mean that I, who was taught discrimination of character by Johnson, should have omitted his frailties, and, in short, have *bedaubed* him as the worthy gentleman has bedaubed Scotland.—BOSWELL.

† See Doctor Johnson’s *Journey to the Western Islands*, p. 296:—see his *Dictionary*, article *oats*;—and my *Voyage to the Hebrides*, first edition.—PENNANT.

‡ Mr Boswell’s *Journal*, p. 286.—PENNANT.

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Faculty, and counsellors at Law *the Profession*; the Booksellers of London are denominated *the Trade*. Johnson disapproved of these denominations.

P. 25, l. 18. On *shocked* put the following note—Mrs Knowles not satisfied with the fame of her needlework, the "*subtle picture*" mentioned by Johnson, in which she has indeed displayed much dexterity; nay with the fame of reasoning better than women generally do, as I have fairly shown her to have done; communicated to me a Dialogue of considerable length, which after many years had elapsed, she wrote down as having passed between Dr Johnson and her at this interview. As I had not the least recollection of it, and did not find the smallest trace of it in my *Record* taken at the time, I could not in consistency with my firm regard to authenticity, insert it in my work. It has, however, been published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1791. It chiefly relates to the principles of the sect called *Quakers*; and no doubt the Lady appears to have greatly the advantage of Dr Johnson in argument as well as expression. From what I have now stated, and from the internal evidence of the paper itself, anyone who may have the curiosity to peruse it, will judge whether it was wrong in me to reject it, however willing to gratify Mrs Knowles.

P. 32, l. 15. On *paid* put the following note—In summer 1792, additional and more expensive decorations, having been introduced, the price of admission was raised to two shillings. I cannot approve of this. The company may be more select; but a number of the honest commonalty are, I fear, excluded from sharing in elegant and innocent entertainment. An attempt to abolish the one-shilling gallery at the playhouse has been very properly counteracted.

P. 33, line 35. On *magis* put the following note—I am not entirely without suspicion that Johnson may have felt a little momentary envy; for no man loved the good things of this life better than he did; and he could not but be conscious that he deserved a much larger share of them than he ever had. I attempted in a newspaper to comment on the above passage, in the manner of Warburton, who must be allowed to have shown uncommon ingenuity, in giving to any author's text whatever meaning he chose it should carry. As this imitation may amuse my readers, I shall here introduce it.

No saying of Dr Johnson's has been more misunderstood than his applying to Mr Burke when he first saw him at his fine place at Beaconsfield, *Non equidem invideo*; *miror magis*. These two celebrated men had been friends for many years before Mr Burke entered on his parliamentary career. They were both writers, both members of THE LITERARY CLUB. When, therefore, Dr Johnson saw Mr Burke in a situation so much more splendid than that to which he himself had attained, he did not mean to express that he thought it a disproportionate prosperity; but while he as a philosopher, asserted an exemption from envy, *non equidem invideo*, he went on in the words of the poet, *miror magis*; thereby signifying, either that he was occupied in admiring what he was glad to see; or, perhaps that considering the general lot of men of superior abilities, he wondered that Fortune, who is represented as blind, should in this instance have been so just.

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P. 52, add to the *note* as follows—And Mr Cowper a man of real genius has miserably failed in his blank verse translation.

P. 58 add to the *note* as follows—A correspondent of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, who subscribes himself SCIOLUS, to whom I am indebted for several excellent remarks, observes, "The turn of Dr Johnson's lines to Miss Aston, whose Whig principles he had been combating, appears to me to be taken from an ingenious epigram in the *Menagiana* [vol. iii., p. 376, edit. 1716], on a young lady who appeared at a masquerade, *habillée en Jésuite*, during the fierce contentions of the followers of Molinos and Jansenius concerning free-will :

‘ On s’étonne ici que Caliste
Ait pris l’habit de Moliniste.
Puisque cette jeune beauté
Ote a chacun sa liberté,
N’est ce pas une Janseniste ? ’”

P. 85, l. 15, *read*—the Reverend Mr John Hussey.

Ibid., l. 16, for is now, *read*—was then.

Ibid., l. 19, after Johnson, *read*—with whom he had long been in habits of intimacy.

P. 98, l. 13, for attached, *read*—attacked.

P. 103, l. 15. On *next*, put the following note—"I do not (says Mr Malone) see any difficulty in this passage, and wonder that Dr Johnson, should have acknowledged it to be *inaccurate*. The Hermit it should be observed, had no actual experience of the world whatever; all his knowledge concerning it had been obtained in two ways: from *books*, and from the *relations* of those country swains, who had seen a little of it. The plain meaning, therefore, is, 'To clear his doubts concerning Providence, and to obtain some knowledge of the world by actual experience; to see whether the accounts furnished by books, or by the oral communications of swains, were just representations of it; [I say, *swains*], for his oral or *viva voce* information had been obtained from that part of mankind *alone*, etc.' The word *alone* here does not relate to the whole of the preceding line, but, by a common licence, to the words, —*of all mankind*, which are understood, and of which it is restrictive."

Mr Malone, it must be owned, has shown much critical ingenuity in his explanation of this passage. His interpretation, however, seems to me much too recondite. The *meaning* of the passage may be certain enough; but surely the *expression* is confused, and one part of it contradictory to the other.

P. 108, l. 3 of *note* 1, for maxillam, *read*—mamillam.

P. 115, l. 22. On Graham, put the following note—Now the Lady of Sir Henry Dashwood, Baronet.

P. 117, after l. 30, *read*—Yet he had a kindness for the Irish nation, and thus generously expressed himself to a gentleman from that country, on the subject of a union which artful Politicians have often had in view—"Do not make a union with us, sir; we should unite with you only to rob you.

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We should have robbed the Scotch, if they had had anything of which we could have robbed them."

P. 120, l. 29, on *lady*, put the following note—Miss Letitia Barnston.

P. 122, l. 9, after you, *read*—is this.

P. 131, l. 13, for that, *read*—what.

P. 134, l. 4 from the foot, for publishes, *read*—publisher.

Ibid., l. 7 from the foot, for haunted, *read*—hunted.

P. 149, l. 11, for ses, *read*—sei.

Ibid., l. 21, for infractuosities, *read*—anfractuosities.

P. 155, l. 5. On *himself*, put the following note—Here Lord Macartney remarks, "A Bramin or any cast of the Hindoos will neither admit you to be of their religion, nor be converted to yours;—a thing which struck the Portuguese with the greatest astonishment, when they first discovered the East Indies."

P. 156, l. 26. On St James's Square, put the following note—The correspondent of *The Gentleman's Magazine* who subscribes himself SCIOLUS, furnishes the following supplement:—

"A lady of my acquaintance remembers to have heard her uncle sing those homely stanzas more than 45 years ago. He repeated the second thus:

'She shall breed young lords and ladies fair,
And ride abroad in a coach and three pair,
And the best, etc.
And have a house, etc.'

"And remembered a third which seems to have been the introductory one, and is believed to have been the only remaining one:

'When the Duke of Leeds shall have made his choice
Of a charming young lady that's beautiful and wise,
She'll be the happiest young gentlewoman under the skies,
As long as the sun and moon shall rise,
And how happy shall, etc.'"

It is with pleasure I add that this stanza could never be more truly applied than at this present time.

P. 160, l. 22, for Clinardus's, *read*—Clenardus's.

P. 163, line 15 and 16, for trial came on, *read*—sentence was made known.

P. 164, l. 8. On *expression*, put the following note—The difference between Johnson and Smith is apparent even in this slight instance. Smith was a man of extraordinary application, and had his mind crowded with all manner of subjects; but the force, acuteness, and vivacity of Johnson were not to be found there. He had book-making so much in his thoughts, and was so chary of what might be turned to account in that way, that he once said to Sir Joshua Reynolds, that he made it a rule when in company, never to talk of what he understood. Beauclerk had for a short time a pretty high opinion

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of Smith's conversation. Garrick after listening to him for a while, as to one of whom his expectations had been raised, turned slyly to a friend, and whispered him, "What say you to this—eh? *flabby*, I think."

P. 166, after l. 13, *read*—the following additional communications by Mr Langton: "Beauclerk having observed to him of one of their friends, that he was awkward at counting money: 'Why, sir (said Johnson), I am likewise awkward at counting money. But then, sir, the reason is plain; I have had very little money to count.'"

"He had an abhorrence of affectation. Talking of old Mr Langton, of whom he said: 'Sir, you will seldom see such a gentleman, such are his stores of literature, such his knowledge in divinity, and such his exemplary life'; he added, 'and sir, he has no grimace, no gesticulation, no bursts of admiration on trivial occasions; he never embraces you with an overacted cordiality.'"

"Being in company with a gentleman who thought fit to maintain Dr Berkeley's ingenious philosophy, that nothing exists but as perceived by some mind; when the gentleman was going away, Johnson said to him: 'Pray, sir, don't leave us; for we may perhaps forget to think of you, and then you will cease to exist.'"

"Goldsmith, upon being visited by Johnson one day in the Temple, said to him with a little jealousy of the appearance of his accommodation, 'I shall soon be in better chambers than these.' Johnson at the same time checked him and paid him a handsome compliment, implying that a man of his talents should be above attention to such distinctions—'Nay, sir, never mind that. *Nil te quæsiveris extra.*'"

"At the time when his pension was granted to him, he said, with a noble literary ambition, 'Had this happened twenty years ago, I should have gone to Constantinople to learn Arabic as Pococke did.'"

"As an instance of the niceness of his taste, though he praised West's translation of Pindar, he pointed out the following passage as faulty, by expressing a circumstance so minute as to detract from the general dignity which should prevail:

'Down then from thy glittering *nail*,
Take, O Muse, thy Dorian lyre.'

"When Mr Vesey was proposed as a member of THE LITERARY CLUB, Mr Burke began by saying that he was a man of gentle manners. 'Sir (said Johnson), you need say no more. When you have said a man of gentle manners, you have said enough.'"

"The late Mr Fitzherbert told Mr Langton that Johnson said to him, 'Sir, a man has no more right to *say* an uncivil thing, than to *act* one; no more right to say a rude thing to another than to knock him down.'"

"My dear friend Dr Bathurst (said he with a warmth of approbation) declared that he was glad that his father, who was a West-Indian planter, had left his affairs in total ruin, because having no estate, he was not under the temptation of having slaves."

"Richardson had little conversation, except about his own works, of which

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Sir Joshua Reynolds said he was always willing to talk, and glad to have them introduced. Johnson, when he carried Mr Langton to see him, professed that he could bring him out into conversation, and used this allusive expression, 'Sir, I can make him *rear*.' But he failed; for in that interview Richardson said little else than that there lay in the room a translation into German of his *Clarissa*.*

"Once when somebody produced a newspaper in which there was a letter of stupid abuse of Sir Joshua Reynolds, in which Johnson himself came in for a share—'Pray (said he), let us have it read aloud from beginning to end'; which being done, he with a ludicrous earnestness, and not directing his look to any particular person, called out, 'Are we alive after all this satire!'"

"He had a strong prejudice against the political character of Secker, one instance of which appeared at Oxford, where he expressed great dissatisfaction at his varying the old established toast, 'Church and King.' 'The Archbishop of Canterbury (said he, with an affected smooth smiling grimace) drinks, "Constitution in Church and State."'" Being asked what difference there was between the two toasts, he said: 'Why, sir, you may be sure he meant something.' Yet when the life of that prelate, prefixed to his sermons by Dr Porteus and Dr Stinton his chaplains, first came out, he read it with the utmost avidity, and said: 'It is a life well written, and that well deserves to be recorded.'"

"Of a certain noble Lord, he said, 'Respect him you could not; for he had no mind of his own. Love him you could not; for that which you could do with him, everyone else could.'"

