

SAMUEL JOHNSON'S *PROPOSALS FOR PRINTING
THE HISTORY OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT,*
[1738]¹

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I. Discovery of the *Proposals*

THERE can be very few whose interest in Samuel Johnson has been more than desultory who have not at some time or other allowed themselves the pleasure of a brief day-dream in which they tracked down and discovered a run of the early issues of the *Birmingham Journal*. In this provincial newspaper, established by the Birmingham bookseller Thomas Warren in November 1732, appeared Johnson's first printed essays, "early specimens of that particular mode of writing by which Johnson afterwards so greatly distinguished himself", as Boswell has it in the *Life* (i. 85). A solitary number (XXVIII of 21 May 1733)² is all that has survived, and it was published after Johnson had given up writing for the paper. The discovery of its earlier numbers would be a great triumph.³ Reveries of this

¹ The following abbreviations are used in this study: *Anecdotes* = John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, 9 vols., 1812-15; *Courtney* = W. P. Courtney & D. Nichol Smith, *A Bibliography of Samuel Johnson*, Oxford, 1915; *Clifford* = J. L. Clifford, *Young Samuel Johnson*, 1955; *Gleanings* = A. L. Reade, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, 11 vols., 1909-52; *GM* = *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1731-; *Hawkins, ed. Davis* = *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., by Sir John Hawkins, Knt.* (1787), ed. and abridged by B. H. Davis, 1961; *Letters* = *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 3 vols., Oxford, 1952; *Life* = *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (1791), ed. G. B. Hill, rev. and enl. by L. F. Powell, 6 vols., Oxford, 1934, 1950; *Lives* = *Lives of the English Poets by Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. G. B. Hill, 3 vols., Oxford, 1905; *Poems* = *The Poems of Samuel Johnson*, ed. D. Nichol Smith and E. L. McAdam, Jr., Oxford, 1941; *Ruhe* = E. Ruhe, "The Two Samuel Johnsons", *Notes and Queries*, 199, 1954, pp. 432-35.

² E. A. Bloom reproduces the first page of the extant number as an illustration in his *Samuel Johnson in Grub Street* (Brown U.P., Providence, R.I., 1957). See especially pp. 1-2.

³ Similarly, no copy has ever been found of Johnson's 1734 "proposals for printing by subscription the Latin Poems of Politian". See *Letters*, no. 2. 1 and n.; *Clifford*, p. 143.

*Subscribers to be gratify'd
with a better Paper*

PROPOSALS for PRINTING
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
COUNCIL of TRENT,

TRANSLATED from the ITALIAN

Of Father PAUL SARPI;

With the AUTHOR'S LIFE, and

NOTES THEOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL and CRITICAL,
from the *French* Edition of Dr *Le Courayer* ;

To which are ADDED,

OBSERVATIONS on the HISTORY and NOTES.

BY S. JOHNSON. *Author of London a Town*

I. THE Work will consist of two hundred Sheets, and be two Volumes in Quarto, printed as the Specimen annex'd.

II. THE Price will be Eighteen Shillings each Volume; to be paid half a Guinea at the Time of subscribing, half a Guinea at the Delivery of the first Volume, and the rest at the Delivery of the second Volume in Sheets.

III. Two Pence to be abated for every Sheet less than two hundred.

IT may be had on large Paper, in three Volumes, at the Price of three Guineas; one to be paid at the Time of Subscribing, another at the Delivery of the first, and the rest at the Delivery of the other Volumes.

THE Work is now in the Press, and will be diligently prosecuted.

SUBSCRIPTIONS are taken in by Mr *Doddy* in *Pall-Mall*, Mr *Kington* in *St Paul's Church-yard*, by *E. Cave* at *St Job's Gate*, and the Translator.

kind may seem impossibly sanguine, but perhaps Dr. Moses Tyson, Librarian of Manchester University, has demonstrated by his recent discovery of another early piece long thought by scholars to be irretrievable that we should never give up hope altogether.

It was no secret that Johnson had once been involved in a project to translate and annotate the *History of the Council of Trent* written in Italian by the Venetian Servite friar Paolo Sarpi, and that *Proposals* had been issued to attract subscribers for such a large work. The statement made before the *Life of Sarpi* Johnson published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of November 1738 (p. 581) is unequivocal :

The Life of Father PAUL SARPI, Author of the History of the COUNCIL of TRENT : For printing a new Translation of which, by S. JOHNSON, we have publish'd Proposals.

And yet, despite all the efforts expended in tracing such early Johnson items, the most recent scholar to go over this ground in detail was forced to record that no copies of these *Proposals* " are known to have survived ".¹ Dr. Tyson has now found a copy in excellent condition, saved from harm amongst the leaves of an uncatalogued duplicate in the University Library, the third and last edition of Nathaniel Brent's translation of Sarpi into English.² Published in 1676 (Wing S 696), it is the very one Johnson's new version would have superseded, and as a resting place for his *Proposals* is natural enough. The actual discovery of the *Proposals* may have been accidental, but it is none the less fitting that Dr. Tyson should have made it. His *French Journals of Mrs. Thrale and Dr. Johnson* (with Henry Guppy, Manchester, John Rylands Library, 1932) is well known to Johnsonians, and it was in a volume of this BULLETIN (vol. 15 (1931), pp. 467-88) that he printed the " Unpublished Manuscripts, Papers and Letters of Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Thrale, and Their Friends, in the

¹ Ruhe, p. 433. A list of early *Proposals* is given in *Proposals in the John Johnson Collection : Index to Proposals for English Books up to 1800* (O.U.P., 1960), with additions, 1961.

² Its provenance is not known, nor was the time of accession recorded. Some almost illegible pencil markings on a blank leaf at the beginning yield the date " 1838 ", and there is a manuscript annotation on the title-page : " AAJ ". See App. I.

John Rylands Library". There was no chance that the value of the discovery would go unrecognized.¹

II. Description

The copy so fortunately preserved consists of two conjugate quarto leaves. Photographs of the first, third and last pages are given in this article; the second is blank apart from a few lines of type near the bottom:

1738

I Received of *the Sum of*
being the first Payment for *Set of the Translation of F. Paul's*
 HISTORY OF THE COUNCIL of TRENT, upon *Paper.*

The paper is laid, and there is no sign of any watermark in the half-sheet used, though there could have been one in its fellow. A single leaf measures approximately 255 × 197 millimetres. The quality of the paper is not particularly good, but we can easily find much worse at this time: Johnson's own *Marmor Norfolciense*, printed for John Brett in 1739, is an example.² However, an anonymous piece of political pamphleteering is hardly to be compared with what was intended to be the standard English edition of an important work; hence, presumably, the manuscript annotation on page 1 of the *Proposals*: "Subscribers to be gratify'd/with a better Paper". The hand is not Johnson's, as we can see when it is compared with that of his autograph manuscripts of this period;³ nor does it resemble the rather irregular writing of Johnson's employer at this time, Edward

¹ I must thank Dr. Tyson for the opportunity to write an article on his discovery, and for all the advice he has given me during its preparation. Naturally, I am responsible for any deficiencies. I wish also to thank the staffs of several major libraries (Manchester University, John Rylands, Manchester Central, Chetham's, British Museum and Bodleian) for their generous aid. Particular acknowledgements are made below.

² Manchester Central Library has a copy with "The Present of the Author Mr S. Jⁿ." in ink on the title-page.

³ J. L. Clifford reproduces part of the original manuscript of *London* (Hyde Collection) as one of the illustrations in his standard *Young Samuel Johnson*, opposite p. 232. Two of Johnson's letters from this early period are reproduced in vol. 1 of *The R.B. Adam Library Relating to Dr. Samuel Johnson and His Era* (O.U.P., 1929), opposite pp. 13, 16.

Cave, editor and proprietor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.¹ The hand of the annotation is fluent and practised, the terminal flourish neatly filling out the extra space in the second line and balancing with its downward sweep the *d* of the line above. It could well be the writing of a professional penman, perhaps a clerical employee of Cave's or some agent of the publishers.

