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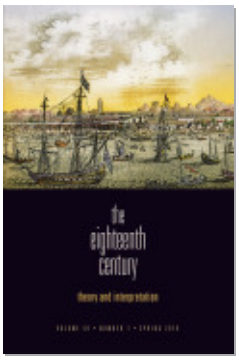

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Johnson's Textual Landscape

David Francis Taylor
University of Warwick

Samuel Johnson's encounter with *Macbeth* in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775) represents his last significant engagement with Shakespeare. I use the word *encounter* advisedly, because it suggests exactly the embodied nature of Johnson's experience of the play in this text. In contrast to his exertions as a Shakespearean editor, *Macbeth* is in this last account not just a text to be read or a drama to be seen but a landscape, rich in resonances, to be inhabited and traveled, for Johnson and James Boswell cross the Hardmuir, the site, close to the town of Forres, identified by tradition as the place where Macbeth and Banquo first meet the weird sisters. Their traversing of this locale animates Johnson (and Boswell watching Johnson) in ways that disclose much about both his personal investment in the tragedy and the ideological work that "Shakespeare"—the cultural and political construct that Johnson had an important hand in shaping—could and did perform in the later eighteenth century. For Johnson, that is, the traveled environment of the Hardmuir offers Shakespeare's drama as a lived, sensory experience, and his description of it reveals—far more clearly than his 1765 edition of the *Plays*, one might argue—just what it is that Johnson *does* with Shakespeare.

In the longer, first part of this essay I subject just a few lines of the *Journey* to considerable scrutiny as a means of parsing the particular cultural values and judgments that freight Johnson's excursion through the topography of *Macbeth*. The site where Johnson experiences Shakespeare's play as "classic ground" is also, I wish to suggest, the point at which he feels civilization to recede from view; *Macbeth* marks for Johnson a boundary that is at once topographical, historical, and political. If the text is here a landscape then the landscape is also a text, and the wild scenery of Scotland thereby is made legible for the cultured English tourist by way of an act of inscription, of allusion as a kind of annexation. Johnson would seem to use Shakespeare to colonize this little corner of Scotland. Yet such a reading assumes a neat division between nature and culture, and the more we interrogate Johnson's account the more porous that dis-

tinction becomes. For one, the Hardmuir is an environment that had already been marked with particular cultural and political significance, that had already been transformed into a "text." As contemporary Scottish critiques of the *Journey* were quick to point out, Johnson in fact offers an alternative means of reading the land's history—of rendering the land as history—and thus, crucially, of putting it to use.

More importantly, and as Pat Rogers reminds us, we need to keep in mind that Johnson's tour of Scotland with Boswell in 1773 was a willful "flight from his upbringing and education" and "an ordeal of testing by the unfamiliar."[1] Where once this experiment was thought to have yielded certitudes of a discernably Johnsonian kind, more recent criticism has registered the *Journey*'s texture of self-interrogation and equivocality. As Mary Poovey and Ruth Mack argue, this is a book that enacts a questioning and, to some extent, an undoing of the epistemological and sociological taxonomies central to Johnson's thought in particular and the Enlightenment project in general.[2] Johnson's encounter with the Shakespearean landscape can be seen to catalyze this process. Throughout his life, his special interest in *Macbeth* was soldered to an enduring fascination with the supernatural, and in the *Journey* the play fosters a willingness to accommodate the non-rational, to turn from the protocols of proof to those of belief. To be sure, this doesn't entirely acquit Johnson of the charge of cultural imperialism but it does suggest that *Macbeth* is for him something more than a repository of English values to be imported into an alien land; it also facilitates a movement beyond certainty.

In the shorter, second portion of this essay I then consider Boswell's rather different version of the same point in their trip in his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785). For Boswell, the Hardmuir, and also "Macbeth's castle" at Inverness, provide opportunities less to record Johnson on Shakespeare and more to unfold the drama of Johnson *in* Shakespeare. Boswell's descriptions of his and Johnson's encounter with the topography of *Macbeth* privilege acts of speaking, of the recitation of Shakespearean verse, in ways that transform editor into actor while at the same time positing Boswell as a necessary protagonist in this Johnsonian enactment. Against Johnson's insistent derision of the profession of the player and his often-anxious dismissals of David Garrick's achievements on the stage—successes that challenged both Johnson's status as the preeminent cultural authority on Shakespeare and the primacy of editorial labor in the project of canonicity—the Johnson of Boswell's *Tour* is, implicitly, a figure capable of rivalling Garrick as a Shakespearean performer. Here, then, Shakespeare is pressed into service in order to monumentalize Johnson as an archetypal Englishman; far more than in the *Journey*, Boswell's *Tour* uses *Macbeth* firmly to establish the unbridgeable cultural difference between Johnson and the world of the Highlands, a juxtaposition of values in which Boswell delights and which he works hard to engineer.

I. WORKING SHAKESPEARE

Johnson finds himself in the land of *Macbeth* early in the *Journey*. The traveling pair has just left Elgin, a town that Johnson judges to be "a place of little trade, and thinly inhabited." As we will see, this concern with the absence of commercial activity informs the brief but remarkable passage that follows:

> We went forwards the same day to Fores, the town to which Macbeth was travelling, when he met the weird sisters in his way. This to an Englishman is classic ground. Our imaginations were heated, and our thoughts recalled to their old amusements.
>
> We had now a prelude to the Highlands. We began to leave fertility and culture behind us, and saw for a great length of road nothing but heath.[3]

What is most striking here is that Johnson first lays claim to this place as an "Englishman"—a word that, throughout the *Journey*, is used in contradistinction to that of "Scot"—and then immediately complicates this gesture by admitting Boswell, both a Scot and a self-professed "citizen of the world," into the experience he traces. The pronoun "our" pulls in two directions, at once reaffirming the proprietorial impulse of the preceding sentence and also drawing into its orbit someone who is manifestly not English. Johnson refuses to annex either the landscape or the affective response that it elicits to the self alone. Even as a crude expression of territorialization, the planting of a flag as it were, Johnson's description troubles itself. Do these lines weaken the ideological coherence of "Englishness" as a cultural construct—immediately eroding the very distinctions they inscribe—or do they rather assimilate Boswell, as a fellow "bardolater" and member of the London literati, in a manner which in fact buttresses such nationhood by quietly insisting that Englishness has far more to do with a discrete set of cultural values and affective affiliations than with arbitrary geographical boundaries?

