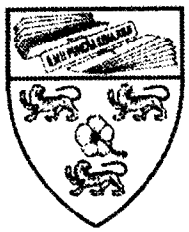

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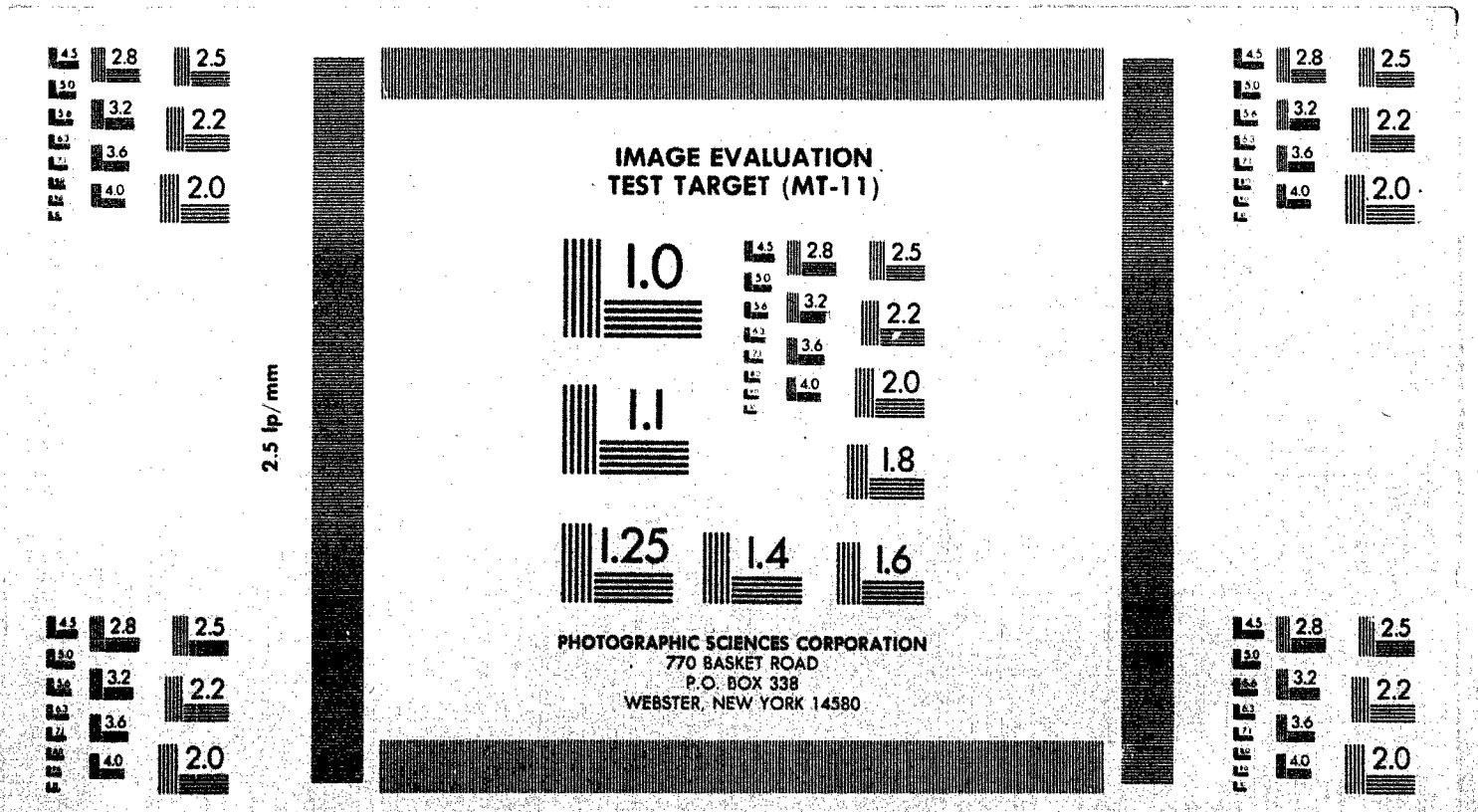
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SAMUEL JOHNSON'S A JOURNEY TO THE WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND AND JAMES BOSWELL'S JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE HEBRIDES: TWO NARRATIVES AND TWO SENSIBILITIES

A Dissertation

submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

of the University of Malaya

by

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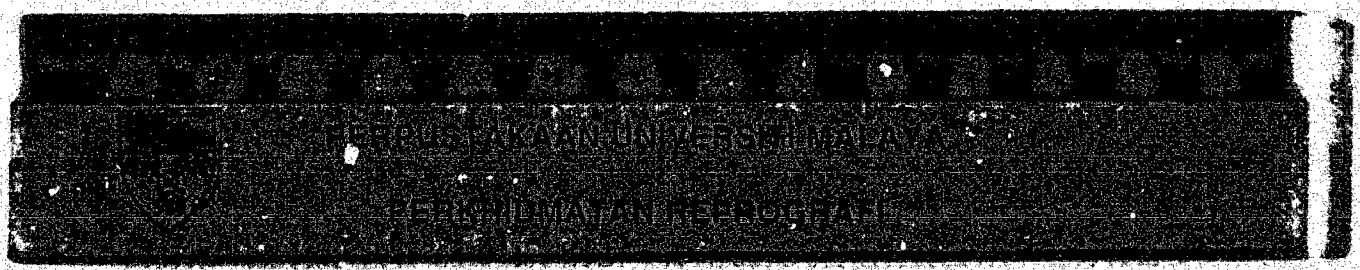
August, 1990



ABSTRAK

Kesusasteraan pengembaraan adalah amat popular dalam abad kelapan belas. Menerusi peninjauannya terhadap perkara-perkara yang pelbagai dan yang belum diketahui, kesusasteraan pengembaraan membayangkan dengan tepatnya semangat ingin tahu dan belajar yang merupakan diantara ciri-ciri utama zaman abad kelapan belas. Genre ini, seperti genre kesusasteraan yang lain pada ketika itu, telah dikawal ketat oleh kaedah-kaedah penulisan abad kelapan belas. Samuel Johnson dan James Boswell telah banyak menyumbang kepada genre yang kaya ini. Dalam tahun 1773, kedua orang penulis ini telah bersama-sama melakukan lawatan ke negara Scotland. Lawatan ini telah mengilhamkan dua karya yang menarik iaitu karya Johnson A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland dan karya Boswell Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides. Kedua-dua karya ini merupakan contoh-contoh cemerlang kesusasteraan pengembaraan dan mencerminkan ciri-ciri penting kesusasteraan abad kelapan belas. Walaupun lawatan ke Scotland ini merupakan satu pengalaman bersama, Journey dan Tour mempunyai perbezaan yang ketara dari segi pendekatan dan fokus. Disertasi ini merupakan satu perbandingan di antara Journey dan Tour bagi tujuan menentukan pendekatan individu kedua penulis ini terhadap pengalaman pengembaraan mereka itu. Karya Journey menggambarkan sensibiliti Augustan mankala Tour mempunyai

ciri-ciri sensibiliti Pre-Romantik. Karya Journey membayangkan kesedaran Johnson terhadap tanggungjawab dan aspirasi seorang penulis pengembara Augustan. The Tour pula mengabungkan dua gejala utama kesusasteraan Inggeris iaitu Augustan dan Romantik. Walaupun Boswell amat menghormati fikiran Augustan Johnson, beliau, secara sedar atau tidak, menunjukkan di dalam penulisannya ciri-ciri gejala Romantik yang semakin kuat pengaruhnya pada penghujung abad kelapan belas. Tour mempunyai gaya dan corak yang boleh dihubungkait dengan gerakan Romantik. Sensibiliti-sensibiliti berbeza ini bukan sahaja menentukan pendekatan kedua penulis ini di dalam karya-karya mereka tetapi juga mempengaruhi pandangan mereka terhadap manusia dan kehidupan. Di dalam membandingkan persamaan-persamaan dan perbezaan-perbezaan di antara kedua karya ini, beberapa pengaruh dan perubahan yang di alami oleh kesusasteraan pengembaraan abad kelapan belas akan juga dibincangkan.

ABSTRACT

Travel literature enjoyed an unprecedented popularity in the eighteenth century. In its exploration of the varied and unknown, eighteenth-century travel literature reflects the spirit of curiosity that characterised the age. The genre, like other eighteenth-century literary forms, was closely governed by rigid conventions. Samuel Johnson and James Boswell made significant contributions to this rich tradition. In 1773 both men embarked on a momentous journey to Scotland which inspired two compelling narratives - Johnson's A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides. Both accounts are fine examples of eighteenth-century travel literature and mirror salient literary features of the age. However, though the Scottish trip was a shared experience, their travel accounts are strikingly dissimilar in treatment and emphasis. This dissertation compares Johnson's Journey and Boswell's Tour with a view to establishing the individual approaches of the two writers as they came to terms with the same travel experience. It demonstrates how the Journey manifests an Augustan sensibility and the Tour, a Pre-Romantic one. The Journey reveals Johnson's intense consciousness of the duties and aspirations of the Augustan travel writer. The Tour, however, illustrates the interesting peacock fusion of two

dominant literary trends, the Augustan and the Romantic. Though Boswell had enormous respect for Johnson, he was, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by the Romantic impulse that was gaining a strong foothold in the later half of the eighteenth century. His Tour displays a mood and character that foreshadow the Romantic movement. Individual sensibilities did not only determine the tone and approach Johnson and Boswell adopted in their respective narratives but ultimately influenced the writers' overall perspective on life. In tracing the striking differences and parallels between both these accounts, some of the seminal changes and influences that had an impact on travel literature in the eighteenth century are also highlighted.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express a deep appreciation to my supervisor, Associate Professor Lim Chee Seng, for his guidance and the generous loan of his valuable books. I am indebted to Mr. Lim for introducing me to the exciting and challenging world of eighteenth-century English literature. I am also grateful to Associate Professor Edward Dorall, who ably took over the supervision of my research while Mr. Lim was on sabbatical leave. Special thanks to Professor Abdul Majid, Head of the English Department, and other staff members for their concern and support, and to Margaret Yong and Wong Ming Yook for those cheerful interludes. My appreciation to the University of Malaya for the studentship I was awarded during the course of my study. I wish to thank my dear friend Niloufer Harben for her loving support and encouragement when the pressure of research threatened to overwhelm me. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the constant love and care of my family which have been a source of inspiration to me through the years.

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Chapter I

Travel and Travel Literature in the Eighteenth Century

James Boswell's oft-quoted observation that "an inquiry into the state of foreign countries was an object that seems at all times to have interested Johnson" (Life 1: 345) could well apply to eighteenth-century English society in general. R.W. Frantz in his book, The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas, 1660-1732, states that only the eighteenth century captured the spirit of the Elizabethan age in terms of zest and enthusiasm for travel: "Not until the mid-eighteenth century did strange and undiscovered countries arouse in British seamen something akin to the Elizabethan exploring zeal" (8). Like the Elizabethan explorer, the eighteenth-century navigator braved perilous seas and hostile

terrain, lured not only by the unknown, but also by the desire to conquer new lands and expand the empire. The conditions of the day - improved transportation and a wider distribution of wealth - were conducive to a society that relished the idea of travel. Indeed, the eighteenth century came to be known as the Age of Travel, when travelling and reading travel literature, as Thomas Curley maintains, grew to be a "national preoccupation" (Samuel Johnson and the Age of Travel 45).

The inquisitive, probing minds of eighteenth-century men were alert to the rarities that lay beyond the English shore. Infused by the Elizabethan spirit of daring, they conducted numerous journeys abroad. As the century progressed, the grossly inaccurate and incomplete European maps of the early eighteenth century were constantly modified and improved. By the time of Johnson's death in 1784, new discoveries had filled up much of the remaining blank spaces (Curley, Age of Travel 11). Eighteenth-century society became aware of the existence of new lands and peoples. The discoveries made in the South Pacific generated the most excitement. The insatiable appetite for things novel compelled them to direct their gaze eastwards, and books on Oriental languages, arts, and sciences surfaced to grip the attention of the public. Samuel Johnson's letter to Warren Hastings reflects

the century's interest in the East: "I shall hope that he who once intended to encrease 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 remains 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" (The Letters of Samuel Johnson 403). Interestingly, Johnson's moral fable Rasselas, in which a young, idealistic prince confronts the realities of life and grows in maturity, has an Eastern scenario.

The Augustans inherited many of their travel and travel-writing techniques from their predecessors in the Restoration age. The Royal Society, founded by Charles II in 1662, was an institution devoted to the advancement of scientific knowledge. It encouraged a technique of collecting and classifying data for tourists. A document, "Directions for Seamen, Bound for Far Voyages," which appeared in the Society's periodical, Philosophical Transactions, states that travellers on long voyages were "to study Nature rather than Books, and from the Observations, made of the Phaenomena and Effects she presents, to compose such a History of Her, as may hereafter serve to build a Solid and Useful Philosophy upon" (qtd. in Frantz 15). Restoration travellers rigidly

adhered to the principles advocated by the Society. William Dampier's profession of "a hearty Zeal for the promoting of useful Knowledge" (qtd. in Frantz 20), in his dedication to A New Voyage Round the World (1697), registers the general concern of travel writers in the seventeenth century.

This urge to collect and to classify, encouraged by the Royal Society, was not only dominant in Restoration society. It also found its way into the eighteenth century. Indeed, it reached its peak then. The Augustan desire to enlighten the mind was in keeping with the scientific and empirical modes of travel investigation advocated by the Society. James Cook's voyages had the support of the Royal Society. The scientists who accompanied him on his expeditions carried out experiments wherever they landed. Cook's findings "represented the fruition of scientific travel promoted by the Royal Society ever since the Restoration" (Curley, The Age of Travel 66).