"Of Dr Goldsmith he said, 'No man was more foolish when he had not a pen in his hand, or more wise when he had.'"

"He told in his lively manner the following literary anecdote: 'Green and Guthrie, an Irishman and a Scotchman, undertook a translation of Duhalde's *History of China*. Green said of Guthrie, that he knew no English, and Guthrie of Green, that he knew no French; and these two undertook to translate Duhalde's *History of China*. In this translation there was found "the twenty-sixth day of the new moon." Now as the whole age of the moon is but twenty-eight days, the moon instead of being new, was nearly as old as it could be. The blunder arose from their mistaking the word *neuvième* ninth, for *nouvelle* or *neuve* new.'"

* A literary lady has favoured me with a characteristic anecdote of Richardson. One day at his country-house at North End, where a large company was assembled at dinner, a gentleman who was just returned from Paris, willing to please Mr Richardson, mentioned to him a very flattering circumstance,—that he had seen his *Clarissa* lying on the King's brother's table. Richardson observing that part of the company were engaged in talking to each other, affected then not to attend to it. But by and by, when there was a general silence, and he thought that the flattery might be fully heard, he addressed himself to the gentleman, "I think, sir, you were saying something about—" pausing in a high flutter of expectation. The gentleman provoked at his inordinate vanity, resolved not to indulge it, and with an exquisitely sly air of indifference answered, "A mere trifle, sir, not worth repeating." The mortification of Richardson was visible, and he did not speak ten words more the whole day.

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"On occasion of Dr Johnson's publishing his pamphlet of *The False Alarm*, there came out a very angry answer (by many supposed to be by Mr Wilkes). Dr Johnson determined on not answering it, but, in conversation with Mr Langton mentioned a particular or two, that if he *had* replied to it, he might perhaps have inserted—In the answerer's pamphlet, it had been said with solemnity, 'Do you consider, sir, that a House of Commons is to the people as a Creature is to its Creator.' To this question, said Dr Johnson, I could have replied that

"In the first place—the idea of a CREATOR must be such as that he has a power to unmake or annihilate his creature.

"Then it cannot be conceived that a creature can make laws for its CREATOR."

His profound adoration of the GREAT FIRST CAUSE was such as to set him above that "Philosophy and vain deceit," with which men of narrower conceptions have been infected. I have heard him strongly maintain that "what is right is not so from any natural fitness; but because God wills it to be right"; and this is certainly true; because he has predisposed the relations of things so as that which he wills must be right. BOSWELL.

"Depend upon it (said he), that if a man *talks* of his misfortunes, there is something in them that is not disagreeable to him, for where there is nothing but pure misery, there never is any recourse to the mention of it—

"A man must be a poor beast that should *read* no more in quantity than he could *utter aloud*—

"Imlac in *Rasselas*, I spelt with a c at the end, because it is less like English, which should always have the Saxon k added after the c. I hope the authority of the great Master of our language will stop that curtailing innovation by which we see critic, public, etc., instead of critick, publick, etc."

"Many a man is mad in certain instances, and goes through life without having it perceived:—for example, a madness has seized a person of supposing himself obliged literally to pray continually—had the madness turned the opposite way and the person thought it a crime ever to pray, it might not improbably have continued unobserved."

"He apprehended that the delineation of *characters* in the end of the first Book of the *Retreat* of the ten thousand was the first instance of the kind that was known."

"Supposing (said he) a wife to be of a studious or argumentative turn, it would be very troublesome: for instance—if a woman should continually dwell upon the subject of the Arian heresy.

"No man speaks concerning another, even suppose it be in his praise, if he thinks he does not hear him, exactly as he would, if he thought he was within hearing."

"The applause of a single human being is of great consequence"—This he said to me with great earnestness of manner, very near the time of his decease, on occasion of having desired me to read a letter addressed to him from some person in the North of England; which when I had done, and he asked me what the contents were; as I thought being particular upon it might fatigue

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him; it being of great length, I only told him in general that it was highly in his praise; and then he expressed himself as above."

"He mentioned with an air of satisfaction what Baretti had told him; that, meeting, in the course of his studying English, with an excellent paper in *The Spectator*, one of four that were written by the respectable Dissenting Minister Mr Grove of Taunton, and observing the genius and energy of mind that it exhibits, it greatly quickened his curiosity to visit our country; as he thought if such were the lighter periodical essays of our authors, their productions on more weighty occasions must be wonderful indeed!"

"He observed once, at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, that, a beggar in the street will more readily ask alms from a *man*, though there should be no marks of wealth in his appearance, than from even a well-dressed *woman* *; which he accounted for from the greater degree of carefulness as to money that is to be found in women; saying farther upon it, that the opportunities in general that they possess of improving their condition are much fewer than men have; and adding, as he looked round the company, which consisted of men only,—'there is not one of us who does not think he might be richer if he would use his endeavour.'"

"*He may hold up that shield against all his enemies*';—was an observation on Homer (in reference to his description of the shield of Achilles), made by Mrs Fitzherbert wife of his friend Mr Fitzherbert of Derbyshire, and respected by Dr Johnson as a very fine one. He had in general a very high opinion of that lady's understanding."

"An observation of Bathurst's may be mentioned, which Johnson repeated, appearing to acknowledge it to be well founded, namely, it was somewhat remarkable that how seldom, on occasion of coming into the company of any new person, one felt any wish or inclination to see him again."

P. 169, l. 6, after passages, *read*—But he was principally indebted to my steady friend Mr Isaac Reed of Staple Inn, whose extensive and accurate knowledge of English literary history I do not express with exaggeration, when I say it is wonderful; indeed his labours have proved it to the world; and all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance can bear testimony to the frankness of his communications in private society.

Ibid., l. 15, *dele*—one of; and for prefatory discourses to his Plays, *read*—Dedication of his Juvenal.

P. 172, l. 3 of note for *who*, *read*—whom.

Ibid., l. 19, after tongues, *read*—for Milton.

P. 173, l. 14, on *blended* put the following note—Mr Malone thinks it is rather a proof that he felt nothing of those cheerful sensations which he has described: that on these topics it is the *poet*, and not the *man*, that writes.

P. 176, l. 6, for apotheosis, *read*—eulogium.

P. 188, l. 17, on *off* put the following note—The late Mr James Ralph

* Sterne is of a direct contrary opinion. See his *Sentimental Journey*, Article, "*The Mystery*."

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told Lord Macartney, that he passed an evening with Dr Young at Lord Melcombe's (then Mr Doddington) at Hammersmith. The Doctor happening to go out into the garden, Mr Doddington observed to him, on his return, that it was a dreadful night, as in truth it was, there being a violent storm of rain and wind. "No, sir (replied the Doctor), it is a very fine night. THE LORD is abroad."

P. 191, l. 36, on *him* put the following note—From this disreputable class, I except an ingenious though not satisfactory defence of HAMMOND, which I did not see till lately, by the favour of its author, my amiable friend, the Reverend Mr Bevill, who published it without his name. It is a juvenile performance, but elegantly written with classical enthusiasm of sentiment; and yet with a becoming modesty, and great respect for Dr Johnson.

P. 195, note, for Chalmers, *read*—Chambers.

P. 208, l. 4, for a gentleman of our acquaintance, *read*—Mr Dudley Long (now North).

Ibid., l. 6, for Mr ****, *read*—Mr Long's.

Ibid., l. 8, on *all* put the following note,—Here Johnson condescended to play upon the words *Long* and *short*. But little did he know that, owing to Mr Long's reserve in his presence; he was talking thus of a gentleman distinguished amongst his acquaintance, for acuteness of wit; one to whom I think the French expression, "*Il petille d'esprit*," is particularly suited.—He has gratified me by mentioning that he heard Dr Johnson say, "Sir, if I were to lose Boswell, it would be a limb amputated."

Ibid., l. 11, for ****, *read*—Pepys; and put the following note,—William Weller Pepys, Esq., one of the Masters in the High Court of Chancery, and well known in polite circles. My acquaintance with him is not sufficient to enable me to speak of him from my own judgment. But I know that both at Eton and Oxford he was the intimate friend of the late Sir James Macdonald, the *Marcellus* of Scotland, whose extraordinary talents, learning, and virtues will ever be remembered with admiration and regret.

P. 211, l. 28, for Boucher, *read*—Bourchier.

P. 212, l. 13, *dele*—in.

Ibid., l. 37, after *care*, *read*—of.

P. 214, l. 20 etc., *dele*—The event—and all the remainder of that paragraph—and *read*—as follows—I agreed with my illustrious friend upon this subject; for it has pleased God to make man a composite animal, and where there is nothing to refresh the body, the mind will languish.

Ibid., l. 33, after Blackstone, *read*—a sober man.

Ibid., l. 34, after him, *read*—and found his mind invigorated and supported in the fatigue of his great Work, by a temperate use of it.

P. 219, l. 22, for a certain, *read*—the same.

P. 226, l. 10 from the foot, for *ευρημοναι*, *read*—*ευσποροι*.

P. 233, last line but one of *note* for *if*, *read* *whether*.

Ibid., l. 24, after *time*, *read*—*who*—and for *gess*, *read*—*got*.

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P. 235, after line 17, *read*—

To Mr PERKINS

SIR,—However often I have seen you, I have hitherto forgotten the note, but I have now sent it: with my good wishes for the prosperity of you and your partner,* of whom, from our short conversation, I could not judge otherwise than favourably. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

June 2, 1781.

Ibid., l. 26, on *Watson's* put the following note—Now Bishop of Llandaff, one of the *poorest* Bishoprics in this Kingdom. His Lordship has written with much zeal to show the propriety of *equalising* the revenues of Bishops. He has informed us that he has burnt all his Chemical papers. The friends of our excellent constitution, now assailed on every side by innovators and levellers, would have less regretted the suppression of some of his Lordship's other writings.

P. 236, l. 3, for *hither*, *read*—thither.

P. 247, l. 24, after *visits*, *read*—to Scotland, *dele*—I should think, and *read*—perhaps.

P. 248, after the letter to Mr Langton, *read*—Johnson's charity to the poor was uniform and extensive, both from inclination and principle. He not only bestowed liberally out of his own purse, but what is more difficult as well as rare, would beg from others, when he had proper objects in view. This he did judiciously as well as humanely. Mr Philip Metcalfe, tells me, that when he has asked him for some money for persons in distress, and Mr Metcalfe has offered what Johnson thought too much, he insisted on taking less, saying, "No, no, sir; we must not *pamper* them."

"I am indebted to Mr Malone, one of Sir Joshua Reynolds's executors, for the following note, which was found among his papers after his death, and which, we may presume, his unaffected modesty prevented him from communicating to me with the other letters from Dr Johnson with which he was pleased to furnish me. However slight in itself, as it does honour to that illustrious painter, and most amiable man, I am happy to introduce it."

To Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS

DEAR SIR,—It was not before yesterday that I received your splendid benefaction. To a hand so liberal in distributing I hope nobody will envy the power of acquiring. I am, dear Sir, your obliged and most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

June 23, 1781.

* Mr Barclay, a descendant of Robert Barclay, of Ury, the celebrated apologist of the people called Quakers, and remarkable for maintaining the principles of his venerable progenitor, with as much of the elegance of modern manners, as is consistent with primitive simplicity.

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- P. 249, l. 12, for in, *read*—or.
 P. 256, l. 22, before could, *read*—I.
 P. 258, l. 13, for misera, *read*—miserere.
 P. 261, l. 12, for the, *read*—no.
 P. 266, l. 17, for debts, *read*—debt.
 P. 267, between the two letters to Mr Boswell, *read*—

To Mr PERKINS

DEAR SIR,—I am much pleased that you are going a very long journey, which may by proper conduct restore your health and prolong your life.