This friction between the physical, bounded territory of the state and figurative domain of culture (a figure that is, in part, always already reified) is especially acute in Johnson's use of the consecrating phrase "classic ground," which he borrows from Joseph Addison's "Letter from Italy" (1704):

> For wheresoe're I turn my ravisht Eyes,
> Gay gilded Scenes and shining Prospects rise,
> Poetic Fields encompass me around,
> And still I seem to tread on Classic Ground;
> For here the Muse so oft her Harp has strung,
> That not a Mountain rears its Head unsung.[4]

To Addison's eyes—eyes that are not just "ravisht" but also highly educated and unusually alert to historical resonance—the landscapes of Italy are satu-

rated with literary associations. As Cian Duffy writes, the notion of "classic ground" advanced here involves an "amalgamation of physical and imaginative geography" and "the inscription of cultural values on environments and features."[5] It suggests, moreover, an act in which seeing and not seeing are utterly entwined: to look at a place but behold in it something *not* there, at least in topographical terms, something somewhere else. Addison gazes at the Italian landscape and finds, to his unabashed pleasure, an image of his own cultural capital reflected back at him. These are lines that Johnson knew well, for in *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) he uses the key couplet—"Poetic Fields encompass me around, / And still I seem to tread on Classic Ground"—to support his definition of "classic" as "Relating to antique authors; relating to literature."[6] In declaring this part of Scotland to be "classic ground," then, Johnson undertakes an act of canonization. In his "Preface to Shakespeare" of 1765, he maintains that Shakespeare "may now begin to assume the dignity of an ancient, and claim the privilege of established fame and prescriptive veneration."[7] Ten years on, Shakespeare is no longer on the cusp of greatness. Invoking both Addison and his own definition of what constitutes a classic, Johnson uses his arrival in the landscape of *Macbeth* to bestow upon Shakespeare the status of "antique author" in no uncertain terms.

Yet the relationship between topography and canon in this part of Scotland is markedly different from that of Addison's Italy. There, literary travelers may visit the locales where the great Latin poets and orators lived, worked, and were buried: "here the Muse so oft her Harp has strung." Addison articulates the primary impulse, the ideology, of the Grand Tour—whereby gentlemen receive classical culture as a social and political inheritance—but the terms of his rapture also prefigure the practices of the modern heritage industry, which fosters intimate emotional connections between reader-tourists and dead authors by insisting that the sometime presence of a writer can be understood, or rather felt, to have imprinted itself on the physical landscape. The dead poet haunts the sites of her life; space offers a strange, affective bridge between the then and the now. This kind of literary tourism is, properly speaking, a nineteenth-century invention—it was at that time, Nicola Watson suggests, that one witnesses "a growing desire to locate the author within a place or places conceived of as organically connected both to the physical person and to the literary corpus"—but Garrick's 1769 Jubilee in Stratford-upon-Avon is nonetheless an obvious inception point for the modern concept of heritage.[8] However, Johnson's description of the Hardmuir conforms to the models of neither the Grand Tour (of which, as Rogers argues, his Scottish excursion provided an inversion) nor heritage tourism.[9] First, this encounter is, at it were, incidental; the Hardmuir is neither the object of Johnson's travel, nor its endpoint. It is merely a place through which he must venture to get somewhere else. This is a journey *to* the western islands. Second, and unlike Addison's Italy or Garrick's Stratford, the Hardmuir is a place the author

never visited, never set eyes on, and, at least in 1773, there is nothing specific about the contours of this landscape that might call to mind *Macbeth*. It is, then, a peculiar place—in the sense of topography but also in the sense of a point in Johnson's narrative and a point in his scholarly career—for such a gesture of canonization.

In fact, this moment is more peculiar still, for Johnson is, quite literally, getting ahead of himself. It is the thought of Forres—and behind this, the memory of Banquo's opening question, "How far is't call'd to Forres?" (I.iii.39)—that exercises Johnson's imagination, but, as becomes clear just a few lines later, he and Boswell do not cross the Hardmuir until the following day: "At Fores we found good accommodation, but nothing worthy of particular remark, and next morning entered upon the road, on which Macbeth heard the fatal prediction; but we traveled on not interrupted by promises of kingdoms."[10] Johnson's prolepsis, his consecration of "classic ground" upon which he has yet to set foot, elicits the care and deliberateness with which he positions *Macbeth*, and Shakespeare, at a particular juncture of his narrative and at a precise spot on the map of his journey: "We had now a prelude to the Highlands. We began to leave fertility and culture behind us, and saw for a great length of road nothing but heath." As Johnson considers what lies ahead and what behind, Shakespeare operates totemically to mark a boundary between the Lowlands and the Highlands, the fertile and the barren, the commercial and the feudal. He calls upon Shakespeare early to adjudicate a variety of differences—not just regarding the nature of the land itself but the extent to which this land is worked and used—and to stand as a horizon line beyond which the kind of society he is familiar and comfortable with suddenly vanishes.

This reading suggests that Johnson's invocation of Shakespeare ultimately is prophylactic. At the opening of the *Journey*, Johnson readily confesses that he was "induced" to make the trip by the presence of Boswell, "whose gaiety of conversation and civility of manners are sufficient to counteract the inconveniencies of travel, in countries less hospitable than we have passed."[11] In the company of the urbane Boswell, Johnson feels himself to be inoculated against the cultural vacuum, and at the very moment Johnson has "a prelude to the Highlands" as the pair head towards Forres, Shakespeare, we might say, functions in the same manner; Johnson calls upon *the* English poet—affirming his prestige as one of the ancients in the process—to provide yet more protection against wildernesses at once topographical and cultural. This is, certainly, as Kevin Hart notes, an act that bespeaks "the naming power of literary culture," but it is also one that leans heavily on Johnson's deeply held conviction of Shakespeare's durability.[12]