The Royal Society counselled travellers to be exact and scrupulous when recording observations, and most travellers avidly kept to this ideal. Philosophical Transactions rebukes travellers who are more concerned with "Romances or Panegyricks" and stresses the need for "severe, full and punctual Truth" (qtd. in Frantz 31). In his preface to A

Voyage to New - Holland (1703) William Dampier defends his account from critics who described it as "dry and dejoint," stating that he had been careful "to give only True Relations and Descriptions of Things" (qtd. in Franz 30). Daniel Defoe's intention to depict "the present state of the country" is a refrain that resounds throughout A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724-1725). To achieve this he has "written with impartiality and with truth" (336). "Our manner is plain, and suited to the nature of familiar letters" (239). A simple and frank style well served the instructive vein in the account. In An Essay to Direct and Extend the Inquiries of Patriotic Travellers (1789), Count Leopold Berchtold advises travellers to observe and record wisely and comprehensively. He enumerates the objects a travel writer must mention in an account, suggests pertinent questions he can ask on his journeys, and even provides one with tables to be completed. All observations, he insists, are to be of instructional value. In the eighteenth century the communication of precise information took precedence over a fancy style. Martin Martin, in A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland (1703), acknowledges this transformation: "since his [Buchanan's] time, there is a great change in the humour of the world, and by consequence in the way of writing" (qtd. in Frantz 28). The imparting of information had to be done in a fashion that could be easily

comprehended and would not divert the reader's attention from the main instructive purpose.

This role of being directly involved in the edification of the public elevated the status of the traveller to a degree never attained before. The Royal Society contributed considerably towards this social recognition, and new findings were published in Transactions. Eighteenth-century travellers also enjoyed this privileged position. Most of the literati of the eighteenth century travelled and described their experiences - Joseph Addison, Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, Laurence Sterne, James Boswell, and Samuel Johnson. This increased public regard for travel literature. Thousands of travel books flooded the market, and they "constituted the second most popular reading matter of the period" (Curley, The Age of Travel 48). Travel themes and patterns, in unprecedented fashion, permeated the various literary genres from prose fiction to poetry and drama.

Travel books proved a vital source of knowledge and inspiration not only to the geographer, cartographer, and the literary writer, but also to the sociologist, politician, philologist, scientist, and theologian. The new and multifarious information accumulated by the travellers helped theorists advance ideas or beliefs, correct misconceptions,

and even question long-standing convictions. Joseph Addison's Remarks on Several Parts of Italy (1705) offered so many varied and detailed observations that it became a highly valuable companion to the eighteenth-century English tourist in Italy. Defoe's A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain offers an extensive survey of the economic and social conditions in England during the first decades of the eighteenth century. Both authors, however, try hard to conceal their personal feelings and play down the sense of self in their narratives. Addison, especially, maintains an "austere anonymity" (Batten 78) in his account. Educating the reader was of utmost importance to the Augustan writer. Autobiographical information was considered largely irrelevant and reduced to a minimum.

As the century progressed, however, the travel account witnessed a radical new trend. In his book, Pleasurable Instruction, Batten claims that "the most striking of all changes" was when the fact-filled accounts became "collections of evocative descriptions focusing on the almost poetic qualities of mountains, forests, rivers, and lakes" (97). Patrick Brydone offers the reader vivid descriptions of natural settings in Tour through Sicily and Malta (1773), one of the most influential books in the later half of the eighteenth century. He writes: "I shall therefore content

myself (I hope it will content you too) with endeavouring to communicate, as entire as possible, the same impression I myself shall receive, without descending too much to particulars; or fatiguing myself or you with the mensuration of antique walls, merely because they are such" (qtd. in Batten 103). The object of observation was often tangible and real, but the writer chose to render his impressions imaginatively. William Gilpin, twenty years later, initiated a new breed of travellers called the picturesque travellers. His book On Picturesque Travel (1792), which also had a strong impact on travel writing, advises the traveller to appreciate the beauty of different landscapes and graphically depict his impressions. Travel writers wanted the reader to participate imaginatively in their experience. Increasingly, the scientific recording of minute details diminished in importance as the traveller sought to provide a subjective interpretation of his experience.

Changes in focus and artistic impulse called for new approaches in travel writing. Travel writers sought new effects and techniques to fulfil their varying objectives. The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon, for instance, aspires towards a new form of travel writing. Fielding claims that his travel book is "a novel without a Plot" (qtd. in Willcocks 273). At the start of his account he declares that

his intention is to inform the reader about the transportation of passengers and cargo at sea. His account is filled with multifarious details that include boat fares, the charges at inns, the price of food, and the manners of seamen. This is indeed important information for the potential traveller, but Fielding chooses to convey his instruction with "an air of joke and laughter" (193). As a consequence, the various incidents and characters Fielding encounters during his voyage are depicted in a humorous vein. The account is liberally sprinkled with anecdotes, and often he exaggerates certain characteristics of the people he meets so as to achieve a comic effect. Arthur Young states that the main object in his Travels in France During the Years 1787.1788.1789 is to survey the agricultural conditions of that country. However, he also decides to "treat the public like a friend," to "let them see all" (3). He strives to create a sense of immediacy: "just as it was written on the spot" (4). To accommodate the desire to instruct and please, his book combines two forms, the diary and the essay, as he finds it practical in this "peculiar case" to do so (2).

These new features in travel writing point to an important transition that took place in the eighteenth century - the transition from the Augustan to the Romantic age. W.J. Bate in his preface to From Classic to Romantic

asserts that "no similar transition has been more fundamental and pervasive" (vii). This transitional period saw the spread of varying trends and shifts in sensibility in an age distinguished for its formal literary conventions. It is commonly assumed that the Romantic movement in England officially began in 1789 with William Blake's "Songs of Innocence." However, as René Wellek points out, the movement could not have come into being without preliminary preparations or experimentation:

> If there were no preparations, anticipations, and undercurrents in the eighteenth century which could be described as pre-romantic, we would have to make the assumption that Wordsworth and Coleridge fell from heaven and that the neoclassical age was unperturbedly solid, unified, and coherent in a way no age has ever been before or since.
>
> (159)

Similarly, Bertrand H. Bronson, in his article "The Pre-Romantic or Post Augustan Mode," observes that the Pre-Romantic period is "too close to the triumphs of Dryden and Pope to be able to forget them." But at the same time it is also "discontented, restless, uncommitted, unwilling to stay, yet undetermined to go" (27).

This period that respected some of the Augustan values and also manifested Romantic tendencies is known as Pre-Romantic, a time when "sensibility came to supersede reason as the touchstone to life" (Furst, Romanticism 27). It approximately covered the years 1740 to 1800. Brimming with new ideas, this period saw the emergence of a fresh outlook on literature, art, architecture, indeed, life itself. Young's Night Thoughts (1742-1745), Akenside's "Pleasures of Imagination" (1744), Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" (1751), Macpherson's Fingal (1762), Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield (1766), Sterne's A Sentimental Journey (1768), and Mackenzie's Man of Feeling (1771) are all examples of this experimental age, characterized by a noticeable stress on emotion, imagination, and spontaniety. These qualities led to a subjectivity which was also characteristic of the age and resulted in diverse manifestations of its spirit. This accounts for the "haphazard, sporadic character of Pre-Romanticism" which, Furst conceives, was "made up of a number of individual starts rather than a concerted effort" (Romanticism 26).

Since travel was an integral part of eighteenth-century life, aspects of this new sensibility invariably found expression in travel accounts of the day. The eighteenth-century travel writing tradition was enriched and vivified by

this. In turn, the emphasis on natural beauties and the increasingly emotive, autobiographical tone that pervaded travel books contributed to the development of the Romantic sensibility. Batten endorses this view: "the shift to subjective descriptions in travel books of the eighteenth century points directly toward the 'spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling' for which the romantic poet was soon to aim" (114). Brydone, Gilpin, Sterne, and William Beckford were among the percursors of this change - men who made "individual starts" in the direction of this new aesthetics.

Two other renowned men who made significant contributions to the rich tradition of eighteenth-century travel writing were Samuel Johnson and James Boswell. Johnson and Boswell shared a passion for travel, they read and wrote about travel. Johnson, especially, was a critic of travel writing. To Johnson, travel provided man with a more accurate perspective of life: "The use of travelling is to regulate imagination by reality, and instead of thinking how things may be, to see them as they are" (Letters 359). He believed that travel stimulated one's intellect and enhanced one's personality. Travelling endowed a person with a dignity of character, a "lustre," as he told Boswell, which also reflected on the traveller's children. He had nursed this love for travel since boyhood when his father had placed in

his hands a copy of Martin Martin's Description of the Western Islands of Scotland. Indeed, his first book was a translation of Father Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia. His fictional works, Irene and Rasselas, adopted travel motifs. Johnson also wrote a number of essays on the topic and made numerous allusions to travel and travel literature in his conversation and writing. Though he was constantly afflicted with pain and discomfort, he was indifferent to physical hardship when travelling. In fact, the vibration of moving vehicles and speed gave him immense pleasure. In her diary, the Thraliana, Mrs. Thrale describes Johnson as a good fellow-traveller: "The Rain, & the Sun, the night and the Day were the same to him, and he had no Care about Food, Hours or Accomodations" (I:187).

Travelling also had a soothing, therapeutic effect on Boswell. Surveying new lands and meeting new people temporarily alleviated his depression, an ailment that plagued him all his life. While in Europe he wrote to a friend: "Never has a foreigner relished his travels more than I" (Boswell on the Grand Tour: Germany and Switzerland 116). Travel brought Boswell the fame he so ardently desired. His first travel book, An Account of Corsica, made him a prominent author at twenty-seven. Travelling to new places fired his imagination, providing him with not only the

material, but also the stimulus and enthusiasm to write. A large portion of Boswell's journals, "the central literary creation of his life" (Pottle, The Earlier Years 86), was written while he was on tour. Boswell was a well-travelled man. He claimed to be the first Britisher to venture into the interior of Corsica, a claim, Pottle reports, that "has never been disputed" (The Earlier Years 249). He also made frequent trips to London and undertook a Grand Tour of Europe covering Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and France. Johnson never had the opportunity to travel as much as he wished. Though he made many trips to his hometown Lichfield and Oxford, only a pension granted to him late in life enabled him to venture further, and he visited Wales and France. Dreams of visiting Italy, the Great Wall of China, and Greenland were never realized.

In 1773, Johnson and Boswell went on an arduous but momentous expedition to the Western Islands of Scotland. This was the first and last time the two men set out on a long journey together. Of all their excursions this one proved the most exciting. It inspired two travel accounts - A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland (1775) by Johnson and the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. (1785) by Boswell. Extremely difficult conditions of travel had made the Highlands *terra incognita* to their

neighbours in the south of England. With its rugged coasts, steep mountains, and mysterious lochs, the Highlands had for a long time captured the curiosity of the southerners. The Highlanders were equally fascinating. A proud nation, they lived under a changing feudal system. Their lives were steeped in ignorance and superstition. Raids and skirmishes between rival clans still occasionally existed.

The Battle of Culloden in 1746, however, saw a major transformation in the very texture of Highland life. To weed out the rebellious spirit of the Highlanders, the English government enforced laws that forbade them to wear their tartan, called for disarmament, and the lairds' surrender of the power of jurisdiction over their territories. Stripped of their land as well, the Highlanders lost their fiery spirit. Indeed, their very identity was snatched from them. High rents, miserable living conditions, and the growing influence of commerce induced them to emigrate to America in unprecedented numbers. It took the Highlands at least a hundred years to recover from this "state of confusion" (Youngson 26). This was the social landscape that Johnson and Boswell confronted in 1773. They were, as Johnson points out in his Journey, "too late to see what [they] expected, a people of peculiar appearance, and a system of antiquated life" (46).

In Scotland Johnson and Boswell shared similar travel experiences - they visited the same places, saw the same situations, and talked to the same people. Yet the Journey and the Tour differ in many ways, nearly as much as the accounts of an earlier couple of whom Johnson writes in his Journey: "Wheeler and Spon described with irreconcilable contrariety things which they surveyed together, and which both undoubtedly designed to show as they saw them" (122). The Journey and the Tour fulfil the generic objectives of travel literature; they share a central descriptive and informative vein. However, a difference in sensibility results in the highly individual approach and tone in the Journey and the Tour. This is because both men not only possessed distinctive personalities, but also came from different generations (though they belonged to the eighteenth century). While Johnson's life encompassed "the tail-end" of the Neoclassical period, Boswell's life "overlapped with Byron's" (Wain, Johnson on Johnson v).

Samuel Johnson epitomizes the Augustan sensibility. Indeed, the ease with which the phrase "the Age of Johnson" is used interchangeably with the "Augustan" or "Neo-classical" age underscores the dominant role of the man in his time. The beliefs, values, and aspirations of the Augustan era are reflected in his writings and opinions about

life. It is, however, more difficult to place James Boswell in any one particular period. A close inspection of his work reveals an interesting fusion of the Augustan and Romantic impulses; a fusion that reflects a Pre-Romantic sensibility. Boswell's Pre-Romantic tendencies have been recognised. Curley describes his Tour to Corsica as having "the quality of a sentimental journey adumbrating the subjective preoccupations of Romantic tourism" (248). John Wain comments that the dialogue between Boswell and Johnson in Boswell's Life of Johnson is not merely an interchange between two men but a communication between "two epochs." "In its pages, Romantic Europe speaks to Renaissance Europe, and is answered" (230).

There has, however, been no detailed comparative study of the Journey and the Tour with a view to establishing the individual approaches of these two writers as they came to terms with the same travel experience. Through a close examination of these two texts, this dissertation is concerned to demonstrate how the Journey manifests an Augustan sensibility and the Tour a Pre-Romantic one. In tracing the striking differences and parallels between both accounts, this study also highlights some of the seminal changes and influences that had an impact on travel literature in the eighteenth century.

Chapter II focuses upon Johnson's and Boswell's treatment of the tutor-student pattern, a pattern central in the Grand Tour tradition. It is evident in Johnson's fictional travel book Rasselas and Boswell's Tour, but conspicuously absent in Johnson's Journey. I have found it necessary to include a study of this aspect of travel tradition since the Grand Tour was a most popular convention in the eighteenth century, and a shaping influence on travel literature of this period. The absence of this pattern in the Journey and its dominance in the Tour point to some of the key differences in the philosophical concerns and literary intentions of the two authors.