The hand of the other manuscript annotation on page 1 of the *Proposals*, "Author of London a Poem", is something like Cave's, but the phrase is very short for a positive identification;² it might have been written by whoever first obtained this copy of the *Proposals*, rather as Narcissus Luttrell, that great collector of pamphlets of not so many years before, used to inscribe his acquisitions.³ In any case, the phrase is yet another instance of the popularity of *London* after its publication in May 1738. Almost the same words are in the letter Lord Gower wrote to a friend of Jonathan Swift about a degree for Johnson: "Mr. Samuel Johnson (author of *London*, a satire, and some other poetical pieces) . . ." is its opening.⁴ Lord Gower's letter was of 1 August 1739, but a Latin entry in Thomas Birch's diary makes the same point under the date 22 August 1738: ". . . Samuele Johnsone, Auctore Poematis, cui titulus, London."⁵ There are some other markings on the newly discovered *Proposals*, along the right-hand edge of page 1. They are in pencil and probably of no significance.⁶

External evidence (see pp. 350-54 below) suggests that Cave was the printer. I was not able to discover any impressions of a headpiece like the very distinctive one used to print page 3 of the *Proposals* in leafing through several of the books he printed

¹ Many of his letters are in a volume of the Thomas Birch correspondence, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4302.

² Two of Cave's letters, of 30 March 1739 and 14 December 1739 (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4302, fols. 104, 105), should be compared, I think. The latter has the word *Author* in line 8 of the text.

³ See J. M. Osborn, "Reflections on Narcissus Luttrell (1657-1732)", *The Book Collector*, Spring 1957, p. 11.

⁴ Quoted from Clifford, p. 212.

⁵ Quoted from E. Ruhe, "Birch, Johnson, and Elizabeth Carter: An Episode of 1738-39", *PMLA*, lxxiii (1958), 493.

⁶ Nothing in P. Simpson, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (O.U.P., 1935), pp. 125-36, seems to have any bearing.

about this time, but examples are not too difficult to find in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, especially in copies of the volume for 1733, above a commendatory poem on the leaf after the general title.¹ The situation is complicated by the frequent reprinting of early numbers, so that most sets, and even single volumes within those sets, are made up from different editions.² It is still very evident that Cave had an ornament of this design and, as far as I can tell from examining evident defects, the very same ornament was used to print both the *Proposals* and various copies of the *Magazine*.³ If the factotum on page 3 is considered, examples of a similar pattern can be found in at least two of Cave's books (Moses Browne, *Poems on Various Subjects*, 1739 and Robert Luck, *A Miscellany of New Poems*, 1736), and here and there in various copies of the *Magazine*. The design of the type in which the main text of the *Proposals* is set can also be paralleled in early numbers of the *Magazine*; it is, I think, a Caslon face.⁴ Typesetters sell their designs to many different printers, but Graham Pollard has recently written of the chances

¹ See copies of Manchester University, John Rylands, Chetham's, and Manchester Central Libraries, with the general imprint: "LONDON :/Printed, and sold at *St John's Gate*, by *F. Jefferies* in *Ludgate-street*, and most Booksellers." The ornament is rather large (39 × 98 mm.) for an octavo and was not used very often, but other impressions exist: for example, heading the Index of volumes for 1740, with general imprint: "Printed by EDW. CAVE, at ST JOHN'S GATE." (Copies of Chetham's and Manchester Central Libraries.) Manchester University's copy of the *Rambler* (1st edn.) provides many examples of its later use.

² C. L. Carlson, *The First Magazine: A History of the GM* (Brown U. P., Providence, R.I., 1938), pp. 62-63.

³ Breaks can be seen in outlines, and these show again and again in different impressions. For a most helpful and practical discussion of the matter, see W. M. Sale, Jr., *Samuel Richardson: Master Printer* (Cornell U.P., Ithaca, N.Y., 1950), chap. 9. Sale notices that Edward Cave once used the evidence of "letter and ornaments" to detect a "spurious copy" of a book printed by Richardson (p. 218).

⁴ Plate 18 of C. W. Miller, "Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Type", *Studies in Bibliography*, Virginia Univ. Bib. Soc., 11 (Charlottesville, 1958), should be compared. It shows a Caslon pica roman no. 1 face, reproducing a segment at actual size and showing "considerably enlarged a key selection of characters designed to assist the scholar in identifying a particular type" (p. 195). The type of the notes in the *Proposals* is long primer, but comparison with the Caslon long primer roman no. 1 (Pl. 15) reveals certain differences: in the design of italic *v* and *w*, for example.

of identifying the founts of particular printers if they are considered as a whole.¹ Such an investigation, of course, demands an expert typographer. It is also necessarily detailed and highly technical, and in a study of this nature it would be out of place ; but perhaps the information gathered in this paragraph can be taken as strongly indicative of Cave as the actual printer, and may be found useful by some future seeker after typographical certainty.

III. *Project*

Although it is always wise to go back to the original sources, the main facts we should know about the *Proposals* were provided by Sir John Hawkins in 1787 (*Life*, ed. Davis, pp. 25-26, 36-37) and by Boswell in 1791 (*Life*, i. 107, 134-36). Quite recently, however, Edward Ruhe made some important revisions of the accepted version of the story ; in particular, he brought out the true identity of a rival translator of Sarpi and Le Courayer, a Reverend *John Johnson*, not the exact namesake Hawkins, and following him it would seem, Boswell, had produced.² All such fragments of information have been collected and pieced together in *Young Samuel Johnson*, but it is still remarkable how little we know of certain phases of Johnson's first two or three years in London. He and his old pupil David Garrick, who was to become famous in his own right, had come up from Lichfield together in March 1737, a long time before Boswell appeared on the scene and even before Sir John Hawkins. It is true that Hawkins also wrote for Edward Cave's highly popular *Gentleman's Magazine*, but not before 1739.³ This means, in effect, that at most

¹ G. Pollard, "The Scope for Further Typographical Analysis", in *Thomas J. Wise Centenary Studies*, ed. W. B. Todd (University of Texas Press, Austin—Edinburgh, 1959), p. 74.

² See p. 352, n. 2 below ; Ruhe, p. 434. Ruhe was the first to print the information about John Johnson, but an entry in Carlson's *Bibliography of Manuscript Sources* actually leads to early manuscript copies of the two letters in the *Daily Advertiser* (see p. 351 below) from which Ruhe was able to demonstrate the error in Hawkins and Boswell. Carlson's inaccurate description of the contents of the MS. (Bodleian, Rawl. D81) presumably indicates that he had not seen it, and explains why his main text makes no use of its contents. The copies are at the end of the volume, fols. 59-60.

³ See B. H. Davis, *Johnson before Boswell : A Study of Sir John Hawkins' Life of Samuel Johnson* (New Haven : Yale U.P., 1960), pp. 40-45, for a careful

of the dates with which one is concerned in any study of Johnson's *Proposals*, neither of his chief early biographers was present to observe and record.

To a very great extent, the surviving letters Johnson wrote at this time of his life are the best evidence, and thanks to John Nichols, several of those to Edward Cave¹ are extant. His first approach to Cave was made in a letter from Birmingham, dated 25 November 1734 (*Letters*, no. 3), but no one has ever been able to show that anything came of it. The next extant letter to Cave, no. 4 in Chapman's edition, contains the first reference to the *History of the Council of Trent*. Johnson wrote it from "Greenwich next door to the golden Heart, Church Street" on 12 July 1737, and it is almost entirely concerned with the proposed translation :

Sir

Having observed in your papers very uncommon offers of encouragement to Men of Letters, I have chosen, being a Stranger in London, to communicate to you the following design, which, I hope, if you join in it, will be of advantage to both of us.

The History of the council of Trent having been lately translated into French, and published with large Notes by Dr Le Courayer, The Reputation of that Book is so much revived in England, that it is presumed, a new translation of it from the Italian, together with Le Courayer's Notes from the French, could not fail of a favourable Reception.

If it be answered that the History is already in English, it must be remembered, that there was the same objection against Le Courayer's Undertaking, with this disadvantage, that the French had a version by one of their best translators, whereas you cannot read three Pages of the English History, without discovering that the Stile is capable of great Improvements, but whether those improvements are to be expected from this attempt, you must judge from the Specimen which, if you approve the Proposal, I shall submit to your examination.

Suppose the merit of the Versions equal, we may hope that the Addition of the Notes will turn the Ballance in our Favour, considering the Reputation of the Annotator.

Be pleas'd to favour me with a speedy Answer, if you are not willing to engage in this Scheme, and appoint me a day to wait upon you, if you are.

I am, Sir, Your humble Servant Sam : Johnson

discussion of the date of first acquaintance ; also, Hawkins, ed. Davis, p. ix : "perhaps even as early as 1739."

¹ Johnson's first employer in London, according to Boswell, who goes out of his way to contradict the story Mrs. Lucy Porter told him, that Johnson "wrote some things" for Henry Lintot the bookseller in 1737 (*Life*, i. 103). Clifford also thinks it is "very doubtful" (p. 175).