Observe these rules :

1. Turn all care out of your head as soon as you mount the chaise.
2. Do not think about frugality ; your health is worth more than it can cost.
3. Do not continue any day's journey to fatigue.
4. Take now and then a day's rest.
5. Get a smart sea-sickness, if you can.
6. Cast away all anxiety, and keep your mind easy.

This last direction is the principal ; with an unquiet mind, neither exercise, nor diet, nor physic, can be of much use.

I wish you, dear Sir, a prosperous journey, and a happy recovery. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate, humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

July 28, 1782.

- P. 269, l. 2, for its sorrows, *read*—it grows.
 P. 282, l. 30, for internal, *read*—intentional.
 P. 283, l. 22, for rather, *read*—somewhat.
Ibid., l. 33, for qualified, *read*—qualified.
 P. 286, l. 6, for private person, *read*—lady.
Ibid., l. 11, for a, *read*—another.
Ibid., l. 4 from the foot, after incline, *read*—to believe.

P. 287, l. 26, after laugh, *read*—on their being.

P. 288, after l. 7, *read*—I heard him once say : " Though the proverb, '*Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia*,' does not always prove true, we may be certain of the converse of it, *Nullum numen adest si sit imprudentia*."

Once, when Mr Seward was going to Bath, and asked his commands, he said, " Tell Dr Harrington that I wish he would publish another volume of the *Nugæ antiquæ* * ; it is a very pretty book." Mr Seward seconded this wish, and recommended to Dr Harrington to dedicate it to Johnson and take for his motto, what Catullus says to Cornelius Nepos :

" ——— namque tu solebas,
 Meas esse aliquid putare NUGAS."

As a small proof of his kindness and delicacy of feeling, the following circumstance may be mentioned : One evening when we were in the street

* It has since appeared.

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together, and I told him I was going to sup at Mr Beauclerk's, he said, "I'll go with you." After having walked part of the way, seeming to recollect something, he suddenly stopped and said: "I cannot go—but *I do not love Beauclerk the less.*"

On the frame of his portrait, Mr Beauclerk had inscribed:

"—— *Ingenium ingens
Inculto latet hoc sub corpore.*"

After Mr Beauclerk's death, when it became Mr Langton's property, he made the inscription be defaced. Johnson said complacently, "It was kind in you to take it off"; and then after a short pause, added, "and not unkind in him to put it on."

He said, "How few of his friends' houses would a man choose to be at when he is sick." He mentioned one or two. I recollect only Mr Thrale's.

He observed, "There is a wicked inclination in most people to suppose an old man decayed in his intellects. If a young or middle-aged man, when leaving a company, does not recollect where he laid his hat it is nothing; but if the same inattention is discovered in an old man, people will shrug up their shoulders, and say, 'His memory is going.'"

When I once talked to him of some of the sayings which everybody repeats, but nobody knows where to find, such as, *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*, he told me that he was once offered ten guineas to point out from whence *Semel insanivimus omnes* was taken. He could not do it; but many years afterwards met with it by chance in *Johannes Baptista Mantuanus*.

I am very sorry that I did not take a note of an eloquent argument in which he maintained that the situation of Prince of Wales was the happiest of any person's in the kingdom, even beyond that of the Sovereign. I recollect only the enjoyment of hope,—the high superiority of rank, without the anxious cares of government,—a great degree of power, both from natural influence wisely used, and from the sanguine expectations of those who look forward to the chance of future favour.

Sir Joshua Reynolds communicated to me the following particulars:

"Johnson thought the poems published as translations from Ossian, had so little merit, that he said, 'Sir, a man might write such stuff for ever, if he would *abandon* his mind to it.'"

"He said, 'A man should pass a part of his time with *the laughers*, by which means anything ridiculous or particular about him might be presented to his view, and corrected.' I observed, he must have been a bold laugher who would have ventured to tell Dr Johnson of any of his particularities." *

"Having observed the vain ostentatious importance of many people in

* I am happy, however, to mention a pleasing instance of his enduring with great gentleness to hear one of his most striking particularities pointed out: Miss Hunter, a niece of his friend Christopher Smart, when a very young girl, struck by his extraordinary motions, said to him, "Pray, Dr Johnson, why do you make such strange gestures!"—"From bad habit (he replied). Do you, my dear, take care to guard against bad habits." This I was told by the young lady's brother at Margate.

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quoting the authority of Dukes and Lords, as having been in their company, he said, he went to the other extreme, and did not mention his authority, when he should have done it, had it not been that of a Duke or a Lord."

"Dr Goldsmith said once to Dr Johnson, that he wished for some additional members to the LITERARY CLUB to give it an agreeable variety; for (said he), there can now be nothing new among us: we have travelled over one another's minds. Johnson seemed a little angry, and said, 'Sir, you have not travelled over *my* mind, I promise you.' Sir Joshua, however, thought Goldsmith right; observing that, when people have lived a great deal together, they know what each of them will say on every subject. A new understanding, therefore, is desirable; because though it may only furnish the same sense upon a question which would have been furnished by those with whom we are accustomed to live, yet this sense will have a different colouring; and colouring is of much effect in everything else as well as in painting."

"Johnson used to say that he made it a constant rule to talk as well as he could both as to sentiment and expression, by which means, what had been originally effort became familiar and easy. The consequence of this, Sir Joshua observed, was that his common conversation in all companies was such as to secure him universal attention, as something above the usual colloquial style was expected."

"Yet, though Johnson had this habit in company, when another mode was necessary, in order to investigate truth, he could descend to a language intelligible to the meanest capacity. An instance of this was witnessed by Sir Joshua Reynolds, when they were present at an examination of a little Blackguard boy, by Mr Saunders Welch, the late Westminster Justice. Welch, who imagined that he was exalting himself in Dr Johnson's eyes by using big words, spoke in a manner that was utterly unintelligible to the boy; Dr Johnson perceiving it, addressed himself to the boy, and changed the pompous phraseology into colloquial language. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was much amused by this procedure, which seemed a kind of reversing of what might have been expected from the two men, took notice of it to Dr Johnson, as they walked away by themselves. Johnson said that it was continually the case; and that he was always obliged to *translate* the Justice's swelling diction (smiling), so as that his meaning might be understood by the vulgar, from whom information was to be obtained."

"Sir Joshua once observed to him that he had talked above the capacity of some people with whom they had been in company together. 'No matter, sir (said Johnson), they consider it as a compliment to be talked to, as if they were wiser than they are. So true is this, sir, that Baxter made it a rule in every sermon that he preached, to say something that was above the capacity of his audience.'"

Johnson's dexterity in retort, when he seemed to be driven to an extremity

* The justness of this remark is confirmed by the following story, for which I am indebted to Lord Elliot: A country Parson, who was remarkable for quoting scraps of Latin in his sermons, having died, one of his parishioners was asked how he liked his successor: "He is a very good preacher (was his answer), but no *latinier*."

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by his adversary, was very remarkable. Of his power in this respect, our common friend, Mr Windham, of Norfolk, has been pleased to furnish me with an eminent instance. However unfavourable to Scotland, he uniformly gave liberal praise to George Buchanan, as a writer. In a conversation concerning the literary merits of the two countries, in which Buchanan was introduced, a Scotchman, imagining that on this ground he should have an undoubted triumph over him, exclaimed: "Ah, Dr Johnson, what would you have said of Buchanan, had he been an Englishman?"—"Why, sir (said Johnson, after a little pause), I should *not* have said of Buchanan, had he been an *Englishman*, what I will now say of him as a *Scotchman*—that he was the only man of genius his country ever produced."

And this brings to my recollection another instance of the same nature. I once reminded him that when Dr Adam Smith was expatiating on the beauty of Glasgow, he had cut him short by saying, "Pray, sir, have you ever seen Brentford?" and I took the liberty to add, "My dear sir, surely that was *shocking*."—"Why, then, sir (he replied), you have never seen Brentford."

Though his usual phrase for conversation was *talk*, yet he made a distinction; for when he once told me that he dined the day before at a friend's house with "a very pretty company"; and I asked him if there was good conversation, he answered, "No, sir; we had *talk* enough, but no *conversation*; there was nothing *discussed*."

Talking of the success of the Scotch in London, he imputed it in a considerable degree to their spirit of nationality. "You know, sir (said he), that no Scotchman publishes a book, or has a play brought upon the stage, but there are five hundred people ready to applaud him."

He gave much praise to his friend, Dr Burney's elegant and entertaining travels, and told Mr Seward that he had them in his eye, when writing his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*.

Such was his sensibility, and so much was he affected by pathetic poetry, that, when he was reading Dr Beattie's *Hermit* in my presence, it brought tears into his eyes.

He disapproved much of mingling real facts with fiction. On this account he censured a book entitled *Love and Madness*.

Mr Hoole told him, he was born in Moorfields, and had received part of his early instruction in Grub Street. "Sir (said Johnson, smiling), you have been *regularly* educated." Having asked who was his instructor, and Mr Hoole having answered, "My uncle, sir, who was a tailor"; Johnson recollecting himself, said, "Sir, I knew him: we called him the *metaphysical tailor*. He was of a club in Old Street, with me and George Psalmanazar, and some others: but pray, sir, was he a good tailor?" Mr Hoole having answered that he believed he was too mathematical, and used to draw squares and triangles on his shop door, so that he did not excel in the cut of a coat;—"I am sorry for it (said Johnson), for I would have every man to be master of his own business."

In pleasant reference to himself and Mr Hoole, as brother authors, he often said, "Let you and I, sir, go together and eat a beefsteak in Grub Street."

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Sir William Chambers, that great architect, whose works show a sublimity of genius, and who is esteemed by all who know him, for his social, hospitable, and generous qualities, submitted the manuscript of his *Chinese Architecture*, to Dr Johnson's perusal. Johnson was much pleased with it, and said: "It wants no addition nor correction, but a few lines of introduction"; which he furnished, and Sir William adopted. The Honourable Horace Walpole, now Earl of Orford, thus bears testimony to this gentleman's merit as a writer: "Mr Chambers's *Treatise on Civil Architecture*, is the most sensible book, and the most exempt from prejudices, that ever was written on that Science." Preface to *Anecdotes of Painting in England*.

The introductory lines are these: "It is difficult to avoid praising too little or too much. The boundless panegyrics which have been lavished upon the Chinese learning, policy and arts, show with what power novelty attracts regard, and how naturally esteem swells into admiration."

"I am far from desiring to be numbered among the exaggerators of Chinese excellence. I consider them as great, or wise, only in comparison with the nations that surround them: and have no intention to place them in competition either with the ancients or with the moderns of this part of the world; yet they must be allowed to claim our notice as a distinct and very singular race of men: as the inhabitants of a region divided by its situation from all civilised countries, who have formed their own manners, and invented their own arts, without the assistance of example."

He said to Sir William Scot, "The age is running mad after innovation; all the business of the world is to be done in a new way; men are to be hanged in a new way; Tyburn itself is not safe from the fury of innovation." It having been argued that this was an improvement,—"No, sir (said he, eagerly), it is *not* an improvement; they object that the old method drew together a number of spectators;—Sir, executions are intended to draw spectators. If they do not draw spectators, they don't answer their purpose. The old method was most satisfactory to all parties: the public was gratified by a procession; the criminal was supported by it. Why is all this to be swept away?" I perfectly agree with Dr Johnson upon this head, and am persuaded that executions now, the solemn procession being discontinued, have not nearly the effect which they formerly had. Magistrates both in London, and elsewhere, have, I am afraid, in this, had too much regard to their own ease.