Scotland presents Johnson with flux in a variety of ways. In sociological terms, it is a country defined, in his account, by its inbetweenness—no longer truly feudal, following the depredations of post-1745 legislation, but yet to undergo sustained commercialization (as Jonathan Lamb observes, it disarticu-

lates Johnson's stadial view of historical development).[13] Equally, on a personal level, the manifold physical difficulties of the journey confronted Johnson with his own aging body and coincided, Rogers contends, with his "climacteric."[14] And the specific lines in which Johnson cites *Macbeth* are alive to flux of a more local and immediate kind, namely the passage of travel, in particular the movement from one culture to another, a transition that brings with it a consciousness—one that repeatedly bleeds through to the *Journey*'s surface—of the fragility and transience of given cultural ideals. Shakespeare stands, for Johnson, as a figure, an idea, that is impervious to change. "The stream of time, which is continually washing the dissoluble fabricks of other poets, passes without injury by the adamant of Shakespeare," he tells us in the Preface.[15] Like his contemporaries, Deidre Lynch contends, Johnson sought to respond to the ferocious pace of socio-economic transformation by nesting "sites of the eternal" within "the public field of meaning." As Johnson passes into the Highlands, as he prepares to put himself to the test in all manner of ways, Shakespeare tethers him not only to a familiar world, to "home," but also to an embodiment of culture's achievements robust enough to withstand almost any assault. Indeed, the very *idea* of Shakespeare induces in Johnson a kind of epistemological nostalgia, a welcome withdrawal into well-trodden mental pathways of the past: "our thoughts [were] recalled to their old amusements." The mind is its own place. For Johnson, Lynch states, the "classic ground" is "where History ha[s] stood still."[16]

Yet, as its original Addisonian sense suggests, "classic ground" is necessarily foreign, exotic, elsewhere, and the idea of Shakespeare also helps Johnson to negotiate a space and a present that is for him radically unfamiliar. The memory of *Macbeth* is crucial to what he seeks to realize in and upon the topography of Scotland—through the economy of description itself. It enables Johnson to counter what he finds most disquieting about the Scottish landscape: the "hopeless sterility" and "uniformity of barrenness" that seem, to him, to index a failure of human productivity.[17] It is, Katie Trumpener reminds us, precisely the silence of the Scottish landscape, "empty of history or of cultural referents," that compels Johnson to write the *Journey*.[18] The concept of waste, in its many forms, haunts this text: the "waste of reformation" Johnson encounters at St. Andrews and Elgin; the "wastes of *America*" to which the Highland and Hebridean populations are emigrating at an alarming rate; the waste of an oral culture, where "what is once out of sight is lost forever"; and, of course, the "useless heath" that has not been tilled.[19] "Wherever the eye wanders," he writes of Coll, "it sees much waste and little cultivation," and when he immediately follows up his reference to *Macbeth* with the observation that he and Boswell "began to leave fertility and culture behind" them, it is this sense of "culture," as the cultivation of soil, on which he draws.[20] Yet the structure of his writing at this moment, as it shuttles between literary and agricultural conceptions of the land almost as if there were an underlying epistemological link be-

tween the two, fuses this older definition of "culture" with its metaphorical extension in the eighteenth century—a process famously traced by Raymond Williams—as an abstract noun signifying both the refinement of minds or societies and also, crucially, the products of such refinements, a stable of ideals and practices possessed and wielded by an elite.[21] That is, through *Macbeth* Johnson invests barren land with value; collapsing together concrete and abstract senses of "culture," Shakespeare helps Johnson to *work* the land through which he is traveling, to cultivate sterile heath as "classic ground." As John Barrell has argued, there is a surprising but vital connection in the eighteenth century between the agricultural revolution, which sought to modernize the means and scale of agrarian production, and the development of protocols of looking, such as the picturesque, that rigorously determined how people viewed the natural environment. Both, Barrell notes, are underpinned by a desire to "improve" the land. In calling upon *Macbeth*, Johnson puts to use land that is, in his estimation, otherwise use-less.[22]

All of this returns us once more to troubling cultural politics that underwrites Johnson's claiming of this Scottish landscape for the English, which seems to press Shakespeare into the service of "imperial ethnography."[23] Paul Smethurst reads the eighteenth-century narrative of exploration as a form driven by the imperative of "territorialisation," a form about "finding and instilling forms of order in the natural world."[24] Is this not precisely what we have seen Johnson to be doing in his invocation of Shakespeare at the moment he feels himself to cross an invisible border? Certainly, there's no getting away from the fundamental imposition of cultural—and national—values that occurs within the passage I've analyzed at such length, but it is hardly enough simply to posit this gesture as imperial. We must guard ourselves against the naivety of any hermeneutic that longs for an "innocent" look or that predicates itself on the binary of nature/culture. There can be no way of seeing the landscape without the mediating apparatus of memory and culture. The viewed environment is always already a text.

Indeed, what upset early Scottish critics of the *Journey* was not that Johnson had written the English national poet upon the natural landscape of Scotland but rather that he had ignored or effaced a history already inscribed upon it. Andrew Henderson protested that in place of the towns, structures, and landmarks—in short, the signs of human endeavor and achievement—that made the geographical locale distinctive, Johnson had substituted Shakespeare:

> In your perambulation along the east coast of Scotland, you have taken notice of trifles, and passed over things of moment . . . tho' three stately structures, *viz*. Elgin, Kinloss, and Pluscardy can be traced out, and a very high obelisk in commemoration of the defeat of the Danes be still standing, yet all these gave place to the incident of being on the road where Macbeth met the witches, who predicted his advancement to the throne.[25]

The obelisk to which Henderson refers here is a seven-meter-high Pictish sculptured stone located just east of Forres, known as Sueno's Stone. Though in fact of ninth-century origin, Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726) regarded it as a commemoration of Duncan I's victory over one "King *Sueno*" and his invading Danish forces.[26] It would have been clearly visible from the road on which Johnson and Boswell traveled, and Thomas Pennant offered a detailed physical description of it in his *Tour of Scotland* (1771), a book with which Johnson was familiar.[27] Quoting this description in full in his trenchant 1779 critique of Johnson's *Journey*, Donald McNicol was unequivocal about the politics behind Johnson's omission of the Stone: "This monument of Scotch triumph over the Danes," McNicol opined, "who had put England under the yoke, Dr. Johnson did not see, or he did not choose to record an event so much to their honour."[28] At best, Johnson is guilty of inattention; at worst, and more likely in McNicol's estimation, he deliberately suppresses an unmistakable marker of Scottish indomitability and, concomitantly, of English weakness. In fact, there was a rather more prosaic reason for Johnson's neglect of the Stone: "It was dark when we came to Fores last night; so we did not see what is called King Duncan's monument," Boswell attests.[29] Yet the charge advanced against the *Journey* by Henderson and McNicol nonetheless is useful to us in that it conceives of two competing readings—textualizations—of this specific landscape, and by setting these readings beside one another the political implications of Johnson's engagement with the land do emerge with greater clarity.