The various editions and translations of Sarpi's *Historia* are described elsewhere (App. 1); for the moment, we must note that after this letter occurs one of the puzzling gaps in our knowledge of Johnson's career. The result of Johnson's application to Cave could not have been an interview, immediately followed by a request to begin upon the proposed translation, for we know with some certainty that Johnson did not begin the work until 2 August 1738 (see p. 350 below). In other words, just about a year intervened between proposal and performance; nor is any obvious reason known for the delay. Perhaps there is sufficient cause in the characters of the two men concerned: Johnson constitutionally incapable of buckling down to necessary work and Cave noted for his cautious and phlegmatic approach. The incredible story of Johnson's previous translation, when Johnson reclined in bed dictating to his good friend Hector, who then had to do practically everything else up to and including proof-correction, is a relevant instance.¹ As for Edward Cave, we can turn to Johnson's own account: ²

His resolution and perseverance were very uncommon; whatever he undertook, neither expence nor fatigue were able to repress him; but his constancy was calm, and, to those who did not know him, appeared faint and languid; but he always went forward, though he moved slowly.

The same chilness of mind was observable in his conversation; he was watching the minutest accent of those whom he disgusted by seeming inattention; and his visitant was surprized when he came a second time, by preparations to execute the scheme which he supposed never to have been heard.

Clifford thinks "it is reasonable to suppose that the two men did meet for the first time in July 1737, and that when Johnson returned to Lichfield later in the summer he had a vague promise of work if he should come back to London" (p. 176). This is substantiated to some extent by Cave's later claim that he had shown Johnson's "Proposals . . . to several of the Clergy" about this time³—he was not without interest in the scheme, therefore, and had presumably accepted Johnson's offer of a specimen and

¹ *Life*, i. 87; Clifford, p. 140. See Johnson on Pope, in *Lives*, iii. 117.

² Qu. from *Anecdotes*, v. 8. The original account of Cave, later revised at John Nichols's request, was printed in the *GM* for 1754, pp. 55-57. The passage above was not materially changed.

³ Ruhe, p. 434. The Rev. Thomas Birch would almost certainly have been amongst them. See Carlson, p. 15; Clifford, p. 180.

a visit—but the obstinate fact remains that although Johnson returned to London that same year, in late autumn (Clifford, p. 177), he did not start on actual translating till August in the following year. The life of a dramatist may have seemed much more congenial; even so, his attempts to have the finished *Irene* staged are very little to have been doing during the winter.¹ Boswell's chronology, however, more or less jumps from Fleetwood's refusal of the play for Drury Lane to Johnson's first known publication with Cave, the Latin poem "Ad Urbanum" in the March 1738 number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (*Life*, i. 111-13); and in Hawkins the time-element is decidedly obscure.²

Our knowledge of Johnson's activities from March 1738 onwards is less tenuous. Letter no. 5 to Cave is undated, but it mentions Cave's "commendation of [Johnson's] trifle", which John Nichols plausibly identified as the Latin poem "Ad Urbanum". It would have appeared about the beginning of April,³ and copy must have been provided by the last week of March.⁴ This is the letter introducing *London* as if it had been written by a third person, a device kept up through the three following letters (nos. 6-8), all of which are concerned with the publication arrangements for this fine poem. John Nichols thought that letter no. 8 contained a reference to the Sarpi translation⁵:

I was to day with Mr Dodsley, who declares very warmly in favour of the paper you sent him, which he desires to have a share in, it being, as he says, *a creditable*

¹ Clifford (p. 183) mentions a possible minor task.

² "Cave's acquiescence, in the above proposal [the letter of 12 July 1737], drew Johnson into a close intimacy with him: he was much at St. John's Gate, and taught Garrick the way thither" (Hawkins, ed. Davis, p. 26). See also App. 2.

³ *The Country Journal* for 7 October 1738 (Brit. Mus., Burney copy) advertises the September *GM* as "publish'd" on 2 October. See also Carlson, pp. 61-62.

⁴ "We are highly obliged to our kind Correspondents; but having occasion to print off our Essay and Poetical Part sooner than ordinary this Month, several ingenious Pieces sent since the 20th could not be inserted . . ." (*GM*, January 1738, p. 40).

⁵ "Rise and Progress of the Magazine", *GM General Index*, iii (1821), p. xviii, n. He made no such comment when he first printed the letter in the *GM* for January 1785, p. 5; *Anecdotes*, v (1812), 25, equally lacks the identification, but cf. p. 37, n. ("The Rambler").



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
C O U N C I L O F T R E N T.



B O O K I.



MY Design is to write the History of the COUNCIL OF TRENT; of which, tho' some particular Occurrences have been touch'd on in the Writings of many celebrated Historians of our Time, and the Causes preceding it been very exactly recounted by that accurate Author (1) *John Sleidan*, yet all these Accounts put together will not amount to a compleat Relation.

I, FOR

(1) *John Sleidan*.] This Historian, who took his Name from the Place of his Birth, was born at *Sleide*, a Village in the Neighbourhood of *Cologne*, in the beginning of 1506, and died of the Plague at *Strasbourg* in *October* 1556. He was of no considerable Extraction, but distinguished himself by his Merit and Abilities; he was educated among

those of the *Roman Church*, but came over first to the *Zuinglians*, and then to the *Lutherans* with the City of *Strasbourg*, by which he was employed on several Occasions, and deputed to the Council of *Trent*. His History, in composing which he was assisted by *Sturmius*, is well written, and, tho' partial in Favour of the Protestants, cannot be denied

COUNCIL of TRENT.

I, for my Part, as soon as I had attained some Knowledge of Mankind, found myself seized with a strong Curiosity to be acquainted with this Transaction in its whole Extent. And (2) having diligently perused whatever I met with written on that Subject, and the publick Instructions as well Printed as Manuscript, I applied myself, with indefatigable Industry, to search the Remains (a) of the Writings of the Prelates, and others who were at the Council, for such Memoirs as they had left, and for Votes and Opinions pronounc'd in publick, and preserv'd either by their Authors or by other Men, together with the Advices transmitted from the City of Trent; and have been so fortunate as to obtain the Sight even of whole Registers of Notes, and Letters written by Persons who had a great Share in the Business of the Council. Having therefore made a Collection of Materials sufficient to furnish a Relation of the whole Progress of this Affair, I shall digest them into their proper Order.

I SHALL relate the Causes and the Intrigues of an Ecclesiastical Assembly, for the Space of twenty-two Years, by various Means and for several Ends promoted and sollicit by one Party, and by the other retarded and oppos'd; and for eighteen Years more, sometimes assembled, sometimes dissolved, always conven'd for different Purposes, and at last modell'd and concluded in a Manner wholly contrary to the Design of those who had procur'd, and to the Apprehensions of those whose utmost Efforts had been employ'd to interrupt it: A plain Instruction to resign all our Cares into the Hands of God, and to put no a rout in Human Prudence!

For

nied to discover a great deal of Falsity. Many of our Writers have attempted to destroy its Credit, but as we see that, with regard to the Affairs of Germany, it is supported by original Records, the Truth of it, in that Part at least, may be undoubtedly depended upon, though perhaps it may not be without Faults. *Studen, in v. D. Aubigné, l. 1. c. 1. is an Author not sufficiently read or observ'd in this Age. His Works bear the Marks of an universal Genius, whose Passions are only excited against Vice, who with all his Diligence teaches nothing unworthy to be said, and with all his Creativity displays nothing proper for a History. These Rules have given us a Foundation for him, and a Dislike of many others.* This Judgment, 'tis true, coming from a Protestant, may seem partial; but let *Studen* be read a little without Prejudice, and his History will be found written with an Air of Veracity, which somewhat contradicts the unfavourable Opinion many Catholics have formed of him.

(2) Having diligently perused, &c.] Both *Pallavicini* and *Scipio Henrici* charge our Author with having advanced many Facts upon his own Authority, and without proper Warrants. But this Charge seems without Foundation; for besides that *Father Paul*, in several parts of his History, has quoted the Memoirs from which the Facts related by him are taken, such as the Journal of *Charpentier*, the Letters of Cardinal *del Monte*, the Letters of *Pisconti*, the Memoirs of Cardinal *de Mada* and several others, there is sufficient Proof from the Letters of *Forgas* that have been published since this History, as well as from the Minutes of *Poppe*, and other Records, that the greater part of the Facts advanced by him are true; and if we cannot always certainly rely on his Accounts, we must impute it to the Inaccuracy of his Memoirs, and not charge him with having ingested his own Inventions on the World.

thing to be concerned in. I knew not what answer to make till I had consulted you, nor what to demand on the Author's part, . . .