Of Dr Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, Johnson said to a friend: "Hurd, sir, is one of a set of men who account for everything systematically; for instance, it has been a fashion to wear scarlet breeches; these men would tell you, that according to causes and effects, no other wear could at that time have been chosen." He, however, said of him at another time to the same gentleman: "Hurd, sir, is a man whose acquaintance is a valuable acquisition."

That learned and ingenious Prelate it is well known published at one period of his life *Moral and Political Dialogues*, with a woefully whiggish cast. Afterwards, his Lordship having thought better, came to see his error, and republished the work with a more constitutional spirit. Johnson,

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however, was unwilling to allow him full credit for his political conversion. I remember when his Lordship declined the honour of being Archbishop of Canterbury, Johnson said, "I am glad he did not go to Lambeth; for, after all, I fear he is a Whig in his heart."

Johnson's attention to precision and clearness in expression was very remarkable. He disapproved of parentheses; and I believe in all his voluminous writings, not half-a-dozen of them will be found. He never used the phrases *the former* and *the latter*, having observed that they often occasioned obscurity; he therefore contrived to construct his sentences so as not to have occasion for them, and would even rather repeat the same words, in order to avoid them. Nothing is more common than to mistake surnames when we hear them carelessly uttered for the first time. To prevent this, he used not only to pronounce them slowly and distinctly, but to take the trouble of spelling them; a practice which I have often followed; and which I wish were general.

Such was the heat and irritability of his blood, that not only did he pare his nails to the quick; but scraped the joints of his fingers with a pen-knife, till they seemed quite red and raw.

The heterogeneous composition of human nature was remarkably exemplified in Johnson. His liberality in giving his money to persons in distress was extraordinary. Yet there lurked about him a propensity to paltry saving. One day I owned to him that "I was occasionally troubled with a fit of narrowness." "Why, sir (said he), so am I; but I do not tell it." He has now and then borrowed a shilling of me; and when I asked for it again, seemed to be rather out of humour. A droll little circumstance once occurred: As if he meant to reprimand my minute exactness as a creditor, he thus addressed me: "Boswell, lend me sixpence;—*not to be repaid.*"

This great man's attention to small things was very remarkable. As an instance of it, he one day said to me, "Sir, when you get silver in change for a guinea, look carefully at it; you may find some curious piece of coin."

Though a stern *true-born Englishman* and fully prejudiced against all other nations; he had discernment enough to see, and candour enough to censure the cold reserve too common among Englishmen towards strangers: "Sir (said he), two men of any other nation who are shown into a room together, at a house where they are both visitors, will immediately find some conversation. But two Englishmen will probably go each to a different window, and remain in obstinate silence. Sir, we as yet do not enough understand the common rights of humanity."

Johnson was at a certain period of his life a good deal with the Earl of Shelburne, now Marquis of Lansdown, as he doubtless could not but have a due value for that nobleman's activity of mind, and uncommon acquisitions of important knowledge, however much he might disapprove of other parts of his Lordship's character, which were widely different from his own.

Maurice Morgan, Esq., author of the very ingenious "Essay on the

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Character of Falstaff," * being a particular friend of his Lordship, had once an opportunity of entertaining Johnson for a day or two at Wickham, when its Lord was absent, and by him I have been favoured with two anecdotes.

One is not a little to the credit of Johnson's candour. Mr Morgan and he had a dispute pretty late at night, in which Johnson would not give up, though he had the wrong side, and in short both kept the field. Next morning, when they met in the breakfasting-room, Dr Johnson accosted Mr Morgan thus: "Sir, I have been thinking on our dispute last night—*You were in the right.*"

The other was as follows: Johnson for sport perhaps, or from the spirit of contradiction, eagerly maintained that Derrick had merit as a writer. Mr Morgan argued with him directly in vain. At length he had recourse to this device. "Pray, sir (said he), whether do you reckon Derrick or Smart the best poet"; Johnson at once felt himself roused; and answered, "Sir, there is no settling the point of precedence between a louse and a flea."

Once when checking my boasting too frequently of myself in company, he said to me, "Boswell, you often vaunt so much as to provoke ridicule. You put me in mind of a man who was standing in the kitchen of an inn with his back to the fire, and thus accosted the person next him, 'Do you know, sir, who I am?' 'No, sir (said the other), I have not that advantage.' 'Sir (said he), I am the *great Twalmley* who invented the new Floodgate iron.'" † The Bishop of Killaloe on my repeating the story to his Lordship defended Twalmley, by observing, that he was entitled to the epithet of *great*; for Virgil in his group of worthies in the Elysian fields—

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi; etc.

mentions

Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes.

He was pleased to say to me one forenoon when we were left alone in his study, "Boswell (I think), I am easier with you than with almost anybody."

He would not allow Mr David Hume any credit for his political principles, though similar to his own; saying of him, "Sir, he was a Tory by chance."

His acute observation of human life, made him remark, "Sir, there is nothing by which man exasperates most people more, than by displaying a superior ability or brilliancy in conversation. They seem pleased at the time; but their envy makes them curse him at their hearts."

P. 289, l. 28, *dele*—and certainly shall, and on *do*—put the following note—We accordingly carried our scheme into execution, in October, 1792;

* Johnson being asked his opinion of this Essay, answered, "Why, sir, we shall have the man come forth again; and as he proved Falstaff to be no coward, he may prove Iago to be a very good character."

† What the *great Twalmley* was so proud of having invented, was neither more nor less than a kind of box-iron for smoothing clothes.

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but whether from that uniformity which has in modern times, in a great degree, spread through every part of the Metropolis, or from our want of sufficient exertion, we were disappointed.

P. 292, l. 29. On *oranges* put the following note—It is suggested to me by an anonymous annotator on my work that the reason why Dr Johnson collected the peels of squeezed oranges, may be found, in the 558th Letter in Mrs Piozzi's Collection, where it appears that he recommended "dried orange-peel, finely powdered," as a medicine.

P. 293, l. 12, for *Madan*, *read*—Madden.

P. 297, l. 10, for *births* are, *read*—the register of births proves.

P. 298, l. 32. On *house* put the following note—I think it necessary to caution my readers against concluding that in this or any other conversation of Dr Johnson, they have his serious and deliberate opinion on the subject of duelling. In my *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 3rd edit., p. 386, it appears that he made this frank confession: "Nobody, at times, talks more laxly than I do"; and *ibid.*, p. 231: "He fairly owned he could not explain the rationality of duelling." We may, therefore, infer, that he could not think that justifiable, which seems so inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel. At the same time, it must be confessed, that from the prevalent notions of honour, a gentleman who receives a challenge is reduced to a dreadful alternative. A remarkable instance of this is furnished by a clause in the will of the late Colonel Thomas, of the Guards, written the night before he fell in a duel, September 3, 1783: "In the first place, I commit my soul to Almighty God, in hopes of his mercy and pardon for the irreligious step, I now (in compliance with the unwarrantable customs of this wicked world) put myself under the necessity of taking."

P. 299, l. 16. On *proper* put the following note—Upon this objection the Reverend Mr Ralph Churton, Fellow of Brazenose College, Oxford, has favoured me with the following satisfactory observation. The passage in the Burial-service, does not mean the resurrection of the person interred, but the general resurrection; it is in sure and certain hope of the resurrection; not *his* resurrection. Where the deceased is really spoken of, the expression is very different, "as our hope is this our brother doth" [rest in Christ] a mode of speech consistent with everything but absolute certainty that the person departed doth *not* rest in Christ, which no one can be assured of, without immediate revelation from Heaven. In the first of these places, also, "eternal life" does not necessarily mean eternity of bliss, but merely the eternity of the state, whether in happiness or in misery, to ensue upon the resurrection; which is probably the sense of "The life everlasting," in the Apostles Creed. See "Wheatley and Bennet on the Common Prayer."

P. 304, after l. 8, *read*—

TO SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS

DEAR SIR,—The gentleman who waits on you with this, is Mr Cruikshanks, who wishes to succeed his friend Dr Hunter as Professor of Anatomy in the

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Royal Academy. His qualifications are very generally known, and it adds dignity to the institution that such men * are candidates. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

May 2, 1783.

P. 308, l. 24. On *Philips* put the following note—Now the celebrated Mrs Crouch.

Ibid., l. 30. On *station* put the following note—Mr Windham was at this time in Dublin, Secretary to the Earl of Northington, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

P. 309, l. 3. On *godson's* put the following note—young Paterson, the son of Mr Samuel Paterson.

Ibid., l. 19, after *composure*, *read*—of mind, and resignation to the Divine will.

P. 315, l. 35. On *of* put the following note—Mr Malone observes, "This, however, was certainly a mistake, as appears from the curious Memoirs lately published by Mr Noble. Had Johnson been furnished with the materials which the industry of that gentleman has procured, he would, without doubt, have produced a most valuable and curious history of Cromwell's life."

P. 316, l. 37, for *conspicuous*, *read*—*perspicuous*.

P. 317, l. 12, for *says*, *read*—*said*.

Ibid., to the note on *Dr Priestley*, add as follows—As a specimen of his writings, I shall quote the following passage, which appears to me equally absurd and impious, and which might have been retorted upon him by the men who were prosecuted for burning his house. "I cannot (says he), as a *necessarian* [meaning *necessitarian*], hate any man; because I consider him as *being*, in all respects, just what God has made him to be; and also as *doing* with respect to me, nothing but what he was expressly designed and appointed to do; God being the only cause, and men nothing more than the instruments in his hands to execute all his pleasure."—*Illustrations of Philosophical Necessity*, p. 111.

The Reverend Dr Parr, in a late tract, appears to suppose that *Dr Johnson not only endured, but almost solicited, an interview with Dr Priestley*. In justice to Dr Johnson, I declare my firm belief that he never did. My illustrious friend was particularly resolute in not giving countenance to men whose writings he considered as pernicious to society. I was present at Oxford when Dr Price, even before he had rendered himself so generally obnoxious by his zeal for the French Revolution, came into a company where Johnson was, who instantly left the room. Much more would he have reprobated Dr Priestley.

Whoever wishes to see a perfect delineation of this *Literary Jack of all Trades*, may find it in an ingenious tract, entitled, "A SMALL WHOLE-LENGTH OF DR PRIESTLEY," printed for Rivingtons, in St Paul's Churchyard.

* Let it be remembered by those who accuse Dr Johnson of illiberality, that both were *Scotchmen*.

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P. 322, l. 5 from the foot. On *it* put the following note—My worthy friend, Mr John Nichols, was present when Mr Henderson, the actor, paid a visit to Dr Johnson; and was received in a very courteous manner.—See *Gent. Mag.*, June 1791.

I found among Dr Johnson's papers, the following letter to him, from the celebrated Mrs Bellamy:

To Dr JOHNSON

SIR,—The flattering remembrance of the partiality you honoured me with, some years ago, as well as the humanity you are known to possess, has encouraged me to solicit your patronage at my Benefit.

By a long Chancery suit, and a complicated train of unfortunate events, I am reduced to the greatest distress; which obliges me, once more, to request the indulgence of the public.

Give me leave to solicit the honour of your company, and to assure you, if you grant my request, the gratification I shall feel, from being patronised by Dr Johnson, will be infinitely superior to any advantage that may arise from the Benefit, as I am, with the profoundest respect, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

G. A. BELLAMY.

No. 10, DUKE STREET, ST JAMES'S,
May 11, 1783.

I am happy in recording these particulars, which prove that my illustrious friend lived to think much more favourably of Players than he appears to have done in the early part of his life.

P. 331, l. 16, after Mr Murphy, *read*—Mr John Nichols.

P. 334, after letter to Mr Dilly, *read*—

To Mr PERKINS

DEAR SIR,—I was very sorry not to see you when you were so kind as to call on me! but to disappoint friends, and if they are not very good-natured, to disoblige them, is one of the evils of sickness. If you will please to let me know which of the afternoons in this week I shall be favoured with another visit by you and Mrs Perkins, and the young people, I will take all the measures that I can to be pretty well at that time. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

Jan. 21, 1784.