According to the account given in Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, the Sueno Stone specifically marked the success of a campaign in which Macbeth and Bancho (Banquo) played pivotal military roles.[30] The figures carved in relief into the stone—"animals and armed men, with colors flying: some of the men . . . bound like captives"—thus offer a different "text" of Macbeth to that of Shakespeare's tragedy, one which told of a nation that was robust and unified rather than fatally divided; for Gordon, as later for Henderson and McNicol, the Sueno Stone celebrated a self-sufficient Scotland. Such cultural nationalism sits uneasily beside Johnson's understanding of *Macbeth*. In his *Miscellaneous Observations* of 1745 (in notes repeated in his 1765 edition), Johnson insists on approaching the play as a specifically Jacobean text, not only because this context—in which it was "criminal" to doubt the existence of witchcraft—legitimizes Shakespeare's recourse to supernatural machinery but also, more importantly, because, in light of the views laid out in James I's *Daemonologie* (1599), such occult subject matter was "the ready way to gain K. *James*'s Favour."[31] *Macbeth* is more than a Stuart text; it is a panegyric to the new Scottish monarch of England. In his *Dramatic Micellanies* (1783), the bookseller Thomas Davies expresses the thrust of this exegesis more explicitly still. With the "English and Scotch, united under one king," Davies argues, Shakespeare "chose a subject" with care and showed the "lawful heir to the crown of Scotland . . . honourably maintained and supported, in the court of an English

king" as "a fair and honourable method of making court to both English and Scotch."[32] For Davies as for Johnson, *Macbeth* is a play that at once dramatizes and enacts the union of the two countries. In a work that exalts the beneficial effects of the 1707 Union, and at a moment when he feels himself to traverse the cultural border separating England and the Lowlands from the Highlands, Johnson invokes a play that, for him, seeks to build effective cultural and political relays between Britons north and south.[33] Where Sueno's Stone—like James Macpherson's Ossian, an object that certainly *does* catch Johnson's attention—reaffirms a romantic, nationalist vision of a culturally distinct and militarily resilient Scotland, Johnson's Shakespeare is, we might say, a monument to shared histories and to an idea of Britain rather than England (or Scotland). This is not to deny the latent colonialism of Johnson's consecration of the Hardmuir as "classic ground"; it is, instead, to suggest that the ideological violence of this complex passage resides just as much in Johnson's repetition of the pronoun "our"—with all that it brings, or forces, together—as in the term "Englishman."

Henderson's issue with Johnson is not just one of politics, however; his point also concerns the question of method and what he regards as Johnson's privileging of an associative mode of looking over an attention to what is actually there, in the immediate landscape. This is not just to note (as has been done since the very moment of the *Journey*'s publication) the difference between Johnson, the philosophical traveler, and Pennant, the avowed antiquarian whose own interest in *Macbeth* is driven by "real concern to find any historical authenticity" in the drama.[34] Nor is it simply to read the passage in terms of that familiar Johnsonian movement from the particular to the general. Rather, it is to register the primarily *affective* quality of Johnson's experience of the landscape at this point: "Our imaginations were heated," he comments. For Johnson, imagination was, first and foremost, "the power of forming ideal pictures; the power of representing things absent to one's self or others"—a definition that readily captures the dialectic of presence and absence we have been tracing in his description of "classic ground." But it is the verb "heated"—suggestive of the "vehemence of passion or desire"—that really interests me, for it expresses a certain loss of discipline, a surrender of the rational self.[35] If Johnson is, as I've suggested, in some sense working the landscape here, then he is in turn being worked, or is getting worked up, by it.

Roger Lonsdale has written of the degree to which Johnson's criticism shows him to be "disconcerted by the intensity of his own emotional responses to drama, particularly to Shakespeare"; he is, again and again, "uneasy about irrational literary pleasures which threaten the reader's self-control and willpower."[36] Upon the "classic ground" of the Hardmuir, and working outside the generic protocols of literary criticism, Johnson succumbs to—or, in positive terms, embraces—the affective dimensions of his appreciation of Shakespeare that elsewhere he finds so troubling. It is important that the specific play that

enables this engagement is *Macbeth*, a text that always takes Johnson into the world of the unexplained, to a place where empirical values and processes are perforce suspended. His enduring fascination with the play, a text to which he returned perhaps more than any other, is keyed to its dramatization of another Johnsonian obsession—the supernatural.[37] Boswell's *Life of Johnson* records, repeatedly and defensively, Johnson's lifelong interest in the existence of spirits, a concern that meshed skepticism, curiosity, and Johnson's well-known fear of death.

This interest pervades Johnson's *Miscellaneous Observations*. Its opening gloss, for instance, on the stage direction "Enter three witches" (I.i), offers a six-page excursus on belief in witchcraft in Jacobean England, at once defending Shakespeare's "Scenes of Enchantment" against those Enlightenment critics who deemed them implausible and indulgently superstitious, and also attesting to Johnson's own obsession with the subject of demonology. The same is true of a later note (no. 35) to Act IV, scene i, again of considerable length, in which Johnson sets out to demonstrate Shakespeare's detailed knowledge of occult practices. Here he discusses witchcraft itself, not merely belief in witchcraft, as a historical phenomenon worthy of serious study: "The common afflictions which the Malice of Witches produced was Melancholy, Fits, and Loss of Flesh," he observes in a statement that tellingly lacks a disclaimer, a qualifying "was thought to have." And Johnson's commentary on Macbeth's description of night—"Now o'er one half the World / Nature seems dead" (II.i.49–50)—brings the famous acknowledgement that "He that peruses *Shakespeare*, looks alarmed, and starts to find himself alone," an almost confessional avowal that recalls the young Johnson's visceral fright at first reading the ghost scene in *Hamlet*.[38] The Shakespearean supernatural, especially as it is played out in *Macbeth*, stimulates an irrational mode of textual involvement that Johnson otherwise seeks to keep in check.[39]