This last sentence, with its indirection, and the four letters taken as the group they certainly appear to be, make it much more likely that the "*creditable thing*" refers to *London*, supporting Chapman's note to this effect, although Nichols's conjecture is not absolutely ruled out.¹ *London* was actually published in May, printed by Cave with the name "Doddesley" on the title-page.² Here, then, were two poems Johnson had brought out with Cave by early May 1738; more were to follow and, about this time too, he must have begun to act as one of Cave's staff on the *Gentleman's Magazine*.³ Nevertheless, despite all this varied literary activity, the suggestion made almost a year before to bring out an up-to-date English edition of the *History of the Council of Trent* had not been acted upon in any real sense. It remained a mere project.

At this point, we might notice that Cave had good cause for being suspicious of large-scale undertakings, and may well have required both Johnson's presence and constant pressure before he was willing to be involved. Bringing out a twenty-four-page edition of Elizabeth Carter's *Poems upon Particular Occasions*, 1738, was one thing, but it was quite another, he had discovered to his cost, to publish the two folio volumes of a translation of Jean-Baptiste du Halde's *Description . . . de la Chine*, 1735. Its publication "by numbers" sprawled over several years, covering the period with which this study is concerned, and was attended by numerous complications.⁴ If the delay in starting to translate Sarpi was really a result of Cave's wariness about such major adventures, Johnson's next letter to him vindicated his caution.

¹ Letter no. 7 must have been written before 6 April 1738, and Chapman thinks no. 8 "was no doubt written within a day or so" (*Letters*, i. 11, nn.). See also *Poems*, p. 1.

² Clifford, pp. 183-4; see also *Letters*, i. 10, n.; Courtney, p. 7.

³ See chapter 1 of Bloom, especially pp. 8-9.

⁴ For accounts of the "long record of indecision and delay", see *Gleanings*, vi. 88, n., and R. M. Wiles, *Serial Publication in England Before 1750* (C.U.P., 1957), pp. 184-5, 307. Cave wrote to Birch on 21 October 1735 that he was "about to publish" *Proposals* for the Du Halde translation (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4302, fol. 92). Their text is given in *Anecdotes*, v. 44-45, which is substantially the same as the text on the last page of the Index to the 1735 volume of

IV. *Performance*

The time when Johnson at last settled down to work on his translation of Sarpi's *Historia* is known from a "paper in Johnson's hand-writing, entitled 'Account between Mr. Edward Cave and Sam. Johnson, in relation to a version of Father Paul, &c. begun August the 2d, 1738;' by which it appears, that from that day to the 21st of April, 1739, Johnson received for this work £49 7s. in sums of one, two, three, and sometimes four guineas at a time, most frequently two" (*Life*, i. 135).¹ This was discovered by John Nichols, who turned it over to Boswell to use in the *Life*. It deserves some discussion. (See App. 3.)

Letter no. 9 of Chapman's edition shows that the early stages of Johnson's task were going badly :

As to Father Paul, I have not yet been just to my proposal, but have met with impediments which I hope, are now at an end, and if you find the Progress hereafter not such as you have a right to expect, you can easily stimulate a negligent Translator.

The whole letter, a response to one from Cave in which he must have hinted that Johnson had misled him,² is concerned with the several literary tasks Johnson had on hand at this time, none of which, unfortunately, date the letter with any certainty. Reade places it "about 2 August" (*Gleanings*, vi. 86)—from the start of the Sarpi payments in fact—while Clifford suggests "late in September" (p. 191 and n.). The evidence favours Clifford, I think.³ What were the "impediments" Johnson

the *GM*, a source largely neglected by later writers. On pp. 45-47, Nichols reprints relevant advertisements from the *GM* for 1736.

¹ Bloom (p. 9) does not miss Boswell's "&c." in his report of the heading of the Account: "... whether this money was for the Sarpi alone, or for other assignments as well, the receipt fails to make clear." In the study below, I argue for Sarpi alone.

² Johnson's letter opens: "I did not care to detain your Servant while I wrote an answer to your Letter, in which you seem to insinuate that I had promised more than I am ready to perform".

³ Reade, for example, takes Johnson's excuse that Cave can have the "Chinese Stories" when he pleased to send and remarks that "no extracts [from the Du Halde translation] seem to have appeared at this time", between September 1737 and October 1739 (*Gleanings*, vi. 89). It is not essential that they should. An editorial note in the *GM* for July 1738 promises "*Some of the Chinese Relations . . . if we have Room, next Month*" (p. 366), and it is clear in context that

mentioned? He may have agreed to send in a regular amount of copy at intervals, as he did a few years later with the *Life of Savage*,¹ and the impediments could have been difficulties in obtaining reference works.² If, however, they were not directly concerned with the business of translating, he may have been referring to his connection with Savage and the separation from Tetty, but the absence of exact dates for the letter and the stages of his friendship with Savage force us to leave the matter unresolved.³ In any case, October was to bring fresh troubles; as Johnson wrote in the *Life of Pope*: "He that asks a subscription soon finds that he has enemies."⁴

Ruhe, in his important article on "The Two Samuel Johnsons", prints the texts of the two letters to the *Daily Advertiser* of 20 and 21 October 1738 and describes some relevant advertisements of Johnson's *Proposals*. (See p. 345 above.) The first letter to the newspaper was from the Rev. John Johnson, who claimed that he had long since begun a translation himself of Sarpi's History, that he was in touch with no less a person than Le Courayer and was far from being without other friends and supporters,⁵ and that his own "Design [was] of larger Extent than Mr. S. Johnson's appears, by his Proposals, to be" (Ruhe, pp. 433-4). The other letter was Cave's reply, probably written by Samuel Johnson himself as Ruhe points out (p. 434), refusing to be put off. Johnson's biographers all made the mistake of following John Nichols in consulting the *Weekly Miscellany* of

"Stories" is not an unsuitable word for what they were. He would have been responsible for providing them from about late July, then, and time must be allowed for his procrastination to become matter for reproach.

¹ He contracted to send "in great Primer and Pica Notes . . . half a sheet a day" (*Letters*, i. 21; see also i. 49 and note).

² Strictly speaking, we do not know that Johnson intended at this stage to provide original notes, but see p. 352 below.

³ See Clifford (pp. 199-205, 211) for a discussion of the Savage affair; also, Hawkins, ed. Davis, p. 49.

⁴ *Lives*, iii. 112. On p. 117, Johnson writes of the difficulties Pope had in translating the *Iliad*: ". . . some external impediment obstructs." The adjective could be significant.

⁵ Johnson gave no names. As ever, John Nichols appears to have been first: he mentioned Zachary Pearce, then Vicar of St. Martin's (*DNB*), the parish in which Archbishop Tenison's Library was situated. See pp. 363 and 364 below.

21 October 1738 for its advertisement of the *Proposals*,¹ but Ruhe has shown that John Johnson was reacting to an earlier notice in the *Daily Advertiser* of the 12th, and that issues of the 11, 12, 19, 20 and 25 October "all contain advertisements nearly identical in text with Boswell's specimen of October 21". John Johnson's letter to the press betrays his suspicions of his rival's surname, and Ruhe aptly comments on the irony of the fact that the man who "called the identity of Samuel Johnson into question, was to lose his own identity in a confusion of names which was to last for more than two centuries" (p. 434).² (See App. 4.)

The first page of the *Proposals* is in most respects the same as the advertisements. The *Weekly Miscellany* has before Johnson's name that he will supply "Illustrations from various Authors; both printed and manuscript",³ and substitutes "printed on good paper and letter" for "printed as the Specimen annex'd". Cave failed to take the opportunity of adding "Author of London a Poem", but the advertisement ends with the address of the Translator, "at N^o 6 in Castle-street, by Cavendish-square". A glance at this page of the *Proposals* will show that there is plenty of space for the type of the address, and I am at a loss to account for its omission. The first advertisement also omits it.⁴ We might notice that the date of issue supports Clifford's

¹ Nichols printed the text of the *Weekly Miscellany* advertisement as early as January 1785 (*GM*, p. 6, n.). That he should refer to such a source probably shows that he had not found a separately printed copy of the *Proposals*.