Chapter III is central and forms the main body of this dissertation. It is an in-depth comparison of the two texts in relation to various major Augustan and Romantic values and ideals which had a profound effect on the form, style, and structure of these works. This close scrutiny of two inter-linking works conclusively reveals the distinctive nature of the sensibilities governing the minds and aspirations of two celebrated personalities in English literature.

Chapter II

Rasselas, the *Journey*, and the *Tour* in the Light of the Grand Tour Tradition

The Grand Tour was a journey through the European continent, undertaken by aristocrats and young men of fashion who wished to be initiated into "the polished society and the fine art of Europe" (Butt 244). The eighteenth century, imbued with the spirit of curiosity and inquiry, is sometimes referred to as the Age of the Grand Tour. "In its organized form," Robert Shackleton observes, the Grand Tour is "essentially an English institution" (128). This chapter considers the pattern of the tutor-student relationship in the Grand Tour tradition as it appears in Johnson's fictional travel account *Rasselas* and in Boswell's *Tour* as well as its

significant absence in the Journey. Rasselas affords a classic example of this pattern. A comparison between Rasselas, the Journey, and the Tour will shed light on certain prominent features in the two later accounts. The varying treatment and emphasis given to this theme will also illumine the contrasting aims and approaches of the two authors.

The term "Grand Tour" first appeared in the earliest edition of Richard Lassels's Italian Voyage (1670): "No man understands Livy and Caesar, Guicciardin and Montluc, like him, who hath made exactly the Grand Tour of France, and The Giro of Italy" (qtd. in Shackleton 127). Lassels specified certain requirements for a Grand Tour. The young man who travelled had to be of noble birth and should be accompanied by a tutor. The object of the excursion was to see famous towns and learn the politics and languages of foreign lands. In the standard itinerary of the grand tourist, Paris, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Venice figured prominently, and from one to five years was the approximate length of time one spent abroad.

The Grand Tour was indispensable to the education of noble and wealthy men, and many considered it "worth more than going to the university" (Gay 87). Many guidebooks were

written for the grand tourist, notable among which was Thomas Nugent's The Grand Tour (1756). Nugent saw the Tour as a serious exercise and advised the tourist "to be provided with prospective glasses, a mariner's compass and quadrant" (qtd. in Hibbert 24). The Earl of Cork and Orrery stated that the young tourist went abroad, "not to see fashions but states, not to taste wines but different governments, not to compare laces and velvets but laws and politics" (qtd. in Hibbert 36). Hence the Grand Tour was a journey geared towards intellectual gains as it afforded young men the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the history, arts, politics, and antiquities of foreign lands.

There were grand tourists who could give literary expression to their travels - men like Joseph Addison with his Remarks on Several Parts of Italy,1701-1703 and Fynes Moryson in his Precepts for Travellers (which proved indispensable to later travellers). There were many young fops, however, who could provide no documentation of their travels, let alone benefit from the experience. Some guidebooks for continental travellers, such as Jean Gailhard's The Compleat Gentleman (1678), classified the Europeans into groups: "In Behaviour: French courteous. Spaniard lordly. Italian amorous. German clownish" (Curley, Age of Travel 10). Gailhard and other contemporary writers

encouraged the grand tourist to adopt these classifications, and many young men returned to England with an false sense of superiority. As a result, men like John Locke, Vicesimus Knox, and Samuel Johnson felt that the Grand Tour "was undertaken at the wrong time in a man's life" (Hibbert 235). Johnson, especially, could not reconcile himself to the amateurish journeys of witless young men.

Yet there were many young travellers who returned from the continent to become men of learning, contributing to scholarship and serving the nation. The great physician Thomas Linacre, the humanist William Grocin, and the ambassadors Sir Richard Wingfield and Nicholas Wotton, all undertook the Grand Tour. Even royalty had faith in the Grand Tour tradition, and King Henry VIII and his daughter Queen Elizabeth I, at royal expense, sent young men abroad to learn skills that would make them useful members of the court. Renaissance writers saw the Grand Tour as a prerequisite undertaking for a prince before succeeding to the throne. In Instructions for Forreine Travel, James Howell delineates the necessary activities that the royal tourist must engage in - activities that would nourish the mind, making the traveller a worthy ruler.

The Grand Tour was given a lofty status by some

commentators who believed that the ultimate object of the whole journey was moral and spiritual enrichment. James Howell states,

> All this is but vanity and superficial Knowledge,...unlesse by seeing...the Great World, one learne to know the Little, which is himselfe, unles one learne to governe and check the passions, our Domestique Enemies, that which nothing can conduce more to gentlenes of mind, to Elegancy of Manners, and Solid Wisdom. But principally, unlesse by surveying and admiring his works abroad one improve himself in the knowledge of his Creator,...in comparison whereof the best of sublunary blessings are but bables, and this indeed, this *Unum necessarium*, should be the center to which *Travell* should tend. (qtd. in Curley, Age of Travel 90)

John Evelyn too recognised the spiritual and moral benefits of a Grand Tour and wrote in a prefatory letter to The State of France (1652): "It is written of Ulysses that he saw many cities, but withall his Remarks of men´s Manners and Customs, was ever preferred to his counting Steeples, and making Tours: It is the Ethical and Morall part of Travel, which embellisheth a Gentleman" (qtd. in Curley, Age of

Travel 68).

Though the Grand Tour had moral and spiritual aims, one cannot overlook the sense of fun and adventure that excited young tourists as they embarked on their continental journey. Travelling was a perilous activity in the eighteenth century. Tourists had to brave highway robbers and pirates, contend with unpleasant captains, inn-keepers, rough and thieving travel companions, and suffer overcrowding and seasickness. These inconveniences prompted many amusing and often hilarious accounts by grand tourists. Indeed, the keeping of a diary or journal was encouraged, and Lord Burghley advised Edward Manners to "make a booke of paper wherein you may dayly or at least weekly insert all things occurent to you" (qtd. in Hibbert 15). James Boswell, whom Curley calls "the most famous grand tourist of all" (Age of Travel 17), wrote voluminously as he travelled the continent.

The importance of the role of the tutor in the Grand Tour cannot be overemphasised. Vicesimus Knox describes the tutor as a venerable man, with "that natural authority and that personal dignity which command attention and obedience." Apart from being teacher and mentor to his young charge, the tutor was also the moral and spiritual guide to his student (qtd. in Hibbert 20). Among the distinguished men who

traversed the continent with their students on the Grand Tour were Adam Smith, Joseph Addison, the philosophers John Locke and Thomas Hobbes, and Dr. John Moore. There were, of course, incompetent tutors. Horace Walpole writes that these, "far more ignorant of [the world] than their pupils, take care to return with more prejudices, and as much care to instill all theirs into their pupils" (qtd. in Hibbert 21).

"Whatever be the consequence of my experiment, I am resolved to judge with my own eyes of the various conditions of men, and then to make deliberately my *choice of life*" - so declares the Prince Rasselas to his tutor Imlac in Johnson's fictional book of oriental *travel*, Rasselas (37). Though Imlac's autobiography encompasses the lessons about life that the Prince will later learn from his own journeys, the Prince is adamant about travelling to see life for himself. The Prince is an empiricist who refuses to accept another's vision of life, but instead chooses to investigate and form a vision of his own. The empirical approach adopted by Rasselas on his tour is a tourist technique that Johnson advocated all his life; one he put into practice on his own journey. Though the mode of inquiry in Rasselas and the Journey is similar, the patterns of travel in his two narratives differ considerably.

Rasselas closely imitates the tradition of the Grand Tour. The prince in this oriental tale embarks on a journey to study the "various conditions of men," which he hopes will ultimately help him in making the right "choice of life." This journey resembles those undertaken by the grand tourists, and the prince is guided in his travels by his wise tutor Imlac. Together they view different societies and monuments. The tour, so similar to the excursions on the continent, has its share of adventure too. The prince and his party travel in disguise. They encounter eccentric characters, there is an exciting chase and an abduction episode. Though this grand tour of life leaves the prince disillusioned about the possibility of happiness in the world, he emerges from the whole experience wiser to the harsh realities of life. The tour certainly exposes the prince to new and exciting experiences but, more importantly, the illuminating and guiding presence of Imlac transforms it into a process of education for him. Imlac reproves the prince and his sister for allowing life to pass them by while they speculated and theorized about the condition of man. He advises the young travellers on the tourist techniques to adopt when visiting foreign lands. He expatiates, for instance, on the need to survey ancient buildings as they help one to understand the present state of man.

Apart from being the prince's counsellor and adviser in philosophical and intellectual matters, Imlac is also deeply concerned about the physical well-being and safety of his charges. He insists that the "royal wanderers" conceal their true identity and advises the prince not to give chase when the Arabs abduct the servant Pekuah. Imlac belongs to the school of tutors who supervised young men on the Grand Tour. Rasselas accurately describes him as "the companion of my flight, the guide of my rambles, the partner of my fortune, and my sole director in the *choice of life*" (37). Indeed, the relationship between mentor and student is central to Rasselas.

In the Journey Johnson is a man of sixty-six, who has read and thought deeply about life. Though he embarks on this tour with an intimate friend, James Boswell, Johnson hardly talks about Boswell. His introduction of his young friend is very brief: "...Mr. Boswell a companion, whose acuteness would help my inquiry, and whose gaiety of conversation and civility of manners are sufficient to counteract the inconveniencies of travel, in countries less hospitable than we have passed" (1). From the start Johnson professes that his intention in traversing the wild and barren Highlands is to survey the men who reside there and examine their manners and customs. His Journey is devoted to

this cause, and the book is filled with detailed observations of Hebridean people and manners. Underlying these observations is a search for general truths about man, and this is mirrored when his objective reports rise to reflections of universal significance.

Johnson's preoccupation with the quest for knowledge and truth is so intense that Boswell and acquaintances they meet during their short sojourn there merit only fleeting references. Boswell is a jovial and convenient companion, but the Journey is essentially Johnson's tour into a strange land, equally alien to him as to his young friend. Johnson then does not play the role of tutor as Imlac does in Rasselas. If anything, he is the student, the tourist who ventures to a new place to gain knowledge of its people. In the concluding paragraph of the Journey, Johnson concedes that his perceptions are those of an inexperienced and ignorant traveller:

> Having passed my time almost wholly in cities, I may have been surprised by modes of life and appearances of nature, that are familiar to men of wider survey and more varied conversation. Novelty and ignorance must always be reciprocal, and I cannot but be conscious that my thoughts on national

> manners, are the thoughts of one who has seen but little. (137)

The short introduction to Boswell is also revelatory. The phrase "whose [Boswell's] acuteness would help my inquiry" implies that the pose of subordination usually inherent in a teacher-student relationship is absent here. The relationship between Johnson and Boswell is reciprocal in nature. The line separating tutor and student is blurred, and Boswell, Johnson hopes, will help him in his survey of Scottish life.

James Boswell's Tour chronicles in detail his and Johnson's Scottish excursion. Interestingly, this account is essentially a biographical narrative, and Boswell himself states in the Advertisement to the Third Edition that the Tour is a "memorial" to his "illustrious fellow-traveller," Dr. Johnson (4). William Dowling, in The Boswellian Hero, discusses the relationship between Boswell the narrator and his three biographical subjects in his three narratives: The Tour to Corsica, The Tour to the Hebrides, and the Life of Johnson. Dowling talks about the "essential relationship" between the narrator and the subject that enables the reader to understand biography as a narrative mode (92). A consideration of this "essential relationship" between Boswell the narrator and his biographical hero Johnson will be helpful in an analysis of the tutor-student pattern in the

Tour.

From the opening lines of the Tour, Boswell's design and arrangement of his travel narrative seem to emulate the Grand Tour tradition. Boswell and Johnson leave for Scotland in order to "contemplate a system of life almost totally different from what [they] had been accustomed to see" (13). Like the grand tourists of the eighteenth century, they wish to be initiated into a different society and, consequently, to observe its customs and manners. Boswell foresees drawbacks in his journey - the usual unavoidable obstacles that attend the grand tour - and comments, "We reckoned there would be some inconveniencies and hardships, and perhaps a little danger ..." (13). An atmosphere of novelty and adventure pervades the text. Voltaire, when told by Boswell of the latter's design in visiting the Hebrides, looked "as if [Boswell] had talked of going to the North Pole" (14). The trip is called a "curious expedition" (14), and the Hebrides have "all the circumstances of remote time or place" (13). So far the account closely resembles the Grand Tour tradition. Johnson and Boswell, an old man and his younger charge, traverse a foreign terrain to observe a new way of life. Their tour, however, is not to the centres of civilization but the fortresses of primitive life. The alien system of life they wish to see lies in "simplicity and

wildness" (13), the rough and hostile Hebridean landscape.

Boswell's veneration for the learned Doctor constantly emerges in the Tour, which closes with the sentence, "I have only to add, that I shall ever reflect with great pleasure on a Tour, which has been the means of preserving so much of the enlightened and instructive conversation of one whose virtues will, I hope, ever be an object of imitation, and whose powers of mind were so extraordinary, that ages may revolve before such a man shall again appear" (416). He compares Johnson's mind to an "immense balance" and his own to "neat little scales" (145). Johnson sometimes corrects Boswell's flawed observations:

> "There, [said Boswell,] is a mountain like a cone." - Johnson. "No,sir. It would be called so in a book; and when a man comes to look at it, he sees it is not so. It is indeed pointed at the top; but one side of it is larger than the other." - Another mountain I called immense. - Johnson. "No; it is no more than a considerable protuberance." (141)

At Loch Ness Boswell gives a very short account of the construction of the Druid's temple and, instead of noting his own impressions, offers Johnson's "just observation" that "to go and see one druidical temple is only to see that it is

nothing, for there is neither art not power in it; and seeing one is quite enough" (132). Johnson comes across as a mentor, knowledgeable, and more perceptive to the surroundings, and Boswell as the pupil, who occasionally adopts his teacher's conclusions.