For Francis Gentleman, writing about *Macbeth* in the *Dramatic Censor* (1770), the exhibition of "personages and phantoms as never had existence but in credulous or *heated imaginations*," will invariably "impress superstitious feelings and fears upon weak minds."[40] That such discomfiture was common amongst Johnson's contemporaries signals the distinctness of his experience and use of the play in the *Journey*. Upon the "classic ground" of *Macbeth*, he welcomes the very supercharging of the imagination that worries Gentleman, ascribes unequivocally positive value to a vocabulary that Gentleman uses to diagnose the annihilation of reason, and posits his own "heated" imagination as evidence of a mind that is empowered and not enfeebled by its receptiveness to impression. Description is thus a fraught and even paradoxical act at this point in the *Journey*, for if it furnishes Johnson with "a means of asserting control," as Alison Hickey argues, it is also a process through which he cedes self-control and invites the pleasures of enthrallment.[41] If one way of reading Johnson's invocation of *Macbeth* as he crosses the invisible cultural border into the Highlands is

as a reflex prophylactic gesture, then a second is to understand that through Shakespeare's tragedy Johnson opens himself up both to the affective potential of the landscape and to the idea of mystery. These two interpretations are not, it should be said, mutually exclusive. Rather, they together reveal the strange tensions that inhere in Johnson's writing at this point, as he seems simultaneously to retreat (to England, into the past) and to advance (into the Highlands, towards new kinds of experience).

As Poovey and Mack attest, the *Journey* is a text in which Johnson registers the limits of knowledge, of a strictly empirical approach to the matter of truth. *Macbeth* prepares him for such an accommodation. Leaving Forres and crossing the Hardmuir in actuality, Johnson notes that he and Boswell travel "upon the road, on which Macbeth heard the fatal prediction; but we travelled on not interrupted by promises of kingdoms." For all the irony here, the witches have disappeared and it is a disembodied notion of prophecy alone, of the glimpse of the future in the present, that exercises Johnson's imagination. As he enters the Highlands, he uses *Macbeth* to locate himself, imaginatively and emotionally, within a landscape in which portents and supernatural forces hold a powerful sway. In this way, it is worth remembering the *Dictionary*'s definition of "imagination"—"the power of representing things absent to one's self or others"—as characterized by its capacity to transform absence into presence, to fold together different points in space or time.[42] It is this faculty that is stimulated, "heated," as Johnson travels towards Forres. His willingness to countenance the supernatural and to respond affectively to the connotative contours of the landscape suggests an acceptance—one that would, on the surface, seem to be distinctly *un*Johnsonian—that imagining can be its own form of knowing. In marking out his "classic ground," Johnson establishes both a refuge of the known and an experimental site through which the irrational, the alien, might be securely encountered and explored. Shakespeare "approximates the remote and familiarizes the wonderful," Johnson tells us in the Preface, and it is precisely this oscillation between approximation and remoteness, familiarity and wonder, that *Macbeth* enables as he and Boswell make their way across the heathland.[43]

II. WORKING DR. JOHNSON

I have made much of just a few lines of the *Journey*, returning repeatedly to Johnson's passing mention of *Macbeth* and discovering that it yields something different and yet more complex on each new reading. I am not, though, the first to place such heuristic value upon this brief passage, for in his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* Boswell accords it a special position within his own narrative. Indeed, *Macbeth* is a recursive presence in the *Tour* and, according to Boswell, first comes to Johnson's mind as they traveled through Monboddo, Mearnshire, a full week before they reached the Hardmuir. "We drove over a wild

moor," Boswell records; "It rained, and the scene was somewhat dreary. Dr. Johnson repeated, with solemn emphasis, Macbeth's speech on meeting the witches."[44] Boswell is, of course, more concerned with scene setting than is Johnson, but the more significant difference here is the act of speech, of out-loud quotation, which is absent from the *Journey*'s encounter with *Macbeth*. Johnson's engagement with the landscape of the play is distinctly untheatrical, we might almost say novelistic, in its marked stress on imagination, memory, and, ultimately, interiority. Boswell, on the contrary, not only offers an image of Johnson reciting lines from Shakespeare but even sketches the manner of this delivery in a kind of stage direction: "with solemn emphasis." He narrates this moment as one of performance.

Later, when they cross the Hardmuir itself, it is exactly this performative aspect of Johnson's encounter with the play and, through this, the landscape that Boswell emphasizes:

> In the afternoon, we drove over the very heath where Macbeth met the witches, according to tradition. Dr. Johnson again solemnly repeated
>
> "How far is't called to Fores? What are these,
> So wither'd, and so wild in their attire?
> That look not like the inhabitants o' the earth,
> And yet are on't?"
>
> He repeated a good deal more of *Macbeth*. His recitation was grand and affecting, and, as Sir Joshua Reynolds has observed to me, had no more tone than it should have: it was the better for it.[45]

This is a repeat performance. Johnson has already spoken the lines quoted (I.iii.37–40)—in fact Banquo's, not Macbeth's—and now proceeds to recite further dialogue from the play. Again, Boswell's description attends particularly to Johnson's delivery; he offers, as it were, an acoustic portrait of Johnson's verse-speaking and, betraying an anxious sense of his own partiality, invokes the authority of Reynolds, arbiter of taste and fellow auditor, in support of his assessment. Johnson is moved by the landscape's invisible paths of associations; Boswell is moved by the judicious cadence of Johnson's voice.