² Davis (pp. 100, 106) suggests that it was Hawkins who misled Boswell into thinking both men were called Samuel. Certainly, John Nichols had not been able to give the name of the rival translator (see below, p. 363) and, as far as I know, other biographical accounts before Hawkins do not give it either. William Shaw, for example, just writes that it "is not known on what account this work was laid aside" (*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late Dr. Samuel Johnson*, 1785, p. 44). That Hawkins also "steered [Boswell] to the *Weekly Miscellany*" (Davis, p. 106) seems less likely; Nichols may well have steered both.

³ Boswell (1791, p. 69, n. 7; *Life*, i. 135, n. 1) has "Observations on the History, and Notes and Illustrations from various Authours". Cf. *The Weekly Miscellany*, 21 October 1738; Hawkins, 1787, p. 64, n. (1st and 2nd edn.); Nichols, *GM*, 1785, p. 6, n. All these lack the comma after "History" and place a semicolon after "Notes".

⁴ The text in the *Daily Advertiser* of 11 Oct. 1738 drops the word "annex'd", but is in substance the same as that of the *Proposals*. Were the

contention that letter no. 9 is of late September, since enough time must be allowed after 2 August for Johnson to assent to an accusation of negligence in translating Sarpi, and a rather shorter time for the performance of his obligations when his mysterious "impediments" had, as he hoped, come to an end. The publication of *Proposals*, a major step with all that it implied, early in October would seem to be a reasonable consequence of a letter in late September.

Both the advertisements and the *Proposals* state that the translation was in the press and that it would be "diligently prosecuted" (see Clifford, p. 193); if this was the case, we may assume that Johnson was once again providing copy as printing continued. He was, we know, able to provide copy at a surprising rate,¹ but it is hardly possible that he should have provided all the copy needed for the two hundred sheets of the estimate by this time, considering that he had not even started till August and that at some time later he was having to apologize for not having been "just to [his] proposal". However, the *Proposals* prints the beginning of the translation as a specimen of his abilities,² which may show that printing of part of the text was under way in October 1738, although it would be perfectly simple to keep two pages of standing type until they were needed. Stronger evidence is provided by Ruhe when he refers to the letter written to Cave by "one D. Wilkins of Hadleigh, Suffolk", who is, incidentally, much more interesting in this context than has been generally realized. (See App. 5.) On

additions noted above a response to John Johnson's letter? (I am grateful for a photostat from Yale University Library, since these issues of the *Daily Advertiser* do not, as far as I know, exist in this country).

¹ See Clifford, p. 247; also p. 263, where he quotes the report that Johnson once wrote "forty-eight of the printed octavo pages of the life of Savage at a sitting", staying up all night to do it. The type is smaller than one would think from reading the quotation above (p. 351, n. 1; see *Letters*, i. 21, n.).

² The main text is from Sarpi's Italian and the two notes from Le Courayer's French. Johnson's version is fairly close, but not slavish: Le Courayer's bare and colourless "de les avoir inventez" at the end of note (2), for example, became the far more splendid and heroic "with having imposed his own Inventions on the World". My colleague, Dr. G. Pontiero, has been kind enough to advise me on the generally taut and skilful translation of the Italian. He notices Sarpi's more neutral tone and, in particular, comments on Johnson's final, emphatic cadence: "all our Cares . . . no Trust" ("li pensieri . . . non fidarsi").

12 November 1738, Wilkins pointed out an error in Le Courayer's Preface, page ix; in consequence, Cave scribbled on the back of his letter: "John send Word whether you be / come to Michael Newton / it is in page xii. and / work'd off.¹" The term here used by Cave, "work'd off", usually means that the whole number of copies involved have been printed,² but there would not be much point in asking if anyone—presumably Johnson, as Clifford suggests—had come to the error unless he was dealing with a proof or revise and would be in time to order correction of type before printing-off began.³ In any case, the annotation is evidence that Cave's pressmen had already started on Johnson's translation of Le Courayer's long Preface by early November in 1738.⁴

Letter no. 10 of Chapman's edition, from Johnson to Cave, asks for "a dozen Proposals", and reinforces the request in the postscript: "Pray muster up the proposals if you can, or let the Boy recall them from Booksellers." This letter is not dated, but can be assigned with certainty to 22 or 23 November 1738 (Clifford, p. 337, note 19), so we may agree with Hazen and McAdam when they state that the *Proposals* are "evidently those for Johnson's projected translation" of Sarpi.⁵ Evidently Johnson was canvassing subscriptions still. Some indication of the need for a large number of subscribers, of the importance

¹ See Ruhe, p. 435; Clifford, pp. 193-4. I do not read "put" after "is" in line 3 of the note; perhaps a smudge at this point originally read "pr" [i.e. printed].

² See *NED*, "work", v. 37a, especially the 1704 quotation: "That . . . execrable Dog of a Printer . . . has work'd off the last Sheet . . . without sending me a Proof." By coincidence, the name appears on p. xii of the 1736 Amsterdam edition of Le Courayer's *Histoire*, which was also a quarto publication like Johnson's projected work.

³ Type-correction *during* printing-off was not unknown in the eighteenth century, although it was far more common in earlier times. See R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford, 2nd imp., 1928), pp. 212-13.

⁴ The Preface follows the title-page and a dedicatory epistle.

⁵ A. T. Hazen and E. L. McAdam, Jr., "First Editions of Samuel Johnson", *Yale University Library Gazette*, x (1936), 50. A copy of this important article, not obtainable on library loan in this country, will be deposited in Manchester University Library for reference. It was sent to me through Mr. David Watkins of Yale University Library, whose great courtesy, and that of his staff, I would like to acknowledge.

Cave must have attached to the project, is given by the fact that "6000 copies of these Proposals had been dispersed"—John Nichols's figure has been doubted, but I do not think it is as extravagantly large as it might at first seem.¹

V. Complications

To judge from the end of letter no. 10, the project was continuing hopefully; but the body of the letter is concerned with quite a different topic. Johnson's main purpose was to suggest that he should give up *another* translation for Cave, the comparatively recently discovered *A Commentary on Mr Pope's Principles of Morality*, 1739,² from the French of Jean-Pierre de Crousaz; and that the companion translation by Elizabeth Carter, *An Examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man*, 1739, "should be push'd forward with the utmost expedition". The reference later in the same letter to the compositors standing still for lack of copy has therefore been connected with the *Commentary*, which is advertised in Miss Carter's book as "*In the Press*".³ Miss Carter's *Examination* was certainly completed as a translation by 27 November 1738, and was advertised as published on the 23rd, although it may not have been completely printed off.⁴ Against the theory that Cave's compositors were waiting for more copy of Johnson's *Commentary*, however, may be set the evidence that shows the printing of Sarpi had begun.

¹ See *Anecdotes*, v. 30, n., keyed to "booksellers"; it is possible he was thinking of some other *Proposals*. (Nichols did not write a note when he first printed this letter in the *GM* for January 1785, pp. 6-7.) Clifford (p. 336, n. 11) thought Nichols's information was doubtful, but the same figure can be found in Cave's advertisements of the English translation of J.-B. du Halde's *Description*: ". . . the plan of this work, 6000 of which having been dispersed, we refer thereto" (*GM*, 1736: Sept., p. 556; Oct., p. 624). One wonders if the *Proposals* in copies of the *GM* for 1735 were included in this total. (See above, p. 349 and n. 4.) Wiles has recorded another large figure: on 10 May 1742, Strahan charged four guineas "for printing five thousand copies of new proposals and specimens of Horace and Virgil" (p. 181). Finally, the Sarpi *Proposals* is a half-sheet, so the type could have been imposed in a way that would have lessened the amount of press-work. See McKerrow, pp. 66-70.

² Hazen and McAdam (pp. 48-51) discuss the unique copy of this true first issue.

³ Hazen and McAdam, p. 50.