Johnson's influence on Boswell is not limited to the intellect alone. Boswell attributes his psychological well-being to Dr. Johnson's presence. When in Armidale the young traveller complains that he feels "a return of spleen" and confesses that, were it not for Dr. Johnson, his hypochondria, an ailment plaguing him for many years, would have overwhelmed him: "and had it not been that I had Dr. Johnson to contemplate, I should have sunk into dejection; but his firmness supported me" (154). This revelation is followed by a statement that further establishes the great dependence Boswell had on Johnson: "I looked at him, as a man whose head is turning giddy at sea looks at a rock, or any fixed object" (154). Here Boswell gives expression to his need for Johnson's guidance and support. Johnson is Boswell's moral and intellectual guide in this expedition to the Western Islands of Scotland, and the Tour to the Hebrides is a memorial to the Doctor.

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Johnson and Boswell is never static but varies at different points of the journey. Occasionally Boswell, consciously or unconsciously, takes on an attitude which is at odds with the mentor-student relationship suggested by the Grand Tour pattern in the Tour. In the early part of the journey there is a distinct reversal of roles between the two men. Boswell, a native of Edinburgh, assumes an authoritative role, directing their actions and decisions in familiar surroundings. Armed with ancient family connections, he arranges meetings with the Scottish literati, sees to their expeditions, and is often able to secure suitable accommodation for them. Johnson, in a letter to Mrs. Thrale, speaks of the advantage of having Boswell as a travel companion: " It is very convenient to travel with him, for there is no house where he is not received with kindness and respect" (Letters 388). The role of mentor-student often alternates between the two men.

In the sketch of himself Boswell declares, "I am, I flatter myself, completely a citizen of the world." He presents himself as a liberal man, able to adapt to diverse cultures: "I never felt myself from home; and I sincerely love 'every kindred and tongue and people and nation'" (20). Boswell here is attaching dignity to his own role as traveller in the account. Though he credits the English as

being superior to the Scots, he treats those who display an excessive contempt for Scotland as children, conceding that there were times when he was obliged to treat even Dr. Johnson as a child. He projects himself as the experienced traveller, and momentarily the gap between mentor and student is bridged. This frequent reversal of roles modifies the pattern of the Grand Tour throughout his account. Boswell has a great reverence for Johnson and looks up to him during the tour as a master shedding light on the diverse aspects of life they encounter during their journey. At the same time, however, in defining his role in the narrative, Boswell occasionally assumes the authoritative pose of tutor himself.

Both Rasselas and the Tour exhibit patterns that belong to the Grand Tour tradition. Yet there are significant similarities and differences between the two travel accounts. The portraits of Imlac in Rasselas and Johnson in the Tour are strikingly similar. The wisdom, experience, and role of the travelling philosopher Imlac prefigure the venerable portrait of Johnson in the Tour. Imlac, the man who is well-versed in the ways of the world, is described as having a "mind replete with images" (35). Boswell describes Johnson as having "a mind ... so full of imagery that he might have been perpetually a poet" (17). Imlac is a poet-

philosopher whose dissertation on poetry forms a significant portion of Johnson's short oriental tale. In the Tour Boswell makes it a point to record Johnson's views on literature and writers. Curley describes Imlac as "the severest critic of the mountain prison [the happy valley]" (Age of Travel 172). Johnson, likewise, carefully evaluates Hebridean life and customs. His ruthlessly incisive comments in the Journey, Boswell reports, raised the ire of some Scots: "his Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, ... to my utter astonishment, has been misapprehended, even to rancour, by many of my countrymen" (20).

Johnson and Imlac are men who "[know] the world so well" that their experience and critical perception characterize them as instructors. Rasselas and Boswell display a dependence on the older travellers who travel with them. Imlac starts off on this grand tour of life with an extremely idealistic prince, but leads Rasselas back home a disillusioned yet wiser young man, aware of the harsh realities of life: "Of these wishes that they had formed they well knew that none could be obtained" (134). Even before they start on the tour, Rasselas recognises the integral part Imlac will play in it: "thou shalt be ... my sole director in the *choice of life*" (37). Boswell too is constantly aware of Johnson's importance to him. In

Inverness, in a moment of gloom, Boswell is saved from utter despair by Johnson: "but a sentence or two of the Rambler's conversation gave me firmness, and I considered that I was upon an expedition for which I had wished for years, and the recollection of which would be a treasure to me for life" (128). Johnson dispenses his maxims in a manner similar to Imlac, and like him, Johnson is never short on opinions.

Though Boswell reveres Dr. Johnson, we still sense an independent and inquiring mind. There is an irrepressible urge to report his own views. Rasselas is innocent of the ways of the world, but he too has a questioning mind and does not absorb every word mouthed by his tutor. When Imlac tells Rasselas the story of his life, the student constantly interrupts the tale. He is unwilling to believe everything that Imlac says and at one point of the story he states: "I am not yet willing ... to suppose that happiness is so parsimoniously distributed to mortals" (33). At the end of the autobiography that abounds with the very lessons of life that Rasselas is seeking, he declares that he is resolved to view the conditions of life for himself. At one point during the journey Rasselas loses confidence in his tutor, whose remarks cease to comfort him. Though not entirely similar, there is a parallel revaluation of the older traveller in the

Tour when Boswell says: "Dr. Johnson appeared now to be philosophically calm, yet his genius did not shine forth as in companies, where I have listened to him with admiration" (154).

Rasselas and Boswell respect and admire their tutors, yet they do not accept everything their tutors tell them. They have minds and personalities that refuse to be overwhelmed by the older men. Rasselas and Boswell share similarities, yet differ in other aspects. Rasselas's naiveté persists almost throughout the journey, and it is Imlac's guiding presence that moulds the tour into an edifying experience for the prince. Though he tries to investigate on his own, his efforts prove fruitless, and Imlac must return to remind him that speculation without action leads nowhere. Boswell, on the other hand, from the very start portrays himself as an experienced and worldly young man. He professes himself "a citizen of the world" (20), and his many acquaintances and the meticulously-recorded attempts to persuade Johnson to visit Scotland substantiate this image of worldliness.

A look at Boswell's personal life and aspirations will throw light on his inclination to reverse roles in the Tour. Boswell had great admiration for his father, an able and

worthy man. A classical scholar, Lord Auchinleck was both a judge of the Court of Session (the supreme court in Scotland for civil cases) and the High Court of Justiciary (the supreme court for criminal cases). In all Scotland there was "no man more respectable and few more respected than Alexander Boswell, Lord Auchinleck" (Pottle, James Boswell: The Earlier Years 11). Unfortunately father and son were in constant disagreement with each other. Since Boswell never received the support and approval he craved from his father, he turned to other eminent men for encouragement and respect. Collins, in his book James Boswell, aptly describes Boswell's life as a pursuit of Great Men (11).

Boswell hoped that these extraordinary specimens of mankind would offer him friendship and direction in life. In London he sought and obtained the acquaintance of learned and important men like Laurence Sterne, Oliver Goldsmith, David Garrick, and Thomas Sheridan. On 16 May 1763 Boswell met Samuel Johnson, and he promised himself that he would "cultivate this acquaintance" (London Journal 268). A month later Boswell asked Johnson to take charge of his life. Boswell's intention was not merely to flatter these men. He desired their affection and undivided attention: "It is the old persistent day-dream...of a prince who will grant him not merely civilities but unreserved personal affection" (Pottle,

The Earlier Years 153). In Switzerland he sought out Rousseau and asked for personal guidance. When he found Rousseau reluctant, Boswell sent him a sketch of his life, and finally Rousseau even agreed to correspond with him. Boswell had a similar success with Voltaire. He found correspondence with these men advantageous: "The correspondence of distinguished men is very much to be valued. It gives a man a dignity that is very desirable" (London Journal 194).

The sense of the self was a dominant concern for the Romantic. Constantly trying to identify and define that self, the Romantic sought his values "in scrutinizing his own sensations and reactions, all the phenomena which make up his living and, more crucially, his awareness of living" (Ball 2). Boswell sought his values not only from within but also in men of learning and achievement. He found validity of being only "in relation to another personality" (Wain, Samuel Johnson 230). Important men inspired Boswell and enlivened his own sense of self-worth. Boswell's interest in great men was two-fold in nature. Firstly, he believed that these men could direct him. Secondly, he desired to be a great man. Convinced that he possessed the potential for greatness, he believed that only proper nurturing was needed for it to grow:

> I think there is a blossom about me of

> something more distinguished than the generality of mankind. But I am much afraid that this blossom will never swell into fruit, but will be nipped and destroyed by many a blighting heat and chilling frost. (London Journal 161)

One way of preserving that "blossom" was to possess propriety of manners. He says: "My great object is to attain a proper conduct in life" (qtd. in Collins 14). He writes in his London Journal that "reserve and dignity of behaviour" are "a noble quality" (266). In the Tour, the concern for correct behaviour continues. After a long night of drinking at Corrichatachin, Boswell awakens the next day with a headache. Feeling extremely guilty about the havoc he created the night before, he laments: "I thought it very inconsistent with that conduct which I ought to maintain, while the companion of the Rambler" (258). This is no passing remorse, for, later in the narrative, he reviews his actions. He tries to justify his behaviour but finally concedes that his reasons are merely excuses to palliate his wrongdoing. At Iona he decides to maintain an "exemplary conduct" (337). Johnson's actions and dialogue, also, are of instructional value to Boswell. At Inverness he writes that a clergyman's sermon on how some men connect themselves to men of distinction, so that some merit

of the latter would fall on themselves, aptly describes his "connecting [himself] with Dr. Johnson" (129). A passing remark by Colonel M'Leod about Boswell's habit of seeking the acquaintance of famous men sparks the following meditation on himself: "If I know myself, it is nothing more than an eagerness to share the society of men distinguished either by their rank or their talents, and a diligence to attain what I desire" (216).

Though the tutor-student relationship evident in the Grand Tour tradition does not appear in Johnson's Journey, it is apparent and significant in Rasselas and Boswell's Tour. In Rasselas this pattern highlights the importance of the tutor Imlac, his presence moulding the journey into an illuminating experience for the student. Johnson, who felt that the Grand Tour was ineffectual because its participants embarked on their journey at too young an age, probably realised the vital role of a tutor in transforming an expedition of this kind into an edifying experience. The complexity of the tutor-student pattern in Boswell's Tour owes much to the searching and constantly changing consciousness of the narrator. Here the Romantic sense of self (which will be discussed at length in Chapter III) helps to explain why Boswell oscillates between the roles of tutor and student. Boswell sees Johnson as a role model. At the

same time, however, there exists this urgent need to look for direction and values from within; the Romantic tendency to scrutinize one's "own sensations and reactions."

Chapter III

Two Narratives and Two Sensibilities

The Augustan era is noted for its formal literary conventions, and travel writing in this period reveals their inevitable influence. The genre possesses certain distinguishing characteristics reflective of the Augustan mind and outlook. These characteristics find their most vigorous exponent and diligent practitioner in Samuel Johnson. The Journey, Johnson's only travel book, embodies the major features of Augustan travel writing.

Though Boswell was Johnson's contemporary, his account of the same travel experience in the Tour illustrates the interesting peacock fusion of two dominant literary trends,

the Augustan and the Romantic. In spite of Boswell's enormous admiration for the great Augustan mind of Johnson, he was, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by the Romantic impulse which gained a strong foothold in England in the later half of the eighteenth century. Boswell's observations, attitudes, and perceptions in the Tour reflect the powerful impact of the Romantic trend.

Numerous diverse definitions have been assigned to the term Romanticism. A.O. Lovejoy is therefore led to say: "The word 'romantic' has come to mean so many things that, by itself, it means nothing" (232). Goethe calls it a "disease," Rousseau, "the return to nature," Hugo, "liberalism in literature," Scott, "the cult of the extinct," and the list goes on (Furst, Romanticism 2-3). However, there are a number of major concerns and emphases which most critics agree are characteristic of Romanticism. Lilian Furst in her illuminating book, Romanticism in Perspective, singles out individualism, imagination, and emotion as the "guiding principles" of the Romantics (27). I intend to use these three dominant principles as a working base in my argument that the Tour manifests a Pre-Romantic sensibility.

In my study of these two travel narratives, I will

proceed by isolating the major principles of the Augustan and Romantic ages and measuring the Journey and the Tour against these principles in order to determine the extent of their influence on these texts. I shall begin my discussion by first discussing the Augustan and Romantic attitudes towards the self and then examining the treatment of the self in the Journey and the Tour.

The most important acquisition for the traveller, states the Critical Review, is "that universal science and true wisdom" that Ulysses attained during his journeys by judiciously observing "the cities and manners of many men [my emphasis]" (qtd. in Batten 96,149). The Augustan man was curious about the complex world he inhabited, and by observing society felt he could comprehend himself and his universe. Imlac's description of the role of the poet in Rasselas aptly characterizes this Augustan bent towards a consideration of the general:

> The business of the poet ... is to examine, not the individual, but the species; to remark general properties and large appearances: he does not number the streaks of the tulip, or describe the different shades in the verdure of the forest. (28)

Owing to the popularity of travel, the Augustans grew increasingly aware of the strange peoples residing in different parts of the world. However, the peculiarities that distinguished the inhabitants of one country from another were of no consequence to them. They sought the common properties of the species for they believed that there was "a great uniformity among the actions of men, in all nations and ages" and human principles and operations always remain the same (Hume, Enquiries Concerning the Human Understanding 83). Hence, though the Augustans acknowledged moral relativism, they looked for the uniform principles that lay beneath the disparity (Curley, Age of Travel 15), principles that would enlighten them on their condition. David Hume emphasises the need for "general observations" on man as they provide "the clue of human nature, and teach us to unravel all its intricacies" (Enquiries 85). When the eighteenth-century churchman Dean Tucker talks about the "enlarged and impartial View of Men and Things, which no one single Country can afford" (qtd. in Butt 244), he, like Hume, is advocating a "science of human nature" that is beneficial, as it imparts historical and universal truths about human beings and their world.