Yet, in an abrupt shift in tone that is as much Johnson's as Boswell's, the reverence and intensity of this scene immediately give way to travesty:

> He then parodied the *All-hail* of the witches to Macbeth, addressing himself to me. I had purchased some land called Dalblair; and, as in Scotland it is customary to distinguish landed men by the name of their estates, I had thus two titles, *Dalblair* and Young *Auchinleck*. So my friend, in imitation of
>
> "All hail Macbeth! hail to thee, Thane of Cawdor!"
>
> condescended to amuse himself with uttering
>
> "All hail Dalblair! hail to thee, Laird of Auchinleck!"[46]

The disjunction between Johnson's "solemn" recitation of Banquo's speech and his parody of the witches' prophecy could hardly be greater, and its effect is surely deliberate. In part, such playful appropriation suggests that Johnson keeps *Macbeth*, or more especially its supernatural agencies, securely at arm's length. Parody, as Linda Hutcheon contends, is "repetition with critical distance."[47] We have already noted Boswell's unease with Johnson's willingness to countenance the existence of ghosts—"He has been ignorantly misrepresented as weakly credulous upon that subject," he insists in the *Life*[48]—and in recording this ironic reworking of the weird sisters' famous salutation, Boswell serves to stress Johnson's healthy separateness from superstition and occult belief, even as later portions of the *Tour* minute conversations about witchcraft and apparitions and also vindicate Johnson's interest in "second sight," the faculty of premonition claimed by some of the Highlanders they meet.

More importantly, Boswell evidently delights in such play, even if its ironies come partly at his expense, because the impromptu parody transforms his role here.[49] No longer just a spectator to Johnson's performance of Shakespeare, he is now a participant, an addressee in the unfolding drama, a Macbeth to the great man's witches. Johnson "condescends" because he admits Boswell into his game of literary amusement. As in their use of Latin as a coded language which ensures that they will "not to be understood" by their various Highland hosts, Boswell's reporting of this moment of Shakespearean parody—and the sociability of parody is, of course, predicated on knowingness—affirms Johnson and Boswell as a community of two; they share a kind of cultural capital that distinguishes them from everyone else they meet in the Highlands and Hebrides.[50] On this account, Johnson's sudden switch from grand recitation to parody is less an inversion than a move into another and still more dexterous means of wielding his cultural proficiency.

And the extent to which Boswell uses his journal to underline not only his physical but also his cultural proximity to Johnson emerges more clearly still in his account of their visit to "Macbeth's castle" in Inverness.[51] In the *Journey*, Johnson mentions this (in fact sixteenth-century) site only in passing; he circumspectly describes it only as "a castle, called the castle of Macbeth" and it does not, as the Hardmuir had done, act as an imaginative or affective stimulus for him.[52] For Boswell, though, having carefully studied and twice recorded Johnson's engagement with the Scottish landscape by way of Shakespearean quotation, the castle offers an opportunity for emulation:

> We then went to Macbeth's castle. I had a romantick satisfaction in seeing Dr. Johnson actually in it. It perfectly corresponds with Shakspeare's description, which Sir Joshua Reynolds has so happily illustrated, in one of his notes on our immortal poet:
>
> "This castle hath a pleasant seat: the air
> Nimbly and sweetly recommends itself
> Unto our gentle sense," &c.

> Just as we came out of it, a raven perched on one of the chimney-tops, and croaked. Then I repeated
>
> "—The raven himself is hoarse,
> That croaks the fatal enterance of Duncan
> Under my battlements."[53]

Inspired less by the place itself than the convergence of Shakespearean editor and Shakespearean scene—a convergence he has engineered—Boswell undertakes a performance of his own and recites two short passages from the play. In the manuscript journal, it is clear not only that Boswell speaks aloud the first as well as the second quotation here but also that he uses this act of performance, of mimicry, both to reinforce and to index his emotional and mental stability. "I exulted in comparing my former hypochondriac state when at Inverness with my present soundness and vigour of mind," he writes.[54] The very words of the first quotation—Duncan's upon arriving at Macbeth's castle (I.vi.1–3)—express for Boswell a sense of self-ease, for in repeating them he also cites the opinion of Reynolds (on whom he once more calls for support) that the lines offer "that repose so necessary to the mind after the tumultuous bustle of the preceding scenes."[55] Quoting Shakespeare and thus imitating the reflexes of Johnsonian performance—which stages not just *Macbeth* but also literary and oratorical expertise—has a therapeutic function for Boswell. It is as if, in light of Johnson's parodic address to him, Boswell now feels licensed to participate in a game of recitation that in turn serves to guarantee his strength and peace of mind.

But performance is, of course, a vexed practice for Johnson. Boswell knows this all too well and baits him into a reiteration of such views during a conversation with the lawyer Andrew Crosbie: "nobody imagines," Johnson grumbles, that a performer "is the character he represents. They say, 'See *Garrick!* how he looks to-night! See how he'll clutch the dagger!' That is the buz [*sic*] of the theatre."[56] It is worth noting here that *Macbeth* is evidently a text that travels with Johnson throughout Scotland, but it is Johnson's equal disdain for the average theatergoer and the age's favorite actor that I wish to emphasize; both are seen to collude in substituting for the beauty of Shakespeare a cult of personality. The audience of Drury Lane watches Garrick, not Macbeth or *Macbeth*. Conceding Johnson's notorious "prejudice against players" in the *Life*, Boswell ascribes this bias in part to the failure of Johnson's tragedy *Irene* (1749) and his poor sight and hearing, and in part to Johnson's deep-felt resentment at "being outstripped" by Garrick, his sometime pupil, "in the race of immediate fame."[57] Johnson had lashed Garrick in the *Rambler* in 1752, in a barely coded portrait of the conceited "Prospero," and, though both were members of The Club, their relationship remained fractious, at least on Johnson's side.[58] Garrick is the figure who lurks behind Johnson's many derogatory statements about actors; he was a lightning rod for Johnson's misgivings about the dynamics of theatrical embodiment.[59]

Who else, then, should Boswell feel compelled to write to about his and Johnson's recitations as they navigate the Shakespearean landscape?[60] Towards the close of his *Tour*, Boswell reprints the letter he dispatched to Garrick on 29 August 1773 (the day he and Johnson surveyed the castle at Inverness) along with Garrick's reply, dated 14 September but not received by Boswell until they arrived at Inveraray on 23 October, as they began their return journey south. By including his own letter in full, Boswell recapitulates in considerable detail material that has already been presented to the reader—"We passed over the bleak and blasted heath where Macbeth met the witches. Your old preceptor repeated, with much solemnity, the speech— / 'How far is't to Forres?' "—and also unashamedly draws attention to his management of the whole enterprise and unrivalled intimacy with Johnson.[61] "Here I am, and Mr. Samuel Johnson actually with me," the missive opens, and he goes on, "I have had great romantick satisfaction in seeing Johnson upon the classical scenes of Shakspeare [*sic*] in Scotland," a statement that both restates his own description of beholding Johnson at the castle and also resonates with Johnson's consecration of the landscape around Forres as "classic ground." More crucially still, Boswell offers Garrick an account of his recitation of Lady Macbeth's lines, "The raven himself is hoarse," at Inverness castle.[62] In the space of the letter, then, Boswell brings Johnson's quotation of Shakespeare into immediate relations with his own; the letter posits these acts as intertwined moments in a single performance of verse-speaking and cultural capital, and it does so in an account that specifically addresses a man synonymous with both the theater of the day and, following the Jubilee of 1769, Shakespeare too.