⁴ Clifford, pp. 195-6; Ruhe, *PMLA*, lxxiii. 495. Cave wrote on Tuesday, 28 Nov. 1738: "I saw her [Miss Carter] well on Sunday night but she excused

It is always possible that both projects are meant, or even various items for the *Magazine* if it comes to that. At all events, the mere fact of his being involved with Crousaz was hardly favourable to continuing with Sarpi. Also, the opening of the letter ("I am pretty much of your Opinion, that the Commentary cannot be prosecuted with any appearance of success . . .") shows Cave and Johnson in agreement to drop it—but it was in fact published in 1739, apparently "with the utmost expedition" too.¹ At some time, then, Johnson would very probably have been forced to put Sarpi aside again; unfortunately, there is no exact date for the appearance of the 1739 *Commentary*, although Clifford has shown that Cave was insisting in advertisements of this November 1738 that it would be continued with.²

In the November *Gentleman's Magazine* (pp. 581-3) appeared Johnson's "Life of Sarpi". He had not gone far for materials; although there were several sources available, including the recent (1736) Life by John Lockman, a colleague of Johnson's friend Thomas Birch, Johnson merely adapted Le Courayer: his "brief biography is by turns a synopsis, paraphrase, and translation of le Courayer's".³ Writing for the *Magazine*, and acting as an editor, in late 1738 and early 1739 does not seem on the face of it to have been very onerous.⁴ On 11 May 1739, his *Marmor Norfolciense* was published, and on the 25th, his *Compleat Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage*—an ironical title, one is glad to say. (See Clifford, p. 339, nn. 44, 49.) Neither of these pieces is at all long; both could quite easily have been

her self coming hither this week because of our Hurry" (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4302, fol. 102; from which Boswell in the *Life*, i. 139, quotes the passage about Johnson advising her to translate Boethius). The rush could have been over the *GM* alone, I suppose.

¹ See *Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle: In the Collection of Lt.-Col. Ralph H. Isham*, ed. G. Scott and F. A. Pottle, xiv (1932), p. 244: "Told us at night he had once written six sheets in one day: 48 quarto pages of a translation of Crousaz on Pope, published by itself in 1740 or 1741. He'd be glad to see it now." Cf. *Life*, iv. 127.

² p. 196. The *Commentary* was not advertised in E. Carter's translation of Algarotti, published, according to Ruhe (*PMLA*, p. 496), on 10 May 1739, while the *Examination* is.

³ See E. L. McAdam, Jr., "Johnson's Lives of Sarpi, Blake, and Drake", *PMLA*, lviii (1943), 466-76.

⁴ See Bloom, pp. 8-9, 53-57, 264-5.

written in May. After the May number of the *Magazine*, Johnson's contributions cease until June 1740. In the early summer of 1739, Johnson "investigated a knotty legal puzzle" for Cave (see Clifford, p. 210), parted from Richard Savage "with tears in his eyes",¹ and perhaps finished the Crousaz translation.² But his thoughts had once again turned to teaching, so disillusioned had he become with London life, ". . . choosing rather to die upon the road [to Dublin, for a possible Master's degree], than be starved to death in translating for book-sellers, which has been his only subsistence for some time past". The words are again those of Lord Gower in his letter of 1 August 1739, but many would agree with Professor Clifford's comment that these phrases "have an authentic ring. Johnson may well have spoken them" (p. 212). They have that heroic turn in which he occasionally indulged himself, which can even be seen in the way he translated the staid prose of Le Courayer. How far the phrases were true³ is not so important in this context. They very probably provide an accurate index to his emotional state in the summer of 1739, and it was in August that he left London for a period of many months.⁴

At this point, I feel sure, all hopes of a new *History of the Council of Trent* in English were abandoned. Johnson was eventually forced to return to London and take an even larger share in the editing of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Bloom, p. 57); from his extant letters, we can see that he was mixed up in business ventures concerning Lewis Paul and his project for "spinning by rollers".⁵ Of Sarpi, we hear nothing. It is

¹ C. Tracy, *The Artificial Bastard: A Biography of Richard Savage* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1953), p. 138.

² Charles Forman had brought out part I of the *Commentary* on 21 November 1738 (see Clifford, p. 195), but this was all he translated. He died in 1739 (G. A. Bonnard, in *Recueil de Travaux*, Univ. de Lausanne, 1937, p. 178). Hawkins stated that Johnson and his wife had been forced to take "an obscure lodging in a house in Lambeth Marsh" to elude arrest over *Marmor Norfolciense* (ed. Davis, p. 41). Modern writers are inclined to accept the statement, even though no warrants were actually issued. See Hawkins, ed. Davis, p. 284, n. 23; Clifford, p. 207. ³ See *Gleanings*, vi. 92. ⁴ Clifford, pp. 212, 214.

⁵ Clifford, pp. 232-3; see also J. H. Thornton, "The Northampton Cotton Industry—An Eighteenth Century Episode", *Journal of the Northants Natural History and Field Club*, xxxiii (1959), 241-59.

quite possible that the date of 21 April 1739 on the receipt (see above, p. 350) relates to more than the last actual payment for copy—it could be the date of the final accounting, meant to close the whole Sarpi affair altogether. From a practical point of view, the printing probably came to an end before the provision of copy. John Nichols stated that six sheets had been printed (see p. 363 below). Sir John Hawkins reported the figure of twelve, and was followed in this by several later writers, but if the question is investigated in detail Nichols appears the better witness.¹ Six sheets printed of Samuel Johnson's translation, the individual copies either destroyed or put aside and left to rot at St. John's Gate, and the manuscript itself lost—a mere conjecture Ruhe found concerning the fate of the Reverend John Johnson's manuscript :

He was much esteemed for his Learning and good Breeding ; he had very closely employ'd himself for many Years in compiling a new History of the Council of Trent, the Manuscript of which (it is hoped) he had entirely completed.
(*Daily Advertiser*, 2 March 1747).

The verdict of Boswell that “ they destroyed each other ” may be too summary,² but there was a melancholy conclusion to the attempts to provide Great Britain with an up-to-date History of the Council. And yet, considering the nature of the conception itself, it might be regarded as a fitting end.

VI. Conclusion

When Miss Frances Yates, in her fine study of Sarpi's *Historia* and its subsequent translations, came to consider Le Courayer's 1736 *Histoire*—dedicated as it was to Queen Caroline

¹ See App. 6. Ruhe is prepared to consider that Cave and Johnson “ substantially abandoned work within a very few weeks after ” the Rev. John Johnson's protest. The printing of only six sheets “ argues little assiduity on Cave's part and less on that of Johnson, who seldom worked much in advance of the printers ” (p. 435). If, however, Cave disbursed 47 guineas (see p. 362 below) for the copy of a work only potentially profitable, I should have thought that Johnson had provided much more than six sheets. For the “ Life of Savage ” (about 11½ sheets) he received 15 guineas (*Letters*, i. 28, n.). See also Wiles, pp. 173-8; *Letters*, i. 15, 20, 49 and n.

² *Life*, i. 135. It is noticeable that Boswell refers to “ several light skirmishes [which] passed between the rival translators, in the newspapers of the day ”.

and fitting neatly into the context of Anglican hopes for *rapprochement* with a foreign national Church—she justly commented that history had repeated itself (see p. 361 below). But her phrase can be interpreted in a sense she did not intend. Sarpi's work had been written in an anti-papal spirit, and clearly showed his disappointment with the outcome of this first post-Reformation Council because it had failed to bring about the changes he considered were necessary in the Church.¹ His book had gone unanswered in any major way for many years, but eventually a Jesuit champion entered the lists: in 1656-7, Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino published his *Istoria del Concilio di Trento* at Rome. The Council's latest historian, H. Jedin, devotes several pages of his exhaustive study to the works of Sarpi and Pallavicino as his two most important predecessors in writing Trent's history, and there he states that all subsequent writers have followed one or the other of these two opponents; elsewhere, he claims that "for some three hundred years, the world has been waiting for a history of the Council of Trent that would be other than an accusation or defence".² Jedin's own work is designed to supply the need.

For the modern scholar, then, Le Courayer's *Histoire* is no more than a subsidiary work on one side of the question, and therefore of comparatively slight significance. This makes Johnson's choice of Sarpi and Le Courayer seem extremely limited, mitigating any disappointment we may have felt when we learnt that no more than a specimen of his proposed work exists even after Dr. Tyson's discovery. However, it would be very wrong to end on this note. From the early stages of preparing this study of the *Proposals*, there has been in my mind a sentence Johnson wrote of Dryden: "His compositions are the effects of a vigorous genius operating upon large materials."³ Nobody would deny that the "Iliad of our time", as Sarpi characterized the Council of Trent,⁴ had provided large enough materials, and Johnson's vigorous genius is very evident in his

¹ These are detailed by H. Jedin, in *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B., ii (1961), 7-8. Vol. 1 came out in 1957 and the translation is still in progress.

² Jedin, ii. 518-22; i. 1 (Preface).

³ *Lives*, i. 457.

⁴ Jedin (ii. 12) quotes this phrase.

works ; as historiography, the translation would have been inescapably derivative, but the Lives of the Poets and the Notes on Shakespeare will make many regret that they cannot also read Johnson's " Observations on the History and Notes " of Sarpi and Le Courayer. In this respect the loss is incalculable, and we must glean what comfort we can from the reflection that a bibliographical gap has been filled in a satisfyingly concrete manner.