P. 336, l. 2, from the foot, *delete*—the before history.

P. 338, note—for and sciences, *read*—Manufactures and Commerce.

P. 349, l. 4 of *note*, for disposition, *read*—indisposition.

P. 353, l. 8, for exertions, *read*—departments.

P. 356, l. 1, *delete* amiable, and *Ibid.*, l. 2, on *lady* put the following note—In the first edition of my Work, the epithet *amiable* was given. I was sorry

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to be obliged to strike it out; but I could not in justice suffer it to remain after this young lady had not only written in favour of the savage Anarchy with which France has been visited, but had (as I have been informed by good authority) walked, without horror, over the ground at the Thuilleries, when it was strewn with the naked bodies of the faithful Swiss Guards, who were barbarously massacred for having bravely defended, against a crew of ruffians, the Monarch whom they had taken an oath to defend. From Dr Johnson she could now expect not endearment but repulsion.

P. 357, l. 26, after *year*, *read*—Indeed his openness with people at a first interview was remarkable. He said once to Mr Langton, “I think I am like Squire Richard in *The Journey to London*—*I’m never strange in a strange place*.” He was truly *social*. He strongly censured what is much too common in England among persons of condition—maintaining an absolute silence, when unknown to each other; as for instance, when occasionally brought together in a room before the master or mistress of that house has appeared. “Sir, that is being so uncivilised as not to understand the common rights of humanity.”

P. 359, l. 25. On *reason* put the following note—The Reverend Mr Agutter has favoured me with a note of a dialogue between Mr John Henderson and Dr Johnson on this topic, as related by Mr Henderson, and it is evidently so authentic that I shall here insert it:—HENDERSON: What do you think, sir, of William Law? JOHNSON: William Law, sir, wrote the best piece of Parenetic Divinity; but William Law was no reasoner. HENDERSON: Jeremy Collier, sir? JOHNSON: Jeremy Collier fought without a rival, and therefore could not claim the victory.—Mr Henderson mentioned Kenn and Kettlewell; but some objections were made; at last he said, “But, sir, what do you think of Lesley?” JOHNSON: Charles Lesley I had forgotten. Lesley was a reasoner, and a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against.

P. 360, l. 19, for good preferment, *read*—great prospects.

P. 368, l. 27. On *learning* put the following note—See an account of him in a sermon by the Reverend Mr Agutter.

P. 370, l. 13. On *misery* put the following note—The Reverend Mr Ralph Churton, Fellow of Brazen-Nose College, Oxford, has favoured me with the following remarks on my Work, which he is pleased to say, “I have hitherto extolled, and cordially approve.”

“The chief part of what I have to observe is contained in the following transcript from a letter to a friend, which, with his concurrence, I copied for this purpose; and, whatever may be the merit or justness of the remarks, you may be sure that being written to a most intimate friend, without any intention that they ever should go further, they are the genuine and undisguised sentiments of the writer:

“Jan. 6, 1792.

“LAST week, I was reading the second volume of Boswell’s *Johnson*, with increasing esteem for the worthy author, and increasing veneration of the wonderful and excellent man who is the subject of it. The writer throws

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in, now and then, very properly some serious religious reflections ; but there is one remark, in my mind an obvious and just one, which I think he has not made, that Johnson's 'morbid melancholy,' and constitutional infirmities were intended by Providence, like St Paul's thorn in the flesh, to check intellectual conceit and arrogance ; which the consciousness of his extraordinary talents, awake as he was to the voice of praise, might otherwise have generated in a very culpable degree. Another observation strikes me, that in consequence of the same natural indisposition, and habitual sickness (for he says he scarcely passed one day without pain after his twentieth year), he considered and represented human life as a scene of much greater misery than is generally experienced. There may be persons bowed down with affliction all their days : and there are those, no doubt, whose iniquities rob them of rest ; but neither calamities nor crimes, I hope and believe, do so much and so generally abound, as to justify the dark picture of life which Johnson's imagination designed, and his strong pencil delineated. This I am sure, the colouring is far too gloomy for what I have experienced, though as far as I can remember, I have had more sickness (I do not say more severe, but only more in quantity), than falls to the lot of most people. But then daily debility and occasional sickness were far overbalanced by intervening days, and, perhaps, weeks, void of pain, and overflowing with comfort. So that in short, to return to the subject, human life, as far as I can perceive from experience or observation, is not that state of constant wretchedness which Johnson always insisted it was ; which misrepresentation (for such it surely is) his Biographer has not corrected, I suppose, because unhappily, he has himself a large portion of melancholy in his constitution, and fancied the portrait a faithful copy of life."

The learned writer then proceeds thus in his letter to me :

"I have conversed with some sensible men on this subject, who all seem to entertain the same sentiments respecting life with those which are expressed or implied in the foregoing paragraph. It might be added that as the representation here spoken of, appears not consistent with fact and experience, so neither does it seem to be countenanced by Scripture. There is, perhaps, no part of the sacred volume which at first sight promises so much to lend its sanction to these dark and desponding notions as the book of Ecclesiastes, which so often, and so emphatically, proclaims the vanity of things sublunary. But the design of this whole book (as it has been justly observed) is not to put us out of conceit with life, but to cure our vain expectations of a complete and perfect happiness in this world ; to convince us, that there is no such thing to be found in mere external enjoyments ;—and to teach us—to seek for happiness in the practice of virtue, in the knowledge and love of God, and in the hopes of a better life. For this is the application of all : *Let us hear, etc.*, xii. 13. Not only his duty, but his happiness too ; *For God, etc.*" ver. 14.—See *Sherlock on Providence*, p. 299.

"The New Testament tells us, indeed, and most truly, that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof ; and, therefore, wisely forbids us to increase our

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burden by forebodings of sorrows; but I think it nowhere says that even our ordinary afflictions are not consistent with a very considerable degree of positive comfort and satisfaction. And, accordingly, one whose sufferings as well as merits were conspicuous, assures us, that in proportion 'as the sufferings of Christ abounded in them, so their consolation also abounded by Christ,' 2 Cor. i. 5. It is needless to cite, as indeed it would be endless even to refer to, the multitude of passages in both Testaments holding out, in the strongest language, promises of blessings, even in this world, to the faithful servants of God. I will only refer to St Luke xviii. 29, 30, and 1 Tim. iv. 8.

"Upon the whole, setting aside instances of great and lasting bodily pain, of minds peculiarly oppressed by melancholy, and of severe temporal calamities, from which extraordinary cases, we surely should not form our estimate of the general tenor and complexion of life; excluding these from the account, I am convinced that as well the gracious constitution of things which Providence has ordained, as the declarations of Scripture and the actual experience of individuals, authorise the sincere Christian to hope that his humble and constant endeavours to perform his duty, chequered as the best life is with many failings, will be crowned with a greater degree of present peace, serenity, and comfort, than he could reasonably permit himself to expect, if he measured his views and judged of life from the opinion of Dr Johnson, often and energetically expressed in the *Memoirs* of him, without any animadversion or censure by his ingenious Biographer. If He himself upon reviewing the subject, shall see the matter in this light, he will, in an octavo edition, which is eagerly expected, make such additional remarks or corrections as he shall judge fit; lest the impressions which these discouraging passages may leave on the reader's mind, should in any degree hinder what otherwise the whole spirit and energy of the work tends, and, I hope, successfully, to promote—pure morality and true religion."

Though I have, in some degree, obviated any reflections against my illustrious friend's dark views of life, when considering, in the course of this Work, his *Rambler* and his *Rasselas*, I am obliged to Mr Churton for complying with my request of his permission to insert his Remarks, being conscious of the weight of what he judiciously suggests as to the melancholy in my own constitution. His more pleasing views of life, I hope, are just. *Valent quantum valere possunt.*

Mr Churton concludes his letter to me in these words: "Once, and only once, I had the satisfaction of seeing your illustrious friend; and as I feel a particular regard for all whom he distinguished with his esteem and friendship, so I derive much pleasure from reflecting that I once beheld, though but transiently near our college gate, one whose works will for ever delight and improve the world, who was a sincere and zealous son of the Church of England, an honour to his country, and an ornament to human nature."

His letter was accompanied with a present from himself of his *Sermons at the Bampton Lecture*, and from his friend, Dr Townson, the venerable Rector of Malpas, in Cheshire, of his *Discourses on the Gospels*, together

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with the following extract of a letter from that excellent person, who is now gone to receive the reward of his labours: "Mr Boswell is not only very entertaining in his works, but they are so replete with moral and religious sentiments, without an instance, as far as I know, of a contrary tendency, that I cannot help having a great esteem for him; and if you think such a trifle as a copy of the *Discourses*, *ex dono authoris*, would be acceptable to him, I should be happy to give him this small testimony of my regard."

Such spontaneous testimonies of approbation from such men, without any personal acquaintance with me, are truly valuable and encouraging.

P. 372, l. 35, for *at*, *read*—*of*.

P. 381, after l. 9, *read*—I have mentioned Johnson's general aversion to a pun. He once, however, endured one of mine. When we were talking of a numerous company in which he had distinguished himself highly, I said, "Sir, you were a Cod surrounded by smelts. Is not this enough for you? at a time too when you were not *fishing* for a compliment?" He laughed at this with a complacent approbation. Old Mr Sheridan observed, upon my mentioning it to him, "He liked your compliment so well, he was willing to take it with *pun sauce*." For my own part, I think no innocent species of wit or pleasantry should be suppressed; and that a good pun may be admitted among the smaller excellencies of lively conversation.

P. 383, instead of the fourth paragraph, *read*—A foppish physician once reminded Johnson of his having been in company with him on a former occasion. "I do not remember it, sir." The physician still insisted; adding that he that day wore so fine a coat that it must have attracted his notice. "Sir (said Johnson), had you been dipped in Pactolus, I should not have noticed you."

P. 384, after l. 10, *read*—When I observed to him that Painting was so far inferior to Poetry, that the story or even emblem which it communicates must be previously known, and mentioned as a natural and laughable instance of this, that a little miss on seeing a picture of Justice with the scales, had exclaimed to me, "See, there's a woman selling sweetmeats"; he said, "Painting, sir, can illustrate; but cannot inform."

P. 385, to the note add—My informer was Mrs Desmoulins, who lived many years in Dr Johnson's house.

P. 388, l. 5, for *great*, *read*—*high*.

P. 390, l. 29. On *preacher* put the following note—A friend of mine happened to be passing by a *field congregation* in the environs of London, when a Methodist preacher quoted this passage with triumph.

Ibid., l. 36. On *reward* put the following note—I trust that THE CITY OF LONDON, now happily in unison with THE COURT, will have the justice and generosity to obtain preferment for this Reverend Gentleman, now a worthy old servant of that Magnificent Corporation.

P. 393, l. 10, for *thing*, *read*—*one*.

P. 396, l. 37, for *large*, *read*—*liberal*.

P. 403, l. 8. On *Cholmondeley* put the following note—George James Cholmondeley, Esq., grandson of George third Earl of Cholmondeley, and

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one of the Commissioners of Excise ; a gentleman respected for his abilities, and elegance of manners.

P. 408, l. 12 from the foot. On BROMLEY put the following note—I am obliged for this and a former letter to Dr John Loveday of the Commons, a son of the late learned and pious John Loveday, Esq., of Caversham, in Berkshire. This worthy gentleman having retired from business now lives in Warwickshire.