In the *Life*, Boswell tells us that, for Johnson, "whatever might be Garrick's merits in his art, the reward was too great when compared with what the most successful efforts of literary labour could attain."[63] That is, Johnson regarded the privileging of the cultural work of the Shakespearean actor over that of the Shakespearean editor as fallacious and unjust. Performers, in his opinion, tended to mangle the texts: "Many of Shakspeare's [*sic*] plays are the worse for being acted: Macbeth, for instance," Johnson scoffs at one point in the *Life*, while in a later anecdote he informs Sarah Siddons that Garrick "was no declaimer; there was not one of his own scene-shifters who could not have spoken *To be, or not to be*, better than he did."[64] Boswell's *Tour* first records Johnson's avowal that acting ought to be more tempered—that "it should be a man's study to repress those signs of emotion and passion"—and then goes on to showcase Johnson's instrumental demonstration of a correct, measured mode of tragic declamation—one that is "solemn" and which has "no more tone than it should have."[65] In doing so, Boswell quietly re-weights the cultural scales against Garrick. Here, the editor is also the best actor and the expertise requisite to scholarship and criticism is not at odds with the skills of enactment but rather a precondition of proper and effective verse speaking.

And in working Johnson in this manner, Boswell uses Shakespeare firmly to

set him apart, to mark Johnson's difference not only from Garrick but also, and more urgently, from the Scottish landscape. Applauding the success of his endeavors to bring Johnson to Scotland, Boswell writes to Garrick:

> I really looked upon [the trip] as almost as improbable as that "Birnam wood should come to Dunsinane." Indeed, as I have always been accustomed to view him as a permanent London object, it would not be much more wonderful to me to see St Paul's church moving along where we now are.[66]

Boswell's Johnson is, as Murray Pittock notes, "the literary synecdoche of the culture of his country in his era."[67] He stands as the living embodiment of Englishness, of "a *John Bull*," as Boswell remarks at the opening of the *Tour*.[68] And if the transplanting of Christopher Wren's cathedral to the Highlands is one image for the cultural collision, the incongruity, of Johnson in Scotland, then *Macbeth* offers a second. Likening Johnson's presence in this landscape to the seemingly impossible, not to say portentous, movement of Birnam Wood, Boswell's Shakespearean quotation both posits Johnson as a strange and wondrous import and also sutures Johnson and Shakespeare as a single, coherent, immutable cultural "object." That the scene Boswell cites is one of invasion and violent confrontation—of the ambush by stealth of an army raised in England—only amplifies the cultural politics of the juxtaposition at which his letter aims. Where in the *Journey*, *Macbeth* ultimately facilitates Johnson's openness to affective and non-rational forms of experience, to travel as a form of self-testing, even as it anchors him to the familiar space of authorized culture, Boswell's *Tour* contrastingly deploys the play to ossify Johnson, to render him impervious to the change that travel might bring with it. "I flatter myself *servetur ad imum, qualis ab incepto processerit*," Boswell purrs in his letter to Garrick, quoting Horace's *Ars Poetica*: "From his first entrance to the closing scene / Let him one equal character maintain."[69] It is a wish that Garrick readily endorses in his reply: "I hope your pleasure will continue *qualis ab incepto*, &c," he writes.[70] Boswell's metaphorics of permanence transforms Johnson himself into a topographic feature—a wood, a cathedral—and posits his travel to Scotland as a kind of transposition whereby one landscape (metropolitan England) comes to overlay another (Highland Scotland). Fused to Shakespeare, and thereby identified as the living but nonetheless fixed monument of English culture, Johnson himself becomes the "classic ground" of Boswell's account.

NOTES

1. Pat Rogers, *Johnson and Boswell: The Transit of Caledonia* (Oxford, 1995), 26, 65.

2. See Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, 1998), 249–63; and Ruth Mack, "The Limits of the Senses in Johnson's Scotland," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 54, no. 2 (2013): 279–94.

3. Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* [1775], ed. J. D. Fleeman (Oxford, 1985), 18.

4. Joseph Addison, "A Letter from Italy, to the Right Honourable Charles Lord Halli-fax," in *Poetical Miscellanies: The Fifth Part* (London, 1704), 1–12, 2, lines 9–14.

5. Cian Duffy, *The Landscape of the Sublime: Classic Ground* (Basingstoke and New York, 2013), 12, 20. Strangely, Duffy makes no mention of Johnson's *Journey*.

6. Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (London, 1755), vol. 1, s.v. "classic."

7. Johnson, "Preface to Shakespeare," in *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. Arthur Sherbo, vol. 7 of *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven, 1968), 59–113, 61.

8. Nicola J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke and New York, 2006), 31. For the role played by Johnson's *Journey* in catalyzing the Scottish tourist industry, see John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, *Imagin-ing Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750* (Alder-shot, 1995), 42, 45–47.

9. Rogers, 6.

10. Johnson, *Journey*, 18–19. All scene and line references are taken from William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford, 2005), 969–94.

11. Johnson, *Journey*, 1.

12. Kevin Hart, *Samuel Johnson and the Culture of Property* (Cambridge, 1999), 112.

13. Jonathan Lamb, "Anthropology," in *Samuel Johnson in Context*, ed. Jack Lynch (Cambridge, 2012), 109–17, 115–16.

14. See Rogers, 10–29.

15. Johnson, "Preface to Shakespeare," 70.

16. Deidre Lynch, "'Beating the Track of the Alphabet': Samuel Johnson, Tourism, and the ABCs of Modern Authority," *ELH* 57, no. 2 (1990): 357–405, 370, 364.