APPENDIX I

Sarpi's *Historia* and its Descendants

The *editio princeps* of Paolo Sarpi's work had been published in London well over a century before with the title, *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* (STC 21760), printed by John Bill, the King's Printer, in 1619. How a history written by a Venetian theologian came to be printed in London under the name " Pietro Soave Polano " and with a dedication to James I by Antonio De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, is a fascinating story told in full detail by Frances A. Yates in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (7 (1944), pp. 123-43). In the following year (1620) were published a Latin translation by Adam Newton and an English one by Nathaniel Brent, both in London also (STC 21764, 21761). It is Brent's version, *The Historie of the Council of Trent*, according to its dedication undertaken at the command of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that Johnson considers so old-fashioned as to need replacing by his own. It had gone through three more editions, in 1629, 1640 and 1676.¹ Johnson's letter to Cave also refers to a previous French translation, by which is meant the version made by Amelot de la Houssaye, first printed in Amsterdam in 1683 under another anagrammatic pseudonym, " De la Mothe-Josseval ".² There were subsequent editions of this *Histoire du Concile de Trente* in 1686 and 1699.

For Johnson, however, the most important French translation was made by Pierre François le Courayer, a 1736 *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, on the fame of which he was to some extent intending to rely. Its first edition came out in two folio volumes with the imprint, " A LONDRES :/De l'Imprimerie de SAMUEL IDLE in *Bartholomew-Close*, / Et se delivre / Chez PAUL VAILLANT Libraire dans le *Strand*. // M DCC XXXVI." ³ Once again, the work was

¹ STC 21762, 21763 ; Wing S696. Yates (p. 130, n. 1) mentions an edition of 1656, probably a minor slip for 1676. An Italian text, " seconda edizione, riveduta e corretta dall' autore ", came out at Geneva in 1629 (Yates, p. 131, n. 2). The Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, under ' Sarpi ', is the most complete register of editions I have found.

² An earlier French translation had been made by Giovanni Diodati, the uncle of Milton's friend, in 1621. See Yates, p. 138.

³ A copy of Le Courayer's printed *Projet de Souscription*, dated " A Londres, ce 25 de / Mars, 1734 ", is in the Bodleian Library (Carte MS. 114, ff. 386-7). There was an Amsterdam edition, " Chez J. Wetstein et G. Smith ", published in the same year, two volumes quarto. The John Rylands Library has copies of both, as well as the 1619 *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*.

printed in London and dedicated to a royal personage ; Miss Yates succinctly brings out the implications :¹

History had repeated itself almost exactly. It was the story of Venice and the Papacy, De Dominis and James, all over again, with France instead of Venice, Le Courayer instead of De Dominis, and Caroline of Anspach for James I. And the actors in this drama were perfectly aware of the earlier historical parallel.

Le Courayer, a French scholar and librarian, had some years before written a book in which he defended the validity of Anglican ordinations and Anglican episcopal succession, and then another book in which he defended the former against its critics. His position on Eucharistic doctrine, in particular, was censured, and in 1728 he came over to England, as De Dominis had in the previous century. He was warmly welcomed, received a Treasury pension, "was admitted into the circle of divines patronised by Queen Caroline, and was fêted alike by peers and prelates".² His 1736 *Histoire* contained an imposing list of subscribers, two of whom are minor figures in this study: the Rev. Zachary Pearce, then Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and the Rev. Dr. [David] Wilkins, Archdeacon of Suffolk (see above, pp. 351, 353). It is not surprising that the scholar, Dr. Wilkins, and Pearce, like Le Courayer a recipient of Queen Caroline's patronage,³ and later to become Bishop of Bangor (1748-56) and of Rochester (1756-74), should be amongst the subscribers. Another name on the list, "The Rev. Mr. Johnson Second Master of Westminster School", is, disappointingly, a James.⁴ Two names, those of Samuel and John Johnson, do not appear.

APPENDIX 2

G. Walmesley, T. Birch and W. Caslon

Hawkins later returns to the subject (ed. Davis, pp. 36-37):

Johnson was well enough skilled in the Italian language for the undertaking, and was encouraged to it by many of his friends ; as namely, Mr. Walmesley,

¹ Yates, p. 140. This article has some excellent illustrations, including a "statement in visual terms of [its] theme" (actually a reproduction of Vertue's headpiece for Le Courayer's *Histoire*), the title-page of the *editio princeps*, and the Bodleian portrait of Sarpi, "Concilii Tridentini Eviscerator".

² See N. Sykes, *William Wake Archbishop of Canterbury 1657-1737* (C.U.P., 1957), i, 318-20, 354, 360-2. Apart from the great amount of original material Professor Sykes printed, he relied for biographical details of Le Courayer on E. Préclin, *L'Union des Églises Gallicane et Anglicane* (Paris, 1928). Le Courayer is also in the *DNB*, and the 1844 (Oxford) *Dissertation on the Validity of the Ordinations of the English, etc.* has a mass of information in the Editor's Introduction. See also E. Préclin, *Un Traducteur et Historien de la Réforme : P.F. Le Courayer* (Besançon, 1950).

³ N. Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (1934), p. 165. Johnson later wrote portions of his biography. See *Life*, iii. 112-13, 489.

⁴ J. J. Welch, *A List of Scholars . . . and Masters of Westminster School* (new edn., 1852), pp. 32, 288-9. See also *DNB*.

Mr. Caslon the letter-founder, Mr. [afterwards Dr.] Birch, and others ; but he chose to make it a joint project, and take Cave into the adventure, who, as the work proceeded, advanced him small sums, at two or three guineas a week, amounting together to near fifty pounds.

Hawkins's dates in this portion of his biography are awry, which makes it difficult to know just what he means when he writes that Johnson took Cave into the adventure,¹ but there is no reason to doubt the names he gives above. Much has been written on Gilbert Walmesley, Johnson's Lichfield patron,² and his early association with Thomas Birch has been carefully considered by Ruhe (see p. 343, n. 5, above). Birch's diary entry of 22 August 1738 seems to be the first definite date (see Ruhe, *PMLA*, p. 493), but if his encouragement of Johnson was in the period before the actual beginning of the *Sarpi* translation, the two men must have met earlier than this. Cave, in fact, had known Birch since 1734. (See Carlson, p. 15, n.) The association with William Caslon, on the other hand, is not well known.

Caslon was born in 1692 at Cradley near Birmingham.³ In 1737, he was living in Ironmonger Row, but about this time he moved to Chiswell Street (Reed, pp. 235, 237). At both places he held convivial musical gatherings, in which we know Hawkins participated, and amongst his guests were "those of his old acquaintance, the companions of his youth".⁴ Johnson was no lover of music, but Caslon's hospitality was also extended to literary men (Reed, p. 241); it is not impossible that Johnson was introduced to him by some mutual acquaintance from Birmingham.

APPENDIX 3

The *Sarpi* "Account"

The fullest description of the document is given by Boswell (*Life*, i. 135-6). Ruhe's note (p. 433) that "Boswell's transcript of the receipt is identical with that given by Nichols, [*Anecdotes*], V.27" needs expansion, although he may well have meant to imply much of what follows. In the first place, Boswell by no means gives a full and complete transcript :

I have in my possession, by the favour of Mr. John Nichols, a paper in Johnson's hand-writing, entitled 'Account between Mr. Edward Cave and Sam. Johnson, in relation to a version of Father Paul, &c. begun August the 2d, 1738 ;' by which it appears, that from that day to the 21st of April, 1739, Johnson received for this work £49 7s. in sums of one, two, three, and sometimes four guineas at a time, most frequently two. And it is curious to observe the minute and scrupulous accuracy with which Johnson has

¹ See Hawkins, ed. Davis, p. 284, n. 12 ; Ruhe, p. 433, n. 4.

² Johnson himself wrote of him in the "Life of Edmund Smith", *Lives*, ii. 20-21. See especially Clifford, pp. 92-104.

³ See W. Bennett, *William Caslon 1692-1766* (City of Birmingham School of Printing, 1935) ; T. B. Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, rev. and enl. by A. F. Johnson (1952), chap. 11.