P. 416, first line of *note* after appears, *read*—In a letter from him to Mrs Smart, wife of his friend the Poet, which is published in a well-written life of him, prefixed to an edition of his Poems, in 1791, there is the following sentence : “ To one that has passed so many years in the pleasures and opulence of London, there are few places that can give much delight.”

P. 421, after l. 2, *read*—

To Mr PERKINS

DEAR SIR,—I cannot but flatter myself that your kindness for me will make you glad to know where I am, and in what state.

I have been struggling very hard with my diseases. My breath has been very much obstructed, and the water has attempted to encroach upon me again. I passed the first part of the summer at Oxford, afterwards I went to Lichfield, thence to Ashbourne, in Derbyshire, and a week ago I returned to Lichfield.

My breath is now much easier, and the water is in a great measure run away, so that I hope to see you again before winter.

Please to make my compliments to Mrs Perkins, and to Mr and Mrs Barclay. I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON.

LICHFIELD, Oct. 4, 1784.

Ibid., l. 4 from the foot. On JOHN PARADISE, Esq., put the following note—Son of the late Peter Paradise, Esq., his Britannic Majesty's Consul at Salonica, in Macedonia, by his lady, a native of that country. He studied at Oxford, and has been honoured by that University with the degree of LL.D. He is distinguished not only by his learning and talents, but by an amiable disposition, gentleness of manners, and a very general acquaintance with well-informed and accomplished persons of almost all nations.

P. 423, after l. 26, *read*—

To Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS

ASHBOURNE, July 21.

THE tenderness with which I am treated by my friends, makes it reasonable to suppose that they are desirous to know the state of my health, and a desire so benevolent ought to be gratified.—I came to Litchfield in two days without any painful fatigue, and on Monday came hither, where I purpose to stay and try what air and regularity will effect. I cannot yet persuade myself that I have made much progress in recovery. My sleep is little, my breath

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is very much encumbered, and my legs are very weak. The water has increased, but has again run off. The most distressing symptom is want of sleep.

P. 424, l. 15, after Sept. 2, *read*—"I am glad that a little favour from the court has intercepted your furious purposes. I could not in any case have approved such public violence of resentment, and should have considered any who encouraged it, as rather seeking sport for themselves, than honour for you. Resentment gratifies him who intended an injury, and pains him unjustly who did not intend it. But all this is now superfluous."

Ibid., after l. 24, *read*—Sept. 9. "I could not answer your letter before this day, because I went on the sixth to Chatsworth, and did not come back till the post was gone.—Many words, I hope are not necessary, between you and me, to convince you what gratitude is excited in my heart, by the Chancellor's liberality and your kind offices. I did not indeed expect that what was asked by the Chancellor would have been refused, but since it has we will not tell that anything has been asked.—I have enclosed a letter to the Chancellor, which, when you have read it, you will be pleased to seal with a head, or other general seal, and convey it to him; had I sent it directly to him, I should have seemed to overlook the favour of your intervention.—My last letter told you of my advance in health, which, I think, in the whole still continues. Of the hydropic tumour there is now very little appearance; the asthma is much less troublesome, and seems to remit something day after day. I do not despair of supporting an English winter.—At Chatsworth, I met young Mr Burke, who led me very commodiously into conversation with the Duke and Duchess. We had a very good morning. The dinner was public."

Ibid., after l. 34, *read*—October 2. "I am always proud of your approbation, and therefore was much pleased that you liked my letter. When you copied it, you invaded the Chancellor's right rather than mine. The refusal I did not expect, but I had never thought much about it, for I doubted whether the Chancellor had so much tenderness for me as to ask. He being keeper of the King's conscience, ought not to be supposed capable of an improper petition.—All is not gold that glitters as we have often been told; and the adage is verified in your place and my favour; but if what happens does not make us richer, we must bid it welcome, if it makes us wiser.—I do not at present grow better, nor much worse; my hopes, however, are somewhat abated, and a very great loss is the loss of hope, but I struggle on as I can."

P. 427, after last line of note, *read*—Yet a judicious friend well suggests, "It might, however, have been added, that such men are often merely just, and rigidly correct, while their hearts are cold and unfeeling; and that Johnson's virtues were of a much higher tone than those of the *stayed, orderly man*, here described."

P. 430, l. 21. On *Hector* put the following note—It is a most agreeable circumstance attending the publication of this Work, that Mr Hector has survived his illustrious school-fellow so many years: that he still retains his

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health and spirits; and has gratified me with the following acknowledgment: "I thank you, most sincerely thank you, for the great and long-continued entertainment your *Life of Dr Johnson* has afforded me, and others, of my particular friends." Mr Hector, besides setting me right as to the verses on a sprig of Myrtle, has favoured me with two English odes, written by Dr Johnson, at an early period of his life, which will appear in my edition of his Poems.

P. 438, note, l. 17 from the foot, after permitted, *read*—At any rate, to prevent difficult and uncertain discussion, and give an absolute security to authors in the property of their labours, no abridgment whatever should be permitted till after the expiration of such a number of years as the Legislature may be pleased to fix.

P. 439, l. 6, for Mr Burney, *read*—Dr Charles Burney the younger.

Ibid., after l. 6, of notes, *read*—And in *The Dublin Evening Post*, August 16, 1791, there is the following paragraph: "It is a singular circumstance, that, in a city like this, containing 200,000 people, there are three months in the year during which no place of public amusement is open. Long vacation is here a vacation from pleasure, as well as business; nor is there any mode of passing the listless evenings of declining summer, but in the riots of a tavern, or the stupidity of a Coffee-house."

P. 441, to the note, *add*—I shall quote as a specimen, the first three stanzas:

"If e'er my fingers touch'd the lyre,
In satire fierce, in pleasure gay;
Shall not my *THRALIA's* smiles inspire?
Shall *SAM* refuse the sportive lay?

My dearest Lady! view your slave;
Behold him as your very *Scrub*;
Eager to write, as author grave,
Or govern well, the brewing-tub.

To rich felicity thus rais'd,
My bosom glows with amorous fire;
Porter no longer shall be prais'd,
"Tis I MYSELF am *Thrale's* Entire."

P. 445, l. 1, for Mr, *read*—Dr.

Ibid., l. 2, for imitare, *read*—imitari.

Ibid., to the first note, *add*—It must, however, be observed, that he is much less to blame than Smith: he only objects to certain particulars; Smith to the whole institution; though indebted for much of his learning to an exhibition which he enjoyed, for many years at Baliol College. Neither of them, however, will do any hurt to the noblest university in the world. While I animadvert on what appears to me exceptionable in some of the works of Dr Knox, I cannot refuse due praise to others of his productions; particularly

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his sermons, and to the spirit with which he maintains, against presumptuous heretics, the consolatory doctrines peculiar to the Christian Revelation. This he has done in a manner equally strenuous and conciliating. Neither ought I to omit mentioning a remarkable instance of his candour: Notwithstanding the wide difference of our opinions, upon the important subject of University education—in a letter to me concerning this Work, he thus expresses himself: "I thank you for the very great entertainment your *Life of Johnson* gives me. It is a most valuable work. Yours is a new species of biography. Happy for Johnson, that he had so able a recorder of his wit and wisdom."

P. 445, note 2, for *Mr read—Dr.*

P. 449, to the notes *add—*On the same subject, in his Letter to Mrs Thrale, dated Nov. 29, 1783, he makes the following just observation: "Life, to be worthy of a rational being, must be always in progression; we must always purpose to do more or better than in time past. The mind is enlarged and elevated by mere purposes, though they end as they began by airy contemplation. We compare and judge, though we do not practise."

P. 455, l. 1, after *burnt, read—large.*

Ibid., last line after it, *read—with.*

P. 458, after l. 21, *read—*The following particulars of his conversation, within a few days of his death, I give on the authority of Mr John Nichols * :

* On the same undoubted authority, I give a few articles, which should have been inserted in chronological order, but which, now that they are before me, I should be sorry to omit:

"In 1736, Dr Johnson had a particular inclination to have been engaged as an assistant to the Reverend Mr Budworth, then headmaster of the Grammar School at Brewood, in Staffordshire, 'an excellent person, who possessed every talent of a perfect instructor of youth, in a degree which (to use the words of one of the brightest ornaments of literature, the Reverend Dr Hurd, Bishop of Worcester), has been rarely found in any of that profession since the days of Quintilian.' Mr Budworth, 'who was less known in his life-time, from that obscure situation to which the caprice of fortune oft condemns the most accomplished characters, than his highest merit deserved,' had been bred under Mr Blackwell, at Market Bosworth, where Johnson was some time an usher; which might naturally lead to the application. Mr Budworth was certainly no stranger to the learning or abilities of Johnson; as he more than once lamented his having been under the necessity of declining the engagement, from an apprehension that the paralytic affection, under which our great Philologist laboured through life might become the object of imitation or of ridicule among his pupils."—Captain Budworth, his grandson, has confirmed to me this anecdote.

"Among the early associates of Johnson, at St John's Gate, was Samuel Boyse, well known by his ingenious productions, and not less noted for his imprudence. It was not unusual for Boyse to be a customer to the pawnbroker. On one of these occasions, Dr Johnson collected a sum of money to redeem his friend's clothes, which in two days after were pawned again. 'The sum (said Johnson) was collected by sixpences, at a time when to me sixpence was a serious consideration.'"

"Speaking one day of a person for whom he had a real friendship, but in whom vanity was somewhat too predominant, he observed, that 'Kelly was so fond of displaying on his sideboard the plate which he possessed, that he added to it his spurs.' For my part (said he), I never was master of a pair of spurs, but once; and they are now at the bottom of the ocean. By the carelessness of Boswell's servant, they were dropped from the end of the boat, on our return from the Isle of Sky."

"The late Reverend Mr Samuel Badcock, having been introduced to Dr Johnson,

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"He said, that the Parliamentary Debates were the only part of his writings which then gave him any compunction; but that at the time he wrote them, he had no conception he was imposing upon the world, though they were frequently written from very slender materials, and often from none at all—the mere coinage of his own imagination. He never wrote any part of his works with equal velocity. Three columns of the *Magazine*, in an hour, was no uncommon effort, which was faster than most persons could have transcribed that quantity."

"Of his friend Cave he always spoke with great affection. 'Yet (said he), Cave (who never looked out of his window, but with a view to *The Gentleman's Magazine*), was a penurious paymaster; he would contract for lines by the hundred, and expect the long hundred; but he was a good man, and always delighted to have his friends at his table.'"

"When talking of a regular edition of his own works, he said, 'that he had power [from the booksellers] to print such an edition, if his health admitted it; but had no power to assign over any edition, unless he could add notes, and so alter them as to make them new works'; which his state of health forbade him to think of. 'I may possibly live (said he), or rather breathe, three days, or perhaps three weeks; but find myself daily and gradually weaker.'"

"He said at another time, three or four days only before his death, speaking of the little fear he had of undergoing a chirurgical operation, 'I would give one of these legs for a year more of life, I mean of comfortable life, not such as that which I now suffer'; and lamented much his inability to read during his hours of restlessness. 'I used formerly (he added), when sleepless in bed, to read like a Turk.'"

"Whilst confined by his last illness it was his regular practice to have the church-service read to him, by some attentive and friendly Divine. Mr Hoole performed this kind office in my presence for the last time, when, by his own desire, no more than the Litany was read; in which his responses were in the deep and sonorous voice which Mr Boswell has occasionally noticed, and with the most profound devotion that can be imagined. His hearing being not quite perfect, he more than once interrupted Mr Hoole, with 'Louder, my dear sir, louder, I entreat you; or you pray in vain!'—and, when the service was ended, he, with great earnestness, turned round to an excellent lady who was present, saying, 'I thank you, Madam, very by Mr Nichols, some years before his death, thus expressed himself in a letter to that gentleman:

"How much I am obliged to you for the favour you did me in introducing me to Dr Johnson! *Tantum vidi Virgilium*. But to have seen him, and to have received a testimony of respect from him, was enough. I recollect all the conversation, and shall never forget one of his expressions.—Speaking of Dr P***** (whose writings, I saw, he estimated at a low rate), he said, 'You have proved him as deficient in *probitas* as he is in learning.'—I called him an '*Index-scholar*'; but he was not willing to allow him a claim even to that merit. He said, that 'he borrowed from those who had been borrowers themselves, and did not know that the mistakes he adopted had been answered by others.'—I often think of our short, but precious, visit to this great man. I shall consider it as a kind of an *æra* in my life."