In A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland Johnson announces that his and James Boswell's business in Scotland

is "with life and manners" (24). He is intrigued by Scottish manners and customs, which were far removed from those found in bustling London. He describes in detail almost everything associated with the Scots, from societal organization to superstition. Through these various details he is able to reflect on man and draw generalizations. In Montrose, observing the beggars and their method of seeking alms, which varies from the method used by their counterparts in London, Johnson proceeds to comment on the effects of a new and unexpected approach:

> Novelty has always some power, an unaccustomed mode of begging excites an unaccustomed degree of pity. But the force of novelty is by its own nature soon at an end; the efficacy of outcry and perseverance is permanent and certain. (8)

A particular observation leads Johnson to form a general conclusion.

Johnson believes that these universal truths will enable man to learn, understand, and appreciate his place in the universe. Meditating on the belief that longevity prevails in places where luxuries are few, he philosophises:

> Instances of long life are often related, which those who hear them are more willing

> to credit than examine. To be told that any man has attained a hundred years, gives hope and comfort to him who stands trembling on the brink of his own climacterick. (69)

By generalizing, Johnson hopes to extend man's outlook and acquire the enlarged vision of man that Dean Tucker encourages travellers to cultivate. Johnson's frequent depiction of commonplace events and situations in the Journey results from his conviction that the truth of a nation resides not in learned assemblies and courts, but in its "common life" (16). In Bamff, after commenting on "the incommodiousness of the Scotch windows," Johnson apologises for this minor observation, but feels it worth making, as "the greater part of our time passes in compliance with necessities, in the performance of daily duties, in the removal of small inconveniencies, in the procurement of petty pleasures." The "measure of general prosperity" is a collective estimate of "the great mass of nations," who are found in the streets, villages, shops, and farms (16-17). Johnson always strives to ascertain the larger pattern, hoping that it will be instructive.

While the Augustan looked to the species for answers, the Romantic averted his gaze from humankind as a whole and focused on what lay within the self. "It is just his

individuality that is the primary and eternal element in man" - Friedrich Schlegel's emphatic proclamation neatly sums up the importance the Romantics ascribed to the individual (qtd. in Furst, Perspective 65,321). "Individualism" was "one of the distinctive hallmarks of the Romantic attitude" (Furst, Perspective 56). The Romantics believed that the inner nature held the key to truth and understanding.

In his introduction to Wissenschaftslehre, J.G. Fichte asserts: "Heed only yourself: turn your gaze away from all around you, and inwards on to yourself.... Nothing outside of you matters, but solely you yourself" (qtd. in Furst, Perspective 58,320). For the Romantic, self-exploration and the expression of that inner consciousness was of ultimate importance as a means to knowledge. Goethe was so overwhelmed by the new experiences he encountered in his journey from Karlsbad to Rome (1786) that he wrote in his diary:

> So much is thrusting in on me that I can't fend it off, my existence is growing like a snowball, and it's as if my mind can't grasp or stand it all, and yet everything is developing outwards from within, and I cannot live without that. (qtd. in Reed 37)

The Romantic perceived the subjective consciousness as pivotal in the apprehension of knowledge. The larger pattern

of life did not figure as prominently in the Romantic mind as it did in the Augustan. William Blake's disregard for the general is evident when he states: "What is General Nature? is there Such a Thing? what is General Knowledge? is there such a Thing? Strictly Speaking All Knowledge is Particular" (qtd. in Bowra 96).

The Romantics ascribed much importance to the "creating self" for "creativity" was "an aspect of self-discovery" (Ball 5). The act of creation gave validity of being to the creator as it highlighted the workings of the unique, individual mind. Indeed, the creative process was as important as the final object of creation. Since the "creator and his experience" combined to produce the "created work," both "subject and object" threw light on each other (Ball 5).

Boswell was preoccupied with the creative process of the Tour because he saw it not only as a tribute to Johnson, but also as an act of self-realization and discovery. In the Tour Boswell explores a significant event in his own life. He had waited for this trip for ten years and, finally, was provided with the opportunity to give it literary expression. He would not even allow time he could spend with Johnson in Scotland to interfere with the writing of this work: "He asked me to-

day, how it happened that we were so little together: I told him, my Journal took up much time" (227). Boswell takes pride in his creative role and never hesitates to make note of Johnson's high praise for his journal: "The more I read of this, I think the more highly of you" (262), and "This will be a great treasure to us some years hence" (277). Boswell's creating self is a dominant feature and a felt presence in the Tour.

The Pre-Romantics had a dual approach to individualism. Furst discusses this in Romanticism in Perspective. Individualism was either the study of the relationship of a great man with his surroundings, or the exploration of the inner emotions (56). Both these forms are expressed in the Tour. From their first meeting in 1763, Boswell, who was a native of Edinburgh, had nursed the hope that Johnson would visit Scotland. To situate Johnson, the most city-bound of all great Englishmen, in a land he openly criticized would offer Boswell the opportunity to record Johnson's conversation and actions. The trip was also, as John Wain observes, a chance to introduce Johnson to "the society in which he, Boswell, had been reared and educated" (301). When Johnson finally visited Scotland, it was a realization of a dream for Boswell: "... and I exulted in the thought, that I now had him actually in Caledonia" (21).

In the opening pages of the book, Boswell declares that Johnson's conversations will "form the most valuable part" of the Tour (1), and indeed the travel account abounds with Johnson's views on diverse subjects, ranging from government policies, religion, and literature to food, farming tools, and clothing. Inserting a lengthy and vivid character sketch of Johnson, Boswell declares that "every thing relative to so great a man is worth observing" (19), and resolutely goes about recording the major and less important happenings that affected Johnson on the Scottish excursion. The Highlands and the Hebrides were as alien to Boswell as they were to Johnson. Boswell knew that to have Johnson amidst these unfamiliar and primitive surroundings would elicit illuminating responses from a unique individual:

> To see Dr.Johnson in any new situation is always an interesting object to me; and, as I saw him now for the first time on horseback, jaunting about at his ease in quest of pleasure and novelty, the very different occupations of his former laborious life, his admirable productions ... immediately presented themselves to my mind, and the contrast made a strong impression on my imagination. (132)

Everything connected to Johnson in any way is recorded -

mannerisms, anecdotes, and even seemingly insignificant details.

The Tour mentions by name most of the interesting or important people that Boswell and Johnson met on their journey. The Journey differs strikingly in this aspect. On many occasions Johnson omits identifying the people he came across. His account begins in this fashion:

> On the eighteenth of August we left Edinburgh, a city too well known to admit description, and directed our course northward, along the eastern coast of Scotland, accompanied the first day by another gentleman, who could stay with us only long enough to shew us how much we lost at separation .... (1)

In the Tour, Boswell reveals the identity of this "gentleman":

> Mr. Nairne, advocate, was to go with us as far as St. Andrews. It gives me pleasure that, by mentioning his *name*, I connect his title to the just and handsome compliment paid him by Dr. Johnson. (53)

In Johnson's narrative, the Highlanders employed by the travellers to run beside their horses are unnamed. Boswell

introduces these men as John Hay and Lauchan Vass, "whom Dr. Johnson has remembered with credit in his Journey, though he has omitted their names" (131). Johnson's exclusion of specific names in his narrative is related to the Augustan concern with the general rather than the particular. He hopes that his Scottish tour will shed some light on the universal human condition. Hence, he regards the inclusion of names as a minor detail, a digression from his ultimate purpose. Boswell's intention in his travel book is to capture Johnson in a new setting, and the people that Johnson encounters are an intrinsic part of this distinct experience.

Mark Schorer points out that "biography itself has two subjects, and two subjects only - the figure whose life is being re-created, of course, and the mind that is re-creating it" (77). Alongside Boswell's study of the relationship between Johnson and the Scottish milieu in the Tour runs a similar study of the individual - Boswell exploring his own self. Intertwined with notes on Johnson are Boswell's own feelings, thoughts, and opinions. Some of these differ conspicuously from Johnson's. When Johnson is reported to have said "something much too rough" about the philosopher David Hume, Boswell records his own reactions:

> Violence is, in my opinion, not suitable to

> the Christian cause. Besides, I always lived on good terms with Mr. Hume, though I have frankly told him, I was not clear that it was right in me to keep company with him. (30)

In Elgin, after reporting Johnson's disapproval of piazzas as they made "the under story of a house very dark," Boswell inserts his own view: "I approved much of such structures in a town, on account of their conveniency in wet weather" (115). Boswell consistently registers his personal responses. He claims that the Tour is a "memorial" to Johnson, but at many points in the book, Boswell's consciousness emerges dominant and provides the main perspective. A notable example is the storm scene. On their journey to Mull, a fierce storm threatens to capsize their boat, endangering the lives of all those on board. At a critical moment like this, one would have expected Boswell to focus on Johnson and his particular response at a time of crisis. Boswell, however, devotes considerable attention to his own mental state: "Amidst all these terrifying circumstances, I endeavoured to compose my mind. It was not easy to do it; for all the stories that I had heard of the dangerous sailing among the Hebrides, which is proverbial, came full upon my recollection. When I thought of those who were dearest to me, and would suffer severely, should I be

lost, I upbraided myself, as not having a sufficient cause for putting myself in such danger" (282). Terrified, Boswell is moved to prayer, but is also perturbed by the notion that prayers do not necessarily result in divine intervention. His belief in prayer, however, triumphs in the end: "Dr. Ogden's excellent doctrine on the efficacy of intercession prevailed" (282). The whole episode is rooted in a strong self-awareness. In the Journey, Johnson also describes the gale, but in a more muted tone and less personal terms. The self is not projected dominantly. He does not dwell on his feelings and has only this to say about himself: "I was seasick and lay down" (99).

In his endeavour to provide a vivid, accurate picture of Johnson, Boswell falls back on his own, individual knowledge and experience of Johnson. His comments on Johnson are reflective of his own inner thoughts and feelings. He registers his personal reactions quite consciously and deliberately because he sees them as an essential ingredient providing colour, emotional detail, and a sense of context. Boswell finds the approach to Raasay enticing, and his detailed description of the surroundings provides a panoramic view:

> We saw before us a beautiful bay, well defended by a rocky coast; a good family mansion; a fine verdure about it, - with a

> considerable number of trees; - and beyond it
> hills and mountains in gradation of wildness.
> (164-65)

Boswell's expectations are raised as they approach the shore. The boatmen sing with gusto, and as they near the coast, their singing is taken over by that of the reapers as they work with "a bounding activity" (165). An atmosphere of continuous gaiety is evoked. Boswell's observations are reflective of an individual consciousness in which the vigorous singing and the natural beauty contribute to a total experience.

Johnson also mentions that their passage is "quick and pleasant" (47) but leaves it at that. He does not, like Boswell, describe the elements that contribute to the pleasantness of the journey. His brief and matter-of-fact approach does not permit him to dwell on physical details. This, however, does not mean that Johnson is blind to these elements. He is aware of the lively singing, but (as Boswell notes in the Tour) observes the historical nature of the music ("naval musick was very ancient") rather than its effect and contribution to the atmosphere and physical setting (165). Johnson singles out the irregularly broken crags on the rocky beach for particular mention. It caused much difficulty when landing, and he found it a problem at

all the other places as well. This observation is also important because it reveals something of the history of the Highlanders - they lived under the constant threat of siege. Though the lack of steps posed problems when trying to land on shore, Johnson does not mention his personal hardship. He dwells, instead, on how the neglect to hew the rocks into a regular flight of steps is "the consequence of a form of life inured to hardships, and therefore not studious of nice accommodations" (47). In the Tour, Boswell mentions Johnson's personal experience of that hardship and his inability to comprehend a people who do not bother about such physical conveniences. To Boswell, Johnson's private feelings are important because they contribute towards a sense of the particular personality of the man.

As outlined in Chapter I, empiricism was a dominant mode of inquiry in the Augustan period and had a great impact on eighteenth-century travel and travel literature. The Royal Society had many well-known exponents of the empirical method. Among its members were John Locke and Sir Isaac Newton. Both men did not chronologically belong to the Augustan era, but their dynamic theories fitted in with the energy and the spirit of curiosity that characterized the Augustan age. Pat Rogers, in The Augustan Vision, calls Locke and Newton, the "two founding fathers of Augustan

culture" (39). Their theories did not only undergird the scientific thought of the day, but influenced the realms of letters, philosophy, and the arts as well. Marjorie Nicolson, who investigated the influence of Newton's scientific theories on eighteenth-century poetry, states that "Newton gave color back to poetry from which it had almost fled during the period of Cartesianism" (22). Indeed, Locke and Newton changed the way eighteenth-century man perceived himself and his world. Locke's most famous work, "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding" (1690), investigates one of the most fundamental aspects of man - the operative process of the human mind. In it he expounds the theory that knowledge is gathered through sensory perception and is not the result of innate ideas. The mind is compared to a clean slate - tabula rasa - and notions are acquired through experience. Experience then is the basis for knowledge as it gives rise to the formulation of ideas. Extremely empirical in its thrust, this theory is in line with the Augustan yearning to expand the grasp of the mind over the human situation and environment.

The inductive technique which is the basis of Newton's experiment on the colours of the rainbow is another influential mode of inquiry in eighteenth-century travel literature. Newton maintains that natural philosophy should

adopt the methods of analysis in mathematics whereby effects are traced to their cause:

> As in mathematics, so in natural philosophy, the investigation of difficult things by the method of analysis, ought ever to precede the method of composition .... By this way of analysis we may proceed from compounds to ingredients, and from motions to the forces producing them; and, in general, from effects to their causes, and from particular causes to more general ones , till the argument end in the most general. (Optics 3.1: 543)

One cannot overlook the striking similarity between this theory and the movement towards generality which is a characteristic feature of the eighteenth century. Thus one finds Dean Tucker asserting that the "enlarged and impartial View of Men and Things" which was the outcome of enlightened travel, enabled one to trace "Effects and Consequences [my emphasis], as are produced by the various Systems of Religion, Government, and Commerce in the World" (qtd. in Butt 244).

In the Journey Johnson consciously casts himself as an empiricist as he systematically surveys Scotland, striving to capture the essence of the place and its people. The

preoccupation with the empirical method and the techniques associated with it constantly surfaces in the Journey. In his entry at Aberdeen he describes fifteenth-century scholars and those some time after them as a race "more studious of elegance than of truth." The "examination of tenets and of facts was reserved for another generation" (11). Johnson sees himself as part of this other generation, the scientific travellers of the eighteenth century who journeyed the world in search of irrefutable facts so as to dispel error and prejudice.