17. Johnson, *Journey*, 31. See Alison Hickey, "'Extensive Views' in Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*," *SEL* 32–33 (1992): 537–53. Hickey notes that the *Journey* is "a book about value" in all its meanings (544).

18. Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton, 1997), 71.

19. Johnson, *Journey*, 17, 69, 52, 117.

20. Johnson, *Journey*, 104.

21. Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York, 1985), 87–93.

22. John Barrell, *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1730–1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare* (Cambridge, 1972), 60–62.

23. Trumpener, 68.

24. Paul Smethurst, *Travel Writing and the Natural World, 1768–1840* (Basingstoke, 2012), 181.

25. Andrew Henderson, *A Letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson, on His Journey to the Western Isles* (London, [1775?]), 37.

26. Alexander Gordon, *Itinerarium Septentrionale: or, A Journey Thro' most of the Counties of Scotland, and Those in the North of England* (London, 1726), 159.

27. See Thomas Pennant, *A Tour of Scotland. MDCCLXIX* (Chester, 1771), 130–31.

28. Donald McNicol, *Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides* (London, 1779), 53.

29. James Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, vol. 5 of *The Life of Johnson*, ed. George Birkbeck Norman Hill and L. F. Powell, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1934–64), 307. Hence-forth, this volume is cited as *Tour* and by page number only, so as to distinguish it from Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, which comprises the first four volumes of the Hill and Powell edition and which therefore is cited (as *Life*) by both volume and page number.

30. Gordon, 156–57.

31. Johnson, *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth* (1745), in *Johnson on Shakespeare*, 5.

32. Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Micellanies: Consisting of Critical Observations on Several Plays of Shakespeare*, 3 vols. (London, 1783), 2:113–14.

33. For Johnson's views of the 1707 Union, see *Journey*, 3–4, 21.

34. Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland; MDCCLXIX*, 4th ed. (London, 1776), 135.

35. Johnson, *Dictionary*, entries for "imagination" and "to heat."

36. Roger Lonsdale, introduction to *The Lives of the Poets*, by Samuel Johnson, 4 vols. (Oxford, 2006), 1:1–185, 111.

37. In addition to *Miscellaneous Observations* and the 1765 *Plays*, Johnson discussed the "low words" of *Macbeth* in *Rambler* No. 168 (26 Oct. 1751).

38. Johnson, *Johnson on Shakespeare*, 3–7, 32–35, 20. For the anecdote of the young Johnson reading *Hamlet* see *The Beauties of Samuel Johnson* (London, 1787), xvii.

39. For discussions of Johnson's interest in the Shakespearean supernatural, see B. D. Cosgrove, "Samuel Johnson and the Supernatural in Shakespeare," *The New Rambler* C:XV (1974): 1–21; and G. F. Parker, *Johnson's Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1989), 111–26.

40. Francis Gentleman, *The Dramatic Censor; or, Critical Companion*, 2 vols. (London, 1770), 1:79.

41. See Hickey, 539.

42. It is worth noting the striking correspondences between this definition of "imagination" and Johnson's summary of second sight as "an impression made either by the mind upon the eye, or by the eye upon the mind, by which things distant or future are perceived, and seen as if they were present" (Johnson, *Journey*, 89).

43. Johnson, "Preface to Shakespeare," 65.

44. Boswell, *Tour*, 76.

45. Boswell, *Tour*, 115–16.

46. Boswell, *Tour*, 116.

47. Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms* (Methuen, 1985), 6.

48. Boswell, *Life*, 1:406.

49. Johnson's mock hailing of Boswell is a gesture mordantly repeated by the verse satirist John Wolcott, a. k. a. "Peter Pindar," in his *Poetical and Congratulatory Epistle to James Boswell, Esq. On His Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (London, 1786), 2: "All hail! . . . ambitious Thane."

50. Boswell, *Tour*, 321.

51. For Boswell's use of the *Tour* to establish his own credentials to narrate Johnson, see John R. Radner, "Constructing an Adventure and Negotiating Narrative Control: Johnson and Boswell in the Hebrides," in *Literary Couplings: Writing Couples, Collaborators, and the Construction of Authorship*, ed. Marjorie Stone and Judith Thompson (Madison, 2006), 59–78.

52. The belief that the castle once belonged to Macbeth was debunked in John Anderson, "On the Site of Macbeth's Castle at Inverness," *Archaeologia Scotica* 3 (1831): 234–44.

53. Boswell, *Tour*, 129.

54. Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D. 1773. Edited from the Original Manuscript*, ed. Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett (London, 1963), 96.

55. [Edmund Malone], *Supplement to the Edition of Shakspeare's Plays Published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens*, 2 vols. (London, 1780), 1:152.

56. Boswell, *Tour*, 46.

57. Boswell, *Life*, 1:167.

58. Johnson, *Rambler* No. 200 (15 Feb. 1752).

59. See Tiffany Sterne, "'I do wish that you had mentioned Garrick': The Absence of

Garrick in Johnson's Shakespeare," *Comparative Excellence: New Essays on Shakespeare and Johnson*, ed. Eric Rasmussen and Aaron Santesso (New York, 2007), 71–96.

60. "I could not resist the impulse of writing to you from this place," Boswell tells David Garrick (*Tour,* 347).

61. Boswell, *Tour*, 347.

62. Boswell, *Tour*, 348.

63. Boswell, *Life,* 1:167.

64. Boswell, *Life*, 2:92, 4:243.

65. Boswell, *Tour*, 38.

66. Boswell, *Tour*, 347.

67. Murray Pittock, "Boswell and the Making of Johnson," in *The Interpretation of Samuel Johnson*, ed. J. C. D. Clark and Howard Erskine-Hill (Basingstoke, 2012), 72–83, 74. See also Nathaniel Norman, "Organic Tensions: Putting the Tracings Back on the Map in Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 55, no. 1 (2014): 57–75. Norman notes that the *Life* gives the reader Johnson as "Boswell's treatise on eighteenth-century morality, taste, and behaviour" (68).

68. Boswell, *Tour*, 20.

69. Boswell, *Tour*, 348. Translation from Philip Francis, *The Epistles and Art of Poetry of Horace* (London, 1746), 269.

70. Garrick, quoted in Boswell, *Tour*, 349.