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heartily, for your kindness in joining me in this solemn exercise. Live well, I conjure you; and you will not feel the compunction at the last, which I now feel.' So truly humble were the thoughts which this great and good man entertained of his own approaches to religious perfection.

"He was earnestly invited to publish a volume of *Devotional Exercises*; but this (though he listened to the proposal with much complacency, and a large sum of money was offered for it), he declined, from motives of the sincerest modesty.

"He seriously entertained the thought of translating *Thuanus*. He often talked to me on the subject; and once, in particular, when I was rather wishing that he would favour the world, and gratify his sovereign, by a *Life of Spenser* (which he said that he would readily have done, had he been able to obtain any new materials for the purpose), he added, 'I have been thinking again, sir, of *Thuanus*: it would not be the laborious task which you have supposed it. I should have no trouble but that of dictation, which would be performed as speedily as an amanuensis could write.'"

P. 459, l. 25, after whole, *read*—Indeed, I can speak from my own knowledge; for having had the pleasure to read it, I found it to be a piece of exquisite satire, conveyed in a strain of pointed vivacity and humour, and in a manner of which no other instance is to be found in Johnson's writings. After describing the ridiculous and ruinous career of a wild spendthrift, he *consoles* him with this reflection:

"You may hang or drown at last."

P. 460, l. 15 from the foot, after sustenance, *read*—Being pressed by Mr Windham to take somewhat more generous nourishment, lest too low a diet should have the very effect which he dreaded, by debilitating his mind, he said, "I will take anything but inebriating sustenance."

P. 461, l. 12, for while, *read*—previous to his receiving, and *dele*—was celebrating.

Ibid., l. 13, after apartment, *read*—composed and.

P. 462, after l. 2, *read*—as follows—Having, as has been already mentioned, made his will on the 8th and 9th of December, and settled all his worldly affairs, he languished till Monday, the 13th of that month, when he expired, about seven o'clock in the evening, with so little apparent pain that his attendants hardly perceived when his dissolution took place.

Of his last moments, my brother, Thomas David, has furnished me with the following particulars:

Ibid., *dele*—l. 3.

P. 464, l. 3, after Westminster, *read*—Mr Burke, Sir Joseph Banks, Mr Windham, Mr Langton, Sir Charles Bunbury, and Mr Colman, bore his pall.

Ibid., l. 4, before service, *read*—Burial.

Ibid., l. 19 of note, after Reynolds, *read*—from one of which, in the possession of the Duke of Dorset, Mr Humphry executed a beautiful miniature in enamel; one by Mrs Frances Reynolds, Sir Joshua's sister.

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P. 465, l. 4, after *College*, *read*—It is not yet published. In a letter to me, Mr Agutter says, “My sermon before the University was more engaged with Dr Johnson’s *moral* than his *intellectual* character. It particularly examined his fear of death, and suggested several reasons for the apprehension of the good, and the indifference of the infidel in their last hours; this was illustrated by contrasting the death of Dr Johnson and Mr Hume; the text was Job xxi. 22-26.”

Ibid., l. 14 of *note*, after *Townley*, *read*—(brother of Mr Townley, of the Commons), an ingenious artist, who resided some time at Berlin, and has the honour of being engraver to his Majesty the King of Prussia.

Ibid., l. 17, after *Scott*, *read*—Mr Townley has lately been prevailed with to execute and publish another of the same, that it may be more generally circulated among the admirers of Dr Johnson.

And to the *note add*—There are also several seals with his head cut on them, particularly a very fine one by that eminent artist, Edward Birch, Esq., R.A., in the possession of the younger Dr Charles Burney.

Let me add, as a proof of the popularity of his character, that there are copper pieces struck at Birmingham, with his head impressed on them, which pass current as halfpence there, and in the neighbouring parts of the country.

Ibid., l. 12, after *fame*, *read*—at Sir Joshua Reynolds’s table.

P. 466, l. 2, for *has excited*, *read*—could not but excite, and l. 3, on *genius* put the following note—The Reverend Dr Parr, on being requested to undertake it, thus expressed himself in a letter to William Seward, Esq.

“I leave this mighty task to some hardier and some abler writer. The variety and splendour of Johnson’s attainments, the peculiarities of his character, his private virtues, and his literary publications, fill me with confusion and dismay, when I reflect upon the confined and difficult species of composition, in which alone they can be expressed, with propriety, upon his monument.”

But I understand that this great scholar, and warm admirer of Johnson, has yielded to repeated solicitations, and executed the very difficult undertaking.

Ibid., l. 6. On *Flood* put the following note—To prevent any misconception on this subject, Mr Malone, by whom these lines were obligingly communicated, requests me to add the following remark:

“In justice to the late Mr Flood, now himself wanting, and highly meriting, an epitaph from his country, to which his transcendent talents did the highest honour, as well as the most important service; it should be observed, that these lines were by no means intended as a regular monumental inscription for Dr Johnson. Had he undertaken to write an appropriated and discriminative epitaph for that extraordinary man, those who knew Mr Flood’s vigour of mind, will have no doubt that he would have produced one worthy of his illustrious subject. But the fact was merely this: In June, 1790, after a large subscription had been made for Dr Johnson’s monument, to which Mr Flood liberally contributed, Mr Malone happened to call on him at his house, in Berners Street, and the conversation turning on the proposed

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monument, Mr Malone maintained that the epitaph, by whomsoever it should be written, ought to be in Latin. Mr Flood thought differently. The next morning, in the postscript to a note on another subject, he mentioned that he continued of the same opinion as on the preceding day, and subjoined the lines above given."

P. 466, l. 8, for and, *read*—or.

P. 468, l. 5, after him, *read*—often.

P. 469, l. 12, after sense, *read*—and a very attentive and minute survey of real life.

Ibid., l. 16, after in general, *read*—have not much of that splendour but are rather distinguished by strong sentiment, and acute observation conveyed in harmonious and energetic verse.

P. 471, ll. 2 and 3, *read*—his piety being constant and the ruling, etc., and after conduct, *read*—Such was SAMUEL JOHNSON, a man whose talents, acquirements, and virtues, were so extraordinary that the more his character is considered, the more he will be regarded by the present age and by posterity, with admiration and reverence.

OMISSIONS

Vol. II., p. 30, l. 27, for Bender, *read*—Belgrade.

Vol. II., p. 162, l. 12, on *authors* put the following note—There has probably been some mistake as to the terms of this supposed extraordinary contract, the recital of which from hearsay afforded Johnson so much play for his sportive acuteness. Or if it was worded as he supposed, it is so strange that I should conclude it was a joke. Mr Gardner, I am assured, was a worthy and a liberal man.

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A CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE

OF THE

PROSE WORKS* OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

[*N.B.*—To those which he himself acknowledged is added *acknowl.* To those which may be fully believed to be his from internal evidence, is added *intern. evid.*]

1735. Abridgement and translation of Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia. *acknowl.*

1738. Part of a translation of Father Paul Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent. *acknowl.*

[*N.B.*—As this work, after some sheets were printed, suddenly stopped, I know not whether any part of it is now to be found.]

For the Gentleman's Magazine

Preface. *intern. evid.*

Life of Father Paul. *acknowl.*

1739. A complete vindication of the Licensor of the Stage from the malicious and scandalous aspersions of Mr Brooke, author of *Gustavus Vasa*, *acknowl.*

Marmor Norfolciense : or, an Essay on an ancient prophetic inscription in monkish rhyme, lately discovered near Lynne in Norfolk ; by PROBUS BRITANNICUS. *acknowl.*

For the Gentleman's Magazine

Life of Boerhave. *acknowl.*

Address to the Reader. *intern. evid.*

Appeal to the public in Behalf of the Editor. *intern. evid.*

Considerations on the case of Dr Trapp's Sermons ; a plausible attempt to prove that an author's work may be abridged without injuring his property. *acknowl.*

1740. *For the Gentleman's Magazine*

Preface. *intern. evid.*

Life of Admiral Drake. *acknowl.*

Life of Admiral Blake. *acknowl.*

Life of Philip Barretier. *acknowl.*

Essay on Epitaphs. *acknowl.*

* I do not here include his Poetical Works ; for, excepting his Latin Translation of Pope's *Messiah*, his *London*, and his *Vanity of Human Wishes*, imitated from Juvenal ; his *Prologue* on the opening of Drury Lane Theatre, by Mr Garrick, and his *Irene, a Tragedy*, they are very numerous, and in general short ; and I have promised a complete edition of them, in which I shall with the utmost care ascertain their authenticity, and illustrate them with notes and various readings.

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1741. *For the Gentleman's Magazine*
 Preface. *intern. evid.*
 A free translation of the jests of Hierocles, with an introduction, *intern. evid.*
 Debate on the *Humble Petition and Advice* of the Rump Parliament to Cromwell in 1657, to assume the Title of King; abridged, methodised and digested. *intern. evid.*
 Translation of Abbe Guyon's Dissertation on the Amazons, *intern. evid.*
 Translation of Fontenelle's Panegyric on Dr Morin. *intern. evid.*
1742. *For the Gentleman's Magazine*
 Preface. *intern. evid.*
 Essay on the Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. *acknowl.*
 An Account of the Life of Peter Burman. *acknowl.*
 The Life of Sydenham, afterwards prefixed to Dr Swan's Edition of his Works. *acknowl.*
 Proposals for printing Bibliotheca Harleiana, or a Catalogue of the Library of the Earl of Oxford, afterwards prefixed to the first Volume of that Catalogue, in which the Latin Accounts of the Books were written by him. *acknowl.*
 Abridgement entitled, Foreign History, *intern. evid.*
 Essay on the description of China, From the French of Du Halde. *intern. evid.*
1743. Dedication to Dr Mead of Dr James's Medicinal Dictionary. *intern. evid.*
For the Gentleman's Magazine
 Preface. *intern. evid.*
 Parliamentary Debates, under the name of Debates in the Senate of Lilliput, from Nov. 19, 1740, to Feb. 23, 1742-1743, inclusive. *acknowl.*
 Considerations on the Dispute between Crousaz and Warburton on Pope's Essay on Man, *intern. evid.*
 A Letter announcing that the Life of Mr Savage was speedily to be published by a Person who was favoured with his Confidence. *intern. evid.*
 Advertisement for Osborne concerning the Harleian Catalogue. *intern. evid.*
1744. Life of Richard Savage. *acknowl.*
 Preface to the Harleian Miscellany. *acknowl.*
For the Gentleman's Magazine
 Preface. *intern. evid.*
1745. Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth, with remarks on Sir T. H.'s (Sir Thomas Hanmer's) Edition of Shakspeare, and Proposals for a new edition of that Poet. *acknowl.*

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1747. Plan for a Dictionary of the ENGLISH LANGUAGE, addressed to Philip Dormer Earl of Chesterfield. *acknowl.*
 1748. Life of Roscommon in the Gentleman's Magazine. *acknowl.*