In defining this new-found role of the eighteenth-century traveller, Johnson frequently comments on other travellers. At Lough Ness, for example, there is a tone of reproach in his amazement at Hector Boethius's inaccurate estimation of the breadth of the lake: "Boethius lived at no great distance; if he never saw the lake, he must have been very incurious, and if he had seen it, his veracity yielded to very slight temptations" (22-23). Johnson and Boswell carried a copy of Martin Martin's A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland (1703) with them on their trip. Johnson does not always agree with the earlier traveller. At Raasay, Johnson argues that Martin's account of a burial custom practised there is incorrect and relates what he himself has learnt from his inquiries:

> It is told by Martin, that at the death of the Lady of the Island, it has been here the custom to erect a cross. This we found not to be true. The stones that stand about the chapel at a small distance, some of which perhaps have crosses cut upon them, are believed to have been not funeral monuments, but the ancient boundaries of the sanctuary or consecrated ground. (52)

Johnson goes on to criticize Martin's inaccurate and incomplete account, lamenting that "what he has neglected cannot now be performed" (52).

Johnson's detailed descriptions of objects and places are often interspersed with reflections on the need for accuracy in travel accounts. At Inch Kenneth, for example, Johnson interrupts his narrative to discuss the effect a lapse of time has on an observation, a thing "more dangerous to the veracity of itinerary narratives, than imperfect mensuration" (122). He advises potential travellers to keep records of their excursions. In Armidel Johnson complains about the imprecision of "Highland information" (40) which makes the traveller feel he "knows less as he hears more" (41). The absence of historical records, which means a heavy reliance on the oral tradition, results in contradictory

accounts of the Highlands. This is a source of annoyance to Johnson. It also explains his severe criticism of Martin's often inaccurate observations, as Martin visited the islands at a time when the old culture was still alive. The emphasis on empirical observation underlies Johnson's whole journey. Even Johnson's cogitations are always based on external observations. Just as Imlac tells the younger travellers that "to judge rightly of the present we must oppose it to the past; for all judgement is comparative" (80) and, consequently, encourages them to visit the pyramids, Johnson in his endeavour to glimpse traces of the Scottish past, religiously examines old buildings and ruins. At Icolmkill he visits churches, a nunnery and its chapel, and the cemetery. He describes building materials and distinguishes between the different styles of architecture. When Johnson is unable to provide the reader with an objective description, he refuses to describe altogether. At Fort George, he does not attempt to "give any account" of the garrison. He says: "I cannot delineate it scientifically, and a loose and popular description is of use only when the imagination is to be amused" (19).

The entry at Corrichatachin in Skye reflects the inductive mode of inquiry that Johnson also employs in the Journey. In this lengthy account, Johnson discusses the

various aspects of Highland life, from the eating habits and cooking implements of the Highlander to their livestock and rituals. These facts collected during his short sojourn there form the basis of conjectures: "There was perhaps never any change of national manners so quick, so great, and so general, as that which has operated in the Highlands, by the last conquest, and the subsequent laws" (46). Old assumptions give way to empirical findings, and effects are traced to their causes. The clans have not retained their fiery character and feudal loyalties, and what remains is a subdued race, their dignity and spirit extinguished. Tracing past and current trends in society, the argument moves towards a general evaluation of the Highlanders. The empirical and inductive techniques supply the mind with new ideas and stimulate the reasoning process: "As we see more, we become possessed of more certainties, and consequently gain more principles of reasoning, and found a wider basis of analogy" (31). The impulse of this statement is Lockean in the importance it ascribes to knowledge gathered from sense impressions. Johnson states that the purpose of this journey is to study the people and customs in the Highlands and Hebrides: "our business was with life and manners" (24). Yet one cannot overlook Johnson's other overriding interest in the Journey - the empirical and inductive procedures of learning.

The Romantics attributed primacy to the imaginative perception, and this separated them from those who surveyed the world empirically and scientifically (Furst, Perspective 119). "If we wish to distinguish a single characteristic which differentiates the English Romantics from the poets of the eighteenth century, it is to be found in the importance which they attached to the imagination and in the special view which they held of it" (Bowra 87). William Blake deemed it "The Divine Vision" because he believed that it participated in the divine creative act (qtd. in Bowra 98). It offered the only meaningful way of perceiving the world. Coleridge writes in volume one of the Biographia Literaria:

> The primary Imagination I hold to be the living Power and prime Agent of all human Perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM. (202)

To the Romantics then the imagination threw light on man and his condition. Through it one could acquire knowledge of the "transcendental order which explains the world of appearances" (Bowra 106). To visualize imaginatively was to attain an authentic vision. Keats writes to a friend: "I am certain of nothing but the holiness of the Heart's affections and the truth of Imagination." (qtd. in Bate, "Keats's

'Negative Capability' and the Imagination" 196). The Romantics, however, did not completely disregard physical reality. Rather their imagination modified their observations. They considered it a power that "colours objects of sense with the mind's own light" (Hill 12). In The Prelude, Wordsworth vividly captures this idea of the imagination operating on a sensory impression:

> An auxiliar light
> Came from my mind which on the setting sun
> Bestow'd new splendor, the melodious birds,
> The gentle breezes, fountains that ran on,
> Murmuring so sweetly in themselves, obey'd
> A like dominion; and the midnight storm
> Grew darker in the presence of my eye. (64)

In The Mirror and the Lamp M.H. Abrams discusses the two common metaphors used to describe the mind. The Augustan mind is considered a mirror reflecting external reality. The Romantic mind is regarded as a lamp casting light on the object it perceives (vi). Boswell's observations are frequently coloured by the light of his imagination. At Slains Castle, the travellers are lavishly entertained by Lord Errol. Boswell is "exceedingly pleased" by the nobleman's "dignified person" and "agreeable countenance" (103). Lord Errol recounts for the travellers the story of a

man from Perth who had murdered his mistress and child. His execution was delayed when the rope broke and, while another was sought, the convict had to lie on the ground for an hour. The Earl believes that the incident was just punishment for the man's heinous act and was divinely ordained. Boswell heartily approves of this view as he thinks it demonstrates the Earl's high principles: "I was really happy here. I saw in this nobleman the best dispositions and best principles; and I saw him, *in my mind's eye*, to be the representative of the ancient Boyds of Kilmarnock" (104). Boswell's vivid imagination sets the Earl apart from his immediate surroundings, and the Earl represents an olden clan. Boswell's imagination frequently shapes his observations. At the castle they are provided with an "elegant room" (105), but Boswell has a restless night. He cites the reasons for this - a blazing fire, the roaring sound of the sea, and the unpleasant odour emitted by the pillows stuffed with the feathers of some sea-fowl. His distress is compounded when he envisages Lord Errol's father in the room: "I saw, in imagination, Lord Errol's father, Lord Kilmarnock, (who was beheaded on Towerhill in 1746,) and I was somewhat dreary" (105). Boswell's imagination affects him physically and emotionally. At Inverness, not having received any word from home, he plunges momentarily into a state of despair: "Transient clouds darkened my imagination, and in those

clouds I saw events from which I shrunk" (128). Johnson's account of his stay at Slains Castle is limited to a brief, physical description of the imposing castle.

Though Boswell allows his imagination free rein, he is, at the same time, particular about accuracy of observation. In chapter IV of the Biographia Literaria Coleridge commends Wordsworth's success at achieving a "fine balance of truth in observing with the imaginative faculty in modifying the objects observed" (59). Boswell is able to strike a similar balance. Lord Monboddo's theory that men descended from the monkeys and that in some parts of the world men have tails like the other animals did not go down well with many of his contemporaries, including Johnson. Hence, Boswell must have been pleased when Johnson agreed to his suggestion that they visit Monboddo. Though Boswell's description of their journey to Monboddo is based on factual details, it is liberally sprinkled with adjectives that heighten suspense at the approaching encounter between the two men. The travellers drive over a "wild moor" (76). Monboddo is a "wretched place, wild and naked, with a poor old house" (77). Boswell expresses fears of "violent altercation" between the men. Johnson and Lord Monboddo converse on many topics, and there is a small dispute as to whether "the Savage or the London Shopkeeper had the best existence" (81). Boswell reports that

Johnson complained unreasonably about the food: "I have done greater feats with my knife than this" (81). Yet there is nothing of the fearsome quarrel that Boswell predicts will erupt, and both men get on amiably. In this account we see Boswell's imagination at work, assembling images and inserting remarks that intensify the drama of the occasion. He does not deviate from the truth, but aspires to create a special effect.

In the Journey, Johnson offers a brief and factual account of the visit: "Early in the afternoon Mr. Boswell observed that we were at no great distance from the house of Lord Monboddo. The magnetism of his conversation easily drew us out of our way, and the entertainment which we received would have been a sufficient recompence for a much greater deviation" (8). Boswell was apparently disappointed at the outcome of the meeting and by Johnson's depiction of it. In a letter to Johnson he comments: "Lord Monboddo is treated perhaps more genteely than he deserves from you upon the whole. However he was very agreeable to you that day. But in strict order of time it was not his magnetism that drew you; for you did not like him much from what you had formerly seen of him" (qtd. in Journey 157).

It must be pointed out, however, that though the

Augustans were concerned to observe external realities in a scientific manner, they were not totally against the imagination. In Spectator 411 Joseph Addison states: "The Pleasures of the Imagination, taken in their full Extent, are not so gross as those of Sense, nor so refined as those of the Understanding. The last are, indeed, more preferable, because they are founded on some new Knowledge or Improvement in the Mind of Man; yet it must be confest, that those of the Imagination are as great and as transporting as the other" (537-38). During this trip Johnson wished to see traces of Highland life that had fired his imagination as a boy. He sometimes includes Homeric allusions in his descriptions, and this, according to Mary Lascelles, is "his favourite device for suggesting an experience that has stirred his imagination" (8). Dazzled by the hospitality of the Macleods, who reside in the hostile terrain of Raasay, Johnson says that the experience "fills the imagination with a delightful contrariety of images" (54). He ends his account with a classical allusion: "In Raasay, if I could have found an Ulysses, I had fancied a Phoeacia" (54). He writes of Dunvegan that he "had tasted lotus, and was in danger of forgetting that I was ever to depart" (58). At Slains Castle, where Boswell enthuses over Lord Errol and permits his imagination to wander, Johnson is strangely reticent - strange because, as we learn from the Life of Beattie (and

not from the Journey), Johnson's imagination is equally stirred, for he likens Lord Errol to Homer's Sarpedon (Lascelles 8).

Yet Johnson believed that if the imagination went unchecked it could gain tyrannical control over the mind, and, as Imlac warned his young charges, "fictions [then] begin to operate as realities, false opinions fasten upon the mind, and life passes in dreams of rapture or of anguish" (Rasselas 115). The Augustans constantly sought to close "the gap between words and things" (Fleeman 356). Johnson regarded Jerome Lobo's travel narrative, History of Abyssinia (1735), as a good example of this endeavour:

> The Portuguese traveller, contrary to the general Vein of his Countrymen, has amused his Reader with no Romantick Absurdities or Incredible Fictions ... He appears ... to have described Things as he saw them, to have copied Nature from the Life, and to have consulted his Senses, not his Imagination. ... (qtd. in Fleeman 356)

The Augustan man saw it as his duty to correct mankind and bring order to a disordered world. Consequently, the moralistic impulse and the educative intent are dominant

features in eighteenth-century literature. Writers poured out facts and highlighted issues that appealed to the reader's sense of reason. Alexander Pope's assertion in the Essay of Man that "Reason alone countervails all human faculties" adequately sums up the importance eighteenth-century society ascribed to reason. Yet literature had also to entertain the reader, and the blending of facts with artistry, an eighteenth-century characteristic, was "one of the acknowledged cornerstones of neoclassical criticism" (Batten 25). Horace discusses the dual role of the writer in The Art of Poetry: "He has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure, at once delighting and instructing the reader" (479). The ideal Augustan travel book has a mixture of the *utile dulci* (Horace 478). In A Voyage to Lisbon, Henry Fielding expresses the ardent wish that his reflections and observations will alert men in positions of power to the evils that are burdening the English people, and calls for reforms of maritime laws. These are serious matters, yet Fielding chooses to convey his instruction in a light manner because he believes that travel literature should be written with a view towards "the entertainment and information of mankind" (185). In his review of James Grainger's Sugar Cane, Johnson stipulates the qualifications of an American geographer. He was one who examined as a philosopher and described as a poet. This was the ideal desired of all

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eighteenth-century travellers. In the Augustan travel book the poet and the philosopher merge to produce an account that both delights and edifies.

Johnson's famous essay on travel writing, Idler 97, asserts that the writer who "instructs must offer to the mind something to be imitated or something to be avoided; he that pleases must offer new images to his reader, and enable him to form a tacit comparison of his own state with that of others" (Samuel Johnson: The Idler and The Adventurer 298). The Journey is a fine blend of the Horation dictum to instruct and to please. Johnson visited the Highlands and the Western Islands of Scotland with the purpose of viewing a land and a people that he and his countrymen knew very little about. He apologises to the reader for the inclusion of superfluous information, but explains that this is owing to his apprehension that "Scotland is little known to the greater part of those who may read these observations" (10). Johnson had a great desire to view for himself this feudal, patriarchal society. What he encountered to his utter disappointment, was a society in the process of rapid transformation and decline. He laments: "there subsists no longer in the Islands much of that peculiar and discriminative form of life, of which the idea had delighted our imagination" (92). Johnson highlights the various changes

in the Highlands. He is sympathetic towards the plight of the Highlanders and desires their improvement. In Ostig, he discusses the many unjustifiable hardships effected by the penal laws following the 1745 Rebellion. He evaluates English laws, trying to determine if "more good than evil has been produced" by their implementation (75). Asserting that the laws for disarmament should be reviewed, Johnson appeals to the authorities to remove the regulations that were threatening to obliterate the very quality and character of Highland life. By pointing out the hardships of the Highlanders, Johnson also wishes to make his reader more appreciative of his own native land: "All travel has its advantages. If the passenger visits better countries, he may learn to improve his own, and if fortune carries him to worse, he may learn to enjoy it" (115).

Johnson, through his various observations of the Scots and investigations of old monuments, also recreates to some extent a sense of the Highland past. His account of Inch Kenneth is an example of the writer's ability to successfully capture a glimpse of the past and supply "new images to his reader." Inch Kenneth, home of Sir Allan, Chieftan of the Maclean clan, offers traces of a feudal establishment. Sir Allan had managed to retain "much of the dignity and authority of his birth" (119), and lived in elegance with his

two daughters amid lush surroundings. "Romance does not often exhibit a scene that strikes the imagination more than this little desert in these depths of Western obscurity" (119). Although the ancient systems were slowly eroding away, there were still lingering traces of the old establishment that Johnson felt he could convey to his reader. Johnson's intentions to educate and delight his reader, to enlighten the Scots on their situation, and to provide solutions are discernable throughout the Journey. Jeffrey Hart accurately describes the narrative as "a highly-wrought work of art, possessing a complex organisation" (45).

Where reason was an esteemed faculty for the Augustans, feeling assumed a dominant role for the Romantic. "In place of the moralistic purpose previously attributed to art, its emotional effect was now brought to the fore" (Furst, Perspective 222). Feeling is so vital and fundamental to the Romantic sensibility that Victor Hugo, in OEuvres Poétiques, defines the "human heart" as the "foundation of art just as the earth is of nature" (qtd. in Furst, Perspective 228,343). Since the Romantic grew increasingly sceptical of external evidence, he looked into his heart for answers. Coleridge states: "The feelings will set up their standard against the understanding, whenever the understanding has renounced its allegiance to the reason" (qtd. in Furst, Perspective 220).

The importance of the emotions in the Romantic outlook is apparent when Ludwig Tieck declares: "Not these plants, not these mountains, do I wish to copy, but my spirit, my mood, which governs me just at this moment ... " (qtd. in Abrams 50). The emotions came to be considered as the only reliable means of perception. Says Novalis: "the heart is the key to the world and to life" (qtd. in Furst, Perspective 219-20, 342).

While Boswell also appeals to the reader's sense of reason, his emotions are often given free rein in the Tour. A particularly good example is the account at Kingsburgh. Kingsburgh held special significance for Boswell as Prince Charles Edward had sought shelter there after landing at Portree. It was also at Kingsburgh that the Prince met Flora Macdonald, the woman who was to help him escape to Skye. From his description, we sense his excitement at their arrival and reception at Kingsburgh. They are genially welcomed by the "hospitable" Mr.Macdonald, who leads Johnson with "respectful attention" into the house. Boswell then gives a vivid sketch of the traditional attire of Kingsburgh, another person involved in the Prince's escape. The description of the "comfortable parlour" and "a good fire" sets the scene for the much anticipated encounter between Flora Macdonald and Johnson.

Boswell is enthralled by this meeting of two remarkable personalities:

> To see Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great champion of the English Tories, salute Miss Flora Macdonald in the isle of Sky, was a striking sight; for though somewhat congenial in their notions, it was very improbable they should meet here. (184)

Boswell finds the setting "unique" and is intensely aware of his and Johnson's presence there. In the Life of Johnson, there are a number of references to Johnson's views on Jacobitism which suggest a rather ambivalent attitude. To Boswell at least Johnson's "tenderness for that unfortunate House" [the House of Stuart], was supposedly a well-known fact (Life 1:176), yet Boswell reports hearing the Doctor declare that "if holding up his right hand would have secured victory at Culloden to Prince Charles's army, he was not sure he would have held it up" (Life 1:430). This ambivalence, undeniably, contributes to Boswell's great sense of anticipation in relation to this historic encounter.

In the Journey, Johnson suppresses his political views. He is aware that Flora is an important person, but his treatment of their meeting lacks the emotional excitement that underlies Boswell's description. He pays her a stately

tribute: "Flora Macdonald, a name that will be mentioned in history, and if courage and fidelity be virtues, mentioned with honour" (54). But apart from this accolade, no political opinion is expressed. Our knowledge of Johnson's political views comes from the Life. In contrast Boswell is clearly thrilled to gain the acquaintance of this famous woman and eager to record every observation and feeling. The pleasant setting and celebrated company put him in a "cordial humour" (185). However, all is not well, as his "heart [is] grieved" (185) at Kingsburgh's sad state of affairs which made it necessary for him to migrate to America. The delightful environment, however, soon lifts this temporary gloom, and he comforts himself with the thought that the spirited Kingsburgh will thrive anywhere. The revelation of his inner state illuminates Boswell's strong sense of himself and the need to share his feelings with the reader. Johnson, on the other hand, does not allow himself the liberty to express directly his personal sentiments. True to the Augustan ideal, his approach is balanced and controlled. There is a marked sense of restraint and proportion, which is the essence of the classical spirit (Babbit 16). Johnson abides by this principle so strictly that Boswell is moved to say: "You have touched the political tenets of the islanders with a *very* soft address" (qtd. in Journey 210).

Boswell is not averse to expressing his subjective impressions very forcefully indeed. The entry at Corrichatachin provides another clear example of this particular tendency. He recalls Johnson's statement at Aberdeen - "Sensation is sensation" (158), and traces his own shifting responses to the environment, commenting that the hospitable Corrichatachin house of the night before presently feels like a prison. The weather influences his mood significantly: "Nothing is more painful to the mind than a state of suspence, especially when it depends upon the weather, concerning which there can be so little calculation" (159). His feelings frequently fluctuate, and his dampened spirits improve considerably the next day when the weather clears: "the brilliant rays [of the sun] penetrated into my very soul" (160). At Dunvegan, when he voices his uneasiness at not receiving any letters from his family, he comments that Johnson, bereft of family ties, is spared these "apprehensions" (232). But we know that Johnson was not entirely free from worry because he wrote in a letter to Mrs.Thrale dated September 30 that his journey was gradually becoming tedious. Yet Johnson never mentions his discontentment in the Journey. William Dowling accurately describes Boswell's emotional responses to his experiences as a constant running counterpoint to Johnson's sober reactions (107).

Both Johnson and Boswell found it a challenge to come to terms with the Scotland of 1773. The Highlanders were victims of a rapid transformation, and Johnson found many of these changes disquieting. By juxtaposing whatever observable remnants of the past that he could accumulate with the current changes, Johnson was alerting the English authorities and the Scots to the irreversible consequences of a turbulent transition in the fabric of Highland life. Johnson is "a disturber of the peace - not by rebellion" (Lascelles 12), but by appealing to the reader's faculty of reason. The historical associations of the places and people that they encountered in Scotland kindled Boswell's patriotic spirits and deep ancestral pride. Though he was aware of the changes taking place in Scotland, they were not his predominant concern. He was instead keen to observe and record his emotional responses towards his surroundings. In the Tour Boswell himself becomes a focus of attention alongside Johnson, his primary study.

The philosophical stance is the pose most frequently adopted by writers in eighteenth-century travel books (Batten 72). Their books are a mixture of concrete observations and philosophical musings. In the Journey Johnson is the philosophical traveller. He attempts to capture the feel and quality of Scottish life through a detailed consideration of

the geological, historical, and sociological features of Scotland, particularly the Hebrides. Consequently, he is not concerned to follow a strict chronological sequence, and days and dates do not figure prominently in his book. He focuses on the major places that he visits, bringing his impressions together to create a rich sense of the physical and cultural environment. The account written in Ostig in Skye, incidentally the longest section in the book, offers a vivid example of this intermingling of observations and philosophical musings. Here Johnson dwells on numerous aspects of the people and their surroundings and ponders deeply over the various implications of their particular way of life. Thus the Journey, which Johnson describes to Boswell as dealing "more in notions than facts" (Letters 409), is firmly entrenched in the tradition of the eighteenth-century travel book. In it, to use R.W. Chapman's words, Johnson "[writes] as a philosopher" ("Johnson in Scotland" 461).

The Tour departs from this tradition in certain respects for it is an intriguing combination of various genres. Like the Journey, it is a travel book providing detailed information about places and people in Scotland. But it is also a personal journal, part of a continuous journal Boswell kept for many years and discontinued shortly before

his death. Boswell's book is also a biographical account of Johnson's stay in Scotland. Boswell considered the biographical element supremely important. He wished to write a voluminous biography of Johnson's life. This intention is asserted at the end of the Tour: "[I am] ambitious to erect a literary monument, worthy of so great an authour, and so excellent a man" (421). The Tour was the first step towards that monumental task.

The doctrine of generality was a predominant feature in the eighteenth century. Portraits which were too personal were frowned upon. Joseph Addison was spokesman for his contemporaries when he rebuked biographers who, for financial gains, exposed "the secrets of the dead to the curiosity of the living" (qtd. in Clifford, "How Much Should a Biographer Tell?" 72-73). Ethical considerations vastly influenced biographical writing in the eighteenth century. Hence the climate of opinion was ill-prepared for the intimate portrait of Johnson which appeared in the Tour. Boswell shows a considerable degree of independence when he audaciously flies in the face of Augustan convention.

Thus, when the Tour was published in 1785, it was met by many hostile reviews. Horace Walpole, appalled by the revealing nature of the biography, called it a "most absurd

enormous book .... It is the story of a mountebank and his zany" (qtd. in Clifford, "How Much Should a Biographer Tell?" 86). There were also personal attacks on Boswell's character. Lord Monboddo's scathing comments are an instance in point:

> Before I read his Book [the Tour] I thought he was a Gentleman who had the misfortune to be mad; I now think he is a mad man who has the misfortune not to be a Gentleman. (qtd. in Clifford, "How Much Should a Biographer Tell?" 87)

Many of Boswell's contemporaries viewed this new form of biography as an invasion of the individual's privacy. Mrs. Montagu voiced the opinion of many when she expressed her wish that "this new invented mode of disgracing the dead and calumniating ye living perish with the short lived work [the Tour] of Master Boswell" (qtd. in Clifford, "How Much Should a Biographer Tell?" 87).

The intimate nature of the biographical details in the the Tour reflects a Pre-Romantic sensibility. The emergence of this new form of biography which was deeply personal and revealing in nature can be traced to a great extent to the shift in sensibility that took place in the late eighteenth century. James Clifford emphasises this in his essay "How

Much Should a Biographer Tell?" A "radical change" occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century, which brought about a new outlook towards biographical writing. This new form of biography could be "interpreted as a romantic genre, a product of the new insistence on looking into a man's heart and motives" (78).

From the character sketch of Johnson in the early pages of the Tour, it is obvious that Boswell does not wish to write a panegyric to the older traveller, but to render a realistic account of the man's virtues and weaknesses. Though Boswell commends Johnson's humanity, benevolence, and strong monarchical principles, he adds that Johnson "would not tamely suffer to be questioned" on these principles. Johnson's mind had the extraordinary capacity to store diverse information, yet he "was conscious of his superiority" and "was somewhat susceptible of flattery" (17). The description continues in this vein for the rest of the sketch, incorporating Johnson's good and bad qualities to provide a dynamic impression of his personality. Never at any point in the Tour is the reader allowed to forget that he is confronting the renowned Dr. Johnson. Yet Boswell does not hesitate to disclose Johnson's whims and idiosyncrasies which he noted during the journey. We learn of Johnson's refusal to wear a night-cap when he went to bed, his

occasional stubbornness and abrupt manner, and his love for word play. This last observation is noteworthy as Johnson, in Preface to Shakespeare's Plays (1765), is critical of Shakespeare's indulgence in the use of word play (xxiii-xxiv). Even little incidents, Boswell tells us, could set Johnson laughing uncontrollably. Personal details of this sort and other similarly candid, occasionally uncomplimentary information about Johnson that can be found in the Tour, were considered offensive by eighteenth-century readers.

It is interesting that Boswell's biographical approach, which caused such a stir among his contemporaries, was one that Johnson himself advocated. Johnson believed that "if a man is to write *A Panegyrick*, he may keep vices out of sight; but if he professes to write *A Life*, he must represent it really as it was" (Life 3:155). In the Tour Johnson refers to this same belief: "There is something noble in publishing truth, though it condemns one's self" (Life 5:211). Boswell's portrait of Johnson in the Tour illustrates his adherence to this biographical precept. Aware of the criticisms that his revealing details about Johnson would evoke, Boswell often apologises for these "minute particulars" but insists that "they prove the scrupulous fidelity of [his] Journal" (279). Indeed Johnson, he says, described the Tour as "a very exact

picture of a portion of his life" (279).

Donald M'Leod's analysis of the "gradual impression" Johnson creates on those who have obtained his acquaintance parallels the growing effect Boswell's portrait of Johnson has on the reader. M'Leod says: "When you see him first, you are struck with aweful reverence; - then you admire him; - and then you love him cordially" (272). In a similar manner, the illustrious literary figure of Johnson, so imposing in the earlier pages of the Tour, becomes more accessible to the reader as the narrative progresses. The revealing details, anecdotes, and admixture of virtue and weakness, serve to authenticate the biographical portrait of Johnson. Though certain details may seem to damage Johnson's image and reputation, this is only on the surface, and a deeper reading would prove otherwise. In the character sketch, for instance, Boswell mentions Johnson's scarred countenance, ungainly posture, attacks of convulsion, and frequent bouts of depression. Far from diminishing Johnson in our eyes, this information adds dignity to the character of the man who could overcome physical defects and illness in his pursuit of knowledge and a deeper understanding of man. The reader grows to love the man whose "heart and motives" are explored in the pages of the Tour. Boswell, as Leon Edel observes, laid a certain cornerstone for biography through the

creative consciousness and originality he displays in his biographical writings (21).