For DODSLEY PRECEPTOR

- Preface. *acknowl.*
 Vision of Theodore the Hermit, *acknowl.*
 1750. THE RAMBLER, the first paper of which was published 20th of March this Year, and the last 17th of March 1752, the Day on which Mrs Johnson died. *acknowl.*
 Letter in the General Advertiser to excite the attention of the Public to the Performance of Comus, which was next day to be acted at Drury Lane Playhouse for the Benefit of Milton's Granddaughter. *acknowl.*
 Preface and Postscript to Lauder's Pamphlet entitled "An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise Lost." *acknowl.*
 1751. Life of Cheynel in the Miscellany called "The Student." *acknowl.*
 Letter for Lauder, addressed to the Reverend Dr John Douglas, acknowledging his Fraud concerning Milton in Terms of suitable Contrition. *acknowl.*
 Dedication to the Earl of Middlesex of Mrs Charlotte Lennox's "Female Quixote." *intern. evid.*
 1753. Dedication to John Earl of Orrery, of Shakspeare Illustrated, by Mrs Charlotte Lennox. *acknowl.*
 During this and the following year he wrote and gave to his much loved friend Dr Bathurst the Papers in the Adventurer, signed T. *acknowl.*
 1754. Life of Edward Cave in the Gentleman's Magazine. *acknowl.*
 1755. A DICTIONARY, with a Grammar and History of the ENGLISH LANGUAGE. *acknowl.*
 An Account of an Attempt to ascertain the Longitude at Sea, by an exact Theory of the Variations of the Magnetical Needle, with a Table of the Variations at the most remarkable Cities in Europe from the Year 1660 to 1860. *acknowl.* This he wrote for Mr Zachariah Williams, an ingenious ancient Welsh Gentleman, Father of Mrs Anna Williams whom he for many Years kindly lodged in his House. It was published with a Translation into Italian by Signor Baretta. In a Copy of it which he presented to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is pasted a Character of the late Mr Zachariah Williams, plainly written by Johnson. *intern. evid.*
 1756. An Abridgement of his Dictionary. *acknowl.*
 Several Essays in The Universal Visitor, which there is some difficulty in ascertaining. All that are marked with two Asterisks have been ascribed to him, although I am confident from internal Evidence, that we should except from these "The Life of Chaucer," "Reflections

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on the State of Portugal," and "An Essay on Architecture": And from the same Evidence I am confident that he wrote "Further Thoughts on Agriculture," and "A Dissertation on the State of Literature and Authors." The Dissertation on the Epitaphs written by Pope he afterwards acknowledged, and added to his "Idler."

Life of Sir Thomas Browne prefixed to a new Edition of his Christian Morals. *acknowl.*

In the *Literary Magazine; or, Universal Review*, which began in January 1756.

His *Original Essays* are:

Preliminary Address. *intern., evid.*

An Introduction to the Political State of Great Britain. *intern. evid.*

Remarks on the Militia Bill, *intern. evid.*

Observations on his Britannic Majesty's Treaties with the Empress of Russia and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. *intern. evid.*

Observations on the Present State of Affairs. *intern. evid.*

Memoirs of Frederick III. King of Prussia. *intern. evid.*

In the same Magazine his *Reviews* are of the following Books:

"Birch's History of the Royal Society."—"Browne's Christian Morals."—"Warton's Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, Vol. I."—"Hampton's Translation of Polybius."—"Sir Isaac Newton's Arguments in Proof of a Deity."—"Borlase's History of the Isles of Scilly."—"Home's Experiments on Bleaching."—"Browne's History of Jamaica."—"Hales on Distilling Sea Waters, Ventilators in Ships, and curing an ill Taste in Milk."—"Lucas's Essay on Waters."—"Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops."—"Philosophical Transactions, Vol. XLIX."—"Miscellanies by Elizabeth Harrison."—"Evans's Map and Account of the Middle Colonies in America."—"The Cadet, a Military Treatise."—"The Conduct of the Ministry relating to the present War impartially examined." *intern. evid.*

"Mrs Lennox's Translation of Sully's Memoirs."—"Letter on the Case of Admiral Byng."—"Appeal to the People concerning Admiral Byng."—"Hanway's Eight Days Journey, and Essay on Tea."—"Some further particulars in Relation to the Case of Admiral Byng, by a Gentleman of Oxford." *acknowl.*

Mr Jonas Hanway having written an angry Answer to the Review of his Essay on Tea, Johnson in the same collection made a Reply to it. *acknowl.* This is the only Instance, it is believed, when he condescended to take Notice of any thing that had been written against him; and here his chief Intention seems to have been to make Sport.

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- Dedication to the Earl of Rochford of, and Preface to, Mr Payne's Introduction to the Game of Draughts. *acknowl.*
- Introduction to the London Chronicle, an Evening Paper which still subsists with deserved credit. *acknowl.*
1757. Speech on the Subject of an Address to the Throne after the Expedition to Rochefort; delivered by one of his Friends in some public Meeting: it is printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for October 1785. *intern. evid.*
- The first two Paragraphs of the Preface to Sir William Chambers's Designs of Chinese Buildings, etc. *acknowl.*
1758. THE IDLER, which began April 5, in this year, and was continued till April 5, 1760. *acknowl.*
- An Essay on the Bravery of the English Common Soldiers was added to it when published in Volumes. *acknowl.*
1759. Rasselas Prince of Abyssinia, a Tale. *acknowl.*
- Advertisement for the Proprietors of the Idler against certain Persons who pirated those Papers as they came out singly in a Newspaper called the Universal Chronicle or Weekly Gazette. *intern. evid.*
- For Mrs Charlotte Lennox's English Version of Brumoy—"A Dissertation on the Greek Comedy," and the General Conclusion of the Book. *intern. evid.*
- Introduction to the World Displayed, a Collection of Voyages and Travels. *acknowl.*
- Three Letters in the Gazetteer, concerning the best Plan for Blackfriars Bridge. *acknowl.*
1760. Address of the Painters to George III. on his Accession to the Throne. *intern. evid.*
- Dedication of Baret's Italian and English Dictionary to the Marquis of Abreu, then Envoy-Extraordinary from Spain at the Court of Great Britain. *intern. evid.*
- Review in the Gentleman's Magazine of Mr Tytler's acute and able Vindication of Mary Queen of Scots. *acknowl.*
- Introduction to the Proceedings of the Committee for Clothing the French Prisoners. *acknowl.*
1761. Preface to Rolt's Dictionary of Trade and Commerce. *acknowl.*
- Corrections and Improvements for Mr Gwyn the Architect's Pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on the Coronation of George III." *acknowl.*
1762. Dedication to the King of the Reverend Dr Kennedy's Complete System of Astronomical Chronology, unfolding the Scriptures, Quarto Edition. *acknowl.*
- Concluding Paragraph of that Work. *intern. evid.*
- Preface to the Catalogue of the Artists' Exhibition. *intern. evid.*
1763. Character of Collins in the Poetical Calendar, published by Fawkes and Woty. *acknowl.*
- Dedication to the Earl of Shaftesbury of the Edition of Roger Ascham's English Works, published by the Reverend Mr Bennet. *acknowl.*

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- The Life of Ascham, also prefixed to that edition. *acknowl.*
 Review of Telemachus, a Masque, by the Reverend George Graham of Eton College, in the Critical Review. *acknowl.*
 Dedication to the Queen of Mr Hoole's Translation of Tasso. *acknowl.*
 1763. Account of the Detection of the Imposture of the Cock-Lane Ghost, published in the Newspapers and Gentleman's Magazine. *acknowl.*
 1764. Part of a Review of Grainger's "Sugar Cane, a Poem," in the London Chronicle. *acknowl.*
 Review of Goldsmith's Traveller, a Poem, in the Critical Review. *acknowl.*
 1765. The Plays of William Shakspeare, with Notes, *acknowl.*
 1766. The Fountains, a Fairy Tale, in Mrs Williams's Miscellanies. *acknowl.*
 1767. Dedication to the King of Mr Adams's Treatise on the Globes. *acknowl.*
 1769. Character of the Reverend Mr Zachariah Mudge, in the London Chronicle. *acknowl.*
 1770. The False Alarm. *acknowl.*
 1771. Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands. *acknowl.*
 1772. Defence of a Schoolmaster; dictated to me for the House of Lords. *acknowl.*
 Argument in Support of the Law of *Vicious Intromission*; dictated to me for the Court of Session in Scotland. *acknowl.*
 1773. Preface to Macbean's "Dictionary of Ancient Geography." *acknowl.*
 Argument in Favour of the Rights of Lay Patrons; dictated to me for the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. *acknowl.*
 1774. The Patriot. *acknowl.*
 1775. A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland. *acknowl.*
 Proposals for publishing the Works of Mrs Charlotte Lennox, in Three Volumes Quarto. *acknowl.*
 Preface to Baretti's Easy Lessons in Italian and English. *intern. evid.*
 Taxation no Tyranny; an Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress. *acknowl.*
 Argument on the Case of Dr Memis; dictated to me for the Court of Session in Scotland. *acknowl.*
 Argument to prove that the Corporation of Stirling was corrupt; dictated to me for the House of Lords. *acknowl.*
 1776. Argument in Support of the Right of immediate, and personal apprehension from the Pulpit; dictated to me. *acknowl.*
 Proposals for publishing an Analysis of the Scotch Celtic Language, by the Reverend William Shaw. *acknowl.*
 1777. Dedication to the King of the Posthumous Works of Dr Pearce, Bishop of Rochester. *acknowl.*
 Additions to the Life and Character of that Prelate; prefixed to those Works. *acknowl.*
 Various Papers and Letters in Favour of the Reverend Dr Dodd. *acknowl.*

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1780. Advertisement for his Friend Mr Thrale to the Worthy Electors of the Borough of Southwark. *acknowl.*
The first Paragraph of Mr Thomas Davies's Life of Garrick. *acknowl.*
1784. Prefaces Biographical and Critical to the Works of the most eminent English Poets; afterwards published with the Title of Lives of the English Poets, *acknowl.*
Argument on the Importance of the Registration of Deeds; dictated to me for an Election Committee of the House of Commons. *acknowl.*
On the Distinction between Tory and Whig; dictated to me. *acknowl.*
On Vicarious Punishments, and the great Propitiation for the Sins of the World, by Jesus CHRIST; dictated to me. *acknowl.*
Argument in favour of Joseph Knight an African Negro, who claimed his Liberty in the Court of Session in Scotland, and obtained it; dictated to me. *acknowl.*
Defence of Mr Robertson, Printer of the Caledonian Mercury against the Society of Procurators in Edinburgh, for having inserted in his Paper a ludicrous Paragraph against them; demonstrating that it was not an injurious Libel; dictated to me. *acknowl.*
1782. The greatest Part, if not the whole, of a Reply, by the Reverend Mr Shaw, to a Person at Edinburgh of the Name of Clark, refuting his arguments for the authenticity of the Poems published by Mr James Macpherson as Translations from Ossian. *intern. evid.*
1784. List of the Authors of the Universal History, deposited in the British Museum, and printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for December this year. *acknowl.*

Various Years

- Letters to Mrs Thrale. *acknowl.*
Prayers and Meditations, which he delivered to the Rev. Mr Strahan, enjoining him to publish them. *acknowl.*
Sermons *left for Publication* by John Taylor, LL.D., Prebendary of Westminster, and given to the World by the Reverend Samuel Hayes, A.M. *intern. evid.*

Such was the number and variety of the Prose Works of this extraordinary man, which I have been able to discover and am at liberty to mention, but we ought to keep in mind, that there must undoubtedly have been many more which are yet concealed; and we may add to the account, the numerous Letters which he wrote, of which a considerable part are yet unpublished. It is hoped that those persons in whose possession they are, will favour the world with them.

JAMES BOSWELL.

*Printed by the Riverside Press Limited
Edinburgh*