Though the Tour was popular, the intimate portraits of Boswell and Johnson in it, as has been stated, irked some of their contemporaries. In the same way the numerous references to the barren landscape, the illiteracy and ignorance of the Highlanders, and the dilapidated state of buildings in the Journey, gave rise to a chorus of criticism. Many saw these comments as springing from Johnson's open prejudice against the Scots. Donald McNicol, for instance, in the Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides (1779) asserts: "The Doctor hated Scotland; that was the *master-passion*, and it scorned all restraints. He seems to have set out with a design to give a distorted representation of every thing he saw on the north side of the Tweed" (Boulton 243). The anonymous writer in "Remarks on a Voyage to the Hebrides, in a letter to Samuel Johnson LL.D." (1775) agitatedly cries out: "Let him, then, who may in future have occasion to prove that a Scotchman is poor, dirty, lazy, foolish, ignorant, proud, an eater of kail, a liar, a brogue-maker, or a thief; and that Scotland is a barren wilderness; let him apply to your book, for there he will find ample authority" (Boulton 239-40).

Ironically, these critics failed to see that it was Johnson's deep concern for the Highlanders that triggered off these remarks and meditations. Perturbed by the distressing conditions in the Highlands, he constantly mulls over what he sees, searching for solutions. Back in Edinburgh the travellers visited a school for the deaf and dumb. Impressed by the level of achievement of the students, Johnson says: "It was pleasing to see one of the most desperate of human calamities capable of so much help: whatever enlarges hope, will exalt courage; after having seen the deaf taught arithmetick, who would be afraid to cultivate the Hebrides?" (136-37). Johnson's desire for the improvement and preservation of the Hebrides is clear in this line. Bate comments that this "moving final page of the book" symbolises the "whole tone" of the Journey (Samuel Johnson 471).

Boswell's and Johnson's presence in their narratives are strongly felt in different ways. While Boswell is predominantly concerned with observing Johnson and coming to terms with himself, Johnson is preoccupied with the Hebridean way of life and the many problems that beset it. Interestingly, it is the deliberate or unconscious intensity of Johnson's and Boswell's involvement in their narratives that sparked off the adverse criticism their respective books received. So much of themselves went into their books, and it

is their highly personal attitudes and philosophies that shaped and nurtured their accounts.

Johnson and Boswell wrote within the broad framework of travel and travel writing. The Journey manifests Johnson's consciousness of the duties and obligations of the Augustan travel writer. Scotland, especially the Highlands and the Hebrides, is to him, "a setting for new perspectives on human nature" (Wain, Samuel Johnson 306). Boswell's account too belongs to the eighteenth-century tradition of travel literature, and in certain areas he meets its objectives. The Tour captures the rhythm of eighteenth-century life in Scotland through its detailed portraits and multifarious observations. But the Tour does not rigidly follow eighteenth-century travel conventions because its author had different objectives and a different approach which reflect the influence of Pre-Romanticism. Boswell's stress on the individual, imagination, and feeling may fall short of the preeminence attributed to these aspects by the Romantics. Yet these features form an integral part of his narrative and invest it with a feel and tenor that foreshadow the Romantic movement.

Conclusion

Travel literature enjoyed an unprecendented popularity in the eighteenth century. This was largely due to the distinctive power inherent in the form, arising from its claim to explore the unknown and, as Johnson so aptly states, "to regulate imagination by reality" (Letters 326). Johnson and Boswell made various substantial contributions to the genre, but the Journey and the Tour are, in my opinion, their foremost works of travel literature. They are not merely travelogues depicting a visit to an obscure land made two centuries ago. These books possess a richness and vitality which accoount for their continued appeal today. The Journey and the Tour are deeply coloured by the personalities of their authors who addressed matters that were relevant to their age yet, at the same time, touched on issues that are timeless.

Paul Fussell, in his introduction to Robert Byron's The Road to Oxiana (an account of Byron's travels to a number of countries), talks about a breed of twentieth-century British writers who, like Byron, travelled beyond their native shores to foreign lands in the period between the two World Wars and wrote about their adventures. Their spirited and interesting accounts, particularly Byron's, prompt Fussell to suggest a redefinition of the term "travel book" because, even though a nonfictional genre, it offers ample scope for the exercise of the "imaginative genius" (v). This need for a new definition could well apply to the Journey and the Tour. Both books possess qualities honoured in eighteenth-century travel literature, yet they rise above the "problem of standardization" that threatened nonfictional eighteenth-century travel accounts as a result of the strict conventions of the genre (Curley, Age of Travel 65). Johnson's weighty and pointed reflections, and the genuine sympathy that underlies the Journey make his account more than a travel book. It is, as Meier rightly observes, "a work of art at once transcending and yet within the genre of the travel narrative" (185). Ann Schalit describes the Tour as "a rich, many-textured book" (13). This is because Boswell, in the Tour, consciously or unconsciously synthesized three literary genres - travel book, biography, and personal journal. His book can be likened to the Romantic travel narratives which,

Curley claims, "display a creative interaction of subjective feeling and objective observation ultimately inherited from the sympathetic and scientific studies of Georgian explorers" (Age of Travel 244). Boswell's acute observations of Johnson fuse with a penetrating analysis of his own fluctuating moods and thoughts. Like the Journey, the Tour retains the essential characteristics of travel literature yet transcends the genre.

The Journey and the Tour stand on their own as fine examples of travel literature. However, to obtain a fuller and livelier imaginative impression of Johnson's and Boswell's Scottish expedition, we should read them together. What Johnson does not state, Boswell does, and vice versa. Indeed, both accounts sometimes "pleasingly confuse" each other (Levi 18). The differing sensibilities which govern the authors' narratives help to account for this. Johnson was concerned with objects and events that held significance for the Augustan writer. Boswell's attention and energy were guided by a Pre-Romantic sensibility. Johnson's and Boswell's accounts combine to evoke a composite description of a place or incident. One event is viewed from different perspectives and described in varying tones. Consequently, a wide range of experiences is covered in both books, and this vivifies Johnson's and Boswell's travel experience for the reader.

Uncomfortable accommodation, unpredictable weather, and ~~precarious~~ rough roads made for a tedious journey for Johnson and Boswell, but they found their Hebridean jaunt exhilarating nonetheless. Boswell reports that Johnson had often told him that "the time he [Johnson] spent in this Tour was the pleasantest part of his life." Boswell in turn told Johnson that he would not lose the "recollection" of this expedition for five hundred pounds (Tour 405). The journey was at once exciting and instructive. Ten years later, Johnson had this to say of the trip: "I got an acquisition of more ideas by it than by any thing I remember. I saw quite a different system of life" (Life 4: 199). This expedition then was a momentous event in their lives. The Journey and the Tour reflect beliefs, values, and responses that were an intrinsic part of Johnson's and Boswell's total outlook.

In Scotland Johnson and Boswell were essentially seeking the same thing - to understand the human condition in all its complexity and variety. This common search underlies both their accounts, but is realised in different ways. Johnson looked outwards for answers. His focus was Scottish society, especially that of the Highlanders. Though an insulated community, it offered insights into human nature and the larger social predicament. The emphasis on the species, the educative thrust, and the empirical and inductive

investigative techniques that dominate the Journey support Johnson's outward-looking stance. Boswell's search gravitated towards himself. The focus of Boswell's world lay within him. The individual consciousness, feeling, and imagination figured prominently in his response to the external world. Everything was seen in relation to the self, and that is why the relationship between Johnson and Boswell, as manifested in the tutor-student pattern, is an integral part of the narrative. The Tour is a voyage of self-discovery, an introspective journey that Johnson would have applauded for he asserted that: "the great thing to be recorded ... is the state of your own mind" (Life 2: 217).

The differing sensibilities expressed in these two narratives did not only determine the approach and tone these writers adopted. They also influenced their overall perspectives on life. Their views, though different in certain respects, were basically positive and hopeful, affirming human aspirations and potential. Besides demonstrating the workings of two distinctive minds and sensibilities, this study ultimately provides an insight into two unique personalities, each with a coherent vision to impart.

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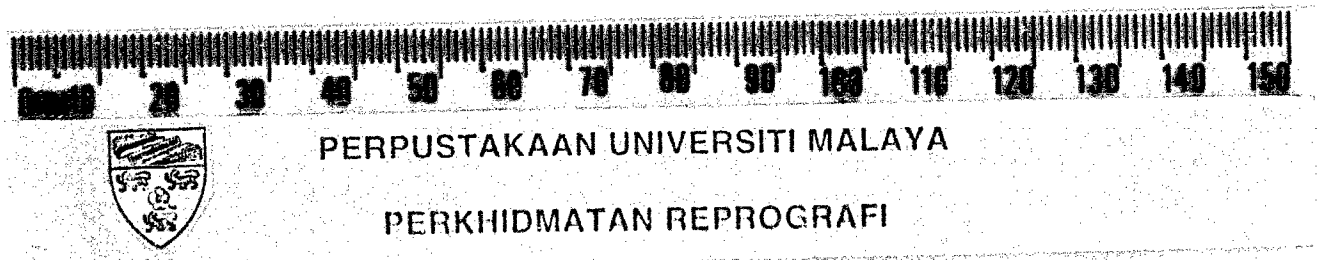
SAMUEL JOHNSON'S A JOURNEY TO THE WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND AND JAMES BOSWELL'S JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE HEBRIDES: TWO NARRATIVES AND TWO SENSIBILITIES

CAROL ELIZABETH LEON



UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
1990

SAMUEL JOHNSON'S *A JOURNEY TO THE WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND* AND JAMES BOSWELL'S *JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE HEBRIDES*: TWO NARRATIVES AND TWO SENSIBILITIES

Tesis yang diserahkan

untuk memenuhi sebahagian dari keperluan

Ijazah Sarjana Sastera University Malaya

oleh

Carol Elizabeth Leon

Jabatan Inggeris
Universiti Malaya
Ogos, 1990

ABSTRAK

Kesusasteraan pengembaraan adalah amat popular dalam abad kelapan belas. Menerusi peninjauannya terhadap perkara-perkara yang pelbagai dan yang belum diketahui, kesusasteraan pengembaraan membayangkan dengan tepatnya semangat ingin tahu dan belajar yang merupakan diantara ciri-ciri utama zaman abad kelapan belas. Genre ini, seperti genre kesusasteraan yang lain pada ketika itu, telah dikawal ketat oleh kaedah-kaedah penulisan abad kelapan belas. Samuel Johnson dan James Boswell telah banyak menyumbang kepada genre yang kaya ini. Dalam tahun 1773, kedua orang penulis ini telah bersama-sama melakukan lawatan ke negara Scotland. Lawatan ini telah mengilhamkan dua karya yang menarik iaitu karya Johnson A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland dan karya Boswell Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides. Kedua-dua karya ini merupakan contoh-contoh cemerlang kesusasteraan pengembaraan dan mencerminkan ciri-ciri penting kesusasteraan abad kelapan belas. Walaupun lawatan ke Scotland ini merupakan satu pengalaman bersama, Journey dan Tour mempunyai perbezaan yang ketara dari segi pendekatan dan fokus. Disertasi ini merupakan satu perbandingan di antara Journey dan Tour bagi tujuan menentukan pendekatan individu kedua penulis ini terhadap pengalaman pengembaraan mereka itu. Karya Journey menggambarkan sensibiliti Augustan mankala Tour mempunyai

ciri-ciri sensibiliti Pre-Romantik. Karya Journey membayangkan kesedaran Johnson terhadap tanggungjawab dan aspirasi seorang penulis pengembara Augustan. The Tour pula mengabungkan dua gejala utama kesusasteraan Inggeris iaitu Augustan dan Romantik. Walaupun Boswell amat menghormati fikiran Augustan Johnson, beliau, secara sedar atau tidak, menunjukkan di dalam penulisannya ciri-ciri gejala Romantik yang semakin kuat pengaruhnya pada penghujung abad kelapan belas. Tour mempunyai gaya dan corak yang boleh dihubungkait dengan gerakan Romantik. Sensibiliti-sensibiliti berbeza ini bukan sahaja menentukan pendekatan kedua penulis ini di dalam karya-karya mereka tetapi juga mempengaruhi pandangan mereka terhadap manusia dan kehidupan. Di dalam membandingkan persamaan-persamaan dan perbezaan-perbezaan di antara kedua karya ini, beberapa pengaruh dan perubahan yang di alami oleh kesusasteraan pengembaraan abad kelapan belas akan juga dibincangkan.

SAMUEL JOHNSON'S A JOURNEY TO THE WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND AND JAMES BOSWELL'S JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE HEBRIDES: TWO NARRATIVES AND TWO SENSIBILITIES

A Dissertation

submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

of the University of Malaya

by

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August, 1990

ABSTRACT

Travel literature enjoyed an unprecedented popularity in the eighteenth century. In its exploration of the varied and unknown, eighteenth-century travel literature reflects the spirit of curiosity that characterised the age. The genre, like other eighteenth-century literary forms, was closely governed by rigid conventions. Samuel Johnson and James Boswell made significant contributions to this rich tradition. In 1773 both men embarked on a momentous journey to Scotland which inspired two compelling narratives - Johnson's A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides. Both accounts are fine examples of eighteenth-century travel literature and mirror salient literary features of the age. However, though the Scottish trip was a shared experience, their travel accounts are strikingly dissimilar in treatment and emphasis. This dissertation compares Johnson's Journey and Boswell's Tour with a view to establishing the individual approaches of the two writers as they came to terms with the same travel experience. It demonstrates how the Journey manifests an Augustan sensibility and the Tour, a Pre-Romantic one. The Journey reveals Johnson's intense consciousness of the duties and aspirations of the Augustan travel writer. The Tour, however, illustrates the interesting peacock fusion of two

dominant literary trends, the Augustan and the Romantic. Though Boswell had enormous respect for Johnson, he was, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by the Romantic impulse that was gaining a strong foothold in the later half of the eighteenth century. His Tour displays a mood and character that foreshadow the Romantic movement. Individual sensibilities did not only determine the tone and approach Johnson and Boswell adopted in their respective narratives but ultimately influenced the writers' overall perspective on life. In tracing the striking differences and parallels between both these accounts, some of the seminal changes and influences that impacted on travel literature in the eighteenth century are also highlighted.

TAMAT

THE END