⁴ P. A. Scholes, *The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins* (O.U.P., 1953), p. 20 ; Reed, p. 241.

pasted upon it a slip of paper, which he has entitled 'Small Account,' and which contains one article, 'Sept. 9th, Mr. Cave laid down 2s. 6d.' There is subjoined to this account, a list of some subscribers to the work, partly in Johnson's hand-writing, partly in that of another person; and there follows a leaf or two on which are written a number of characters which have the appearance of a short hand, which, perhaps, Johnson was then trying to learn.

Not only is Nichols's 1812 version of the various portions of this document all but identical, so is his commentary on them, which destroys its value as independent confirmatory evidence for the text.¹ Having given up the receipt to Boswell—his paragraph opens with "I once possessed a paper, in Johnson's handwriting, which I gave to Mr. Boswell, intituled, . . ."—he was copying what Boswell had written years before. But in this very same life of Cave from which this account is taken Nichols frequently repeats almost word for word many of the details he himself had given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* during the months immediately following Johnson's death in December 1784.

Turning to these, we see that Nichols has actually passed over his own version of the receipt in favour of Boswell's; his early account of it had been printed in the *Magazine* for December 1784 (p. 891), as a footnote to his record of Johnson's conversation just before he died, the one in which he called Cave "a penurious paymaster":

It appears, however, from an account now before us, under his own hand, that he received from Mr. Cave by different payments, from Aug. 2, 1738, to Apr. 21, 1739, 47 guineas; "in relation to a Version of Father Paul, begun Aug. 2, 1738." Of this version, which was intended to have been published by subscription, 6 sheets were actually printed; but another translation being at the same time announced under the patronage of Dr. (afterwards Bp.) Pearce; the designs of both proved abortive. See Dr. Johnson's Life of Father Paul in our vol. VIII. p. 581. EDIT.

Nichols was not copying this in his *Anecdotes*,² though the point is academic. Its real value lies in its confirmation of Boswell's "transcript" and the fact that it is the first mention of the receipt in print. There is a slight discrepancy, it is true, in the "&c." Boswell added to the "Sarpi" in the heading of the Account: payment of forty-seven guineas could apparently have involved rather more than this translation alone. Also, one feels that since Boswell is giving the longer, expanded description his "&c." is not gratuitous. Even so, the most economical explanation would interpret the phrase as standing for something like "Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, with the Author's Life . . ." &c! Some support is given in a manuscript note by Sir John Hawkins,³ dated 23 May 1787, the first part of which reads:

¹ Nichols prints *that work* for Boswell's *this work*, but otherwise the two are, apart from the necessarily different opening words, substantively the same.

² He does, in fact, loosely quote "another translation . . . abortive" in *Anecdotes*, v. 29, but ignores the first part about the receipt.

³ Reproduced opposite p. 192 of Scholes. See the quotation above, p. 362, for the use Hawkins made of it.

Sir John Hawkins, agreeable to Mr. Nichols's desire, returns enclosed the *original* Manuscript of Dr. Johnson, which contains the account of money received for the *translation of Father Paul*.

The attachment of a list of subscribers to the financial account is further support for this interpretation, although the "leaf or two" with shorthand characters would have to be regarded as very casual additions.¹

APPENDIX 4

The Reverend John Johnson

As Ruhe remarks, there are "few traces of [his] very existence", though he was able to find some. The letter he quotes from the *Daily Advertiser* was written "From the late Archbishop Tennison's [sic] Library, near St. Martin in the Fields, October 18, 1738" (p. 434). Also, Ruhe turned up a notice of his death on 27 February 1747 in the *Daily Advertiser*, which tells us that he was "Library-Keeper" of Tenison's foundation and "Preacher at Long-Acre Chapel"; to this the *London Magazine* of March 1747 adds that he was "Afternoon Preacher at Oxendon Chapel".²

John Nichols identified Zachary Pearce, then Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, as the main patron of Johnson's translation (see above, p. 351), and Hawkins was, I think, the first to notice that [John] Johnson was "keeper" of Tenison's Library (Hawkins, ed. Davis, p. 37). Another brick was added when Boswell stated that Johnson was "Curate" of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (*Life*, i. 135). This, however, I have been unable to substantiate.³ A search through the Vestry Minutes of the time did not reveal his name, although one can find two Curates at Vestry Meetings in 1738, the Rev. John Horseley and the Rev. Thomas Taylor, as well as a Rev. Mr. Axton, whose scholars used to make orations to the vestry now and again. The only other parish entries I was able to find are in the Churchwarden's Account for 1746 (F 110), recording his burial on

¹ The physical make-up of the "paper" is not clear—perhaps conjugate pairs of leaves slipped inside each other. Blank leaves would have been left to record further payments and subscriptions (the latter were usually printed in alphabetical order); the shorthand characters might have been written when it was obvious that the leaves would remain blank. I have not been able to find this document, but I would like to thank Professor and Mrs. F. A. Pottle, Mr. J. D. Fleeman and Mr. H. W. Liebert for helping me in the search.

² Ruhe, p. 435 and n. 9. *The Penny London Post, or, The Morning Advertiser*, 2-4 March 1747, confirms the *Daily Advertiser*: it prints the same notice as far as "Chapel". *The St. James's Evening Post*, 3-5 March 1747, notices the appointment of Johnson's successor at Oxendon Chapel, a Rev. Mr. Jortin (Brit. Mus. Burney copies examined). See also *Anecdotes*, ii. p. 560; *Lives*, iii. 116.

³ The present Vicar, the Rev. Austen Williams, most kindly referred me to the records of St. Martin's held by the Westminster Archives Dept. The Staff there, and also at the Westminster Reference Library, were most helpful. I also wish to thank Mr. J. L. Bolton for help and advice.

3 March 1746 [/7], and the corresponding one in the Rough Burial Book (F 2466), which is not very legible :

Ye Reurn^d Mr < > Johnson Castell Street Ch[urch ?] valt [vault ?]
6 m Pr [doubtful readings].

The records are not complete, but I am sure that more would have been found if John Johnson had been at all largely concerned in the usual activities of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

Of Johnson as a Librarian something more can be said. Mr. P. A. Hoare of the London Library is preparing a thesis with the probable title of "Archbishop Tenison's Library at Saint Martin in the Fields, 1684-1861".¹ He has discovered an account book for the period 1697-1788,² from which we learn that Johnson was appointed as Librarian Assistant (or Assistant Librarian) when Thomas Taylor left the post, and was paid his first year's salary of £5 at Christmas 1738. The Librarian was Thomas Axton, Headmaster of the associated School. The last entry concerning Johnson relates to the purchase of some of his effects from a Mr. Errington, his executor.³ An uncatalogued volume in the Westminster Archives lists Benefactors of the Library, "A^o. 1685. &c.", and records a Mr. Johnson's presentation of "Dougteii Analecta Sacra. Lond. 1658. 8^{vo}" and "Magna Charta. Lond. 1556. 12^{mo}." The identification with the Rev. John is quite possible, but there was, for example, a contemporary John Johnson who was the Churchwarden of the nearby parish of St. James, Westminster, in 1738.⁴

The later history of the Library is not without interest, since Le Courayer left it some books before he died (see *Dissertation*, Oxford, 1844, p. liv); Sotheby's *Sale Catalogue* (3-8 June 1861) lists his personal copy of the 1736 folio *Histoire* as lot 551.⁵ The manuscripts of the Library were also sold at Sotheby's on 1 July 1861, but Mr. Hoare, who has studied the holdings in some detail, informs me that there was no manuscript of any interest in the present context. The Rev. John's translation may still be extant; it does not seem to be in any of the obvious places.

¹ For submission at the School of Librarianship and Archives, University College London.

² On deposit from Archbishop Tenison's Grammar School at the County Record Office, County Hall, S.E.1. I am grateful for permission to refer to it.

³ I must thank Mr. Hoare for this information, given in private letters. Taylor, incidentally, was still a Curate of St. Martin's on 1 Feb. 1738 [/9], according to a note I happened to make of the vestry records.

⁴ See *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers 1735-1738*, ed. W. A. Shaw (1900), pp. 528, 532. The Bodleian has a letter (MS. Rawl. A275, fol. 58) signed John Johnson, "Ormond Street / June 26-1727", to Abp. Wake. This is endorsed "D^r Johnson", and is probably by the Prebendary of Durham who died in 1761. See *Brasenose College Register 1509-1909*, Oxford Hist. Soc., vol. 55 (Clarendon Press, 1909).

⁵ The editor of the *Dissertation* records visits to the Library to consult Le Courayer's own copy of this work (pp. ix, lxxv). E. Carpenter gives an account of the Library and School in his *Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, His Life and Times* (S.P.C.K., 1948), pp. 23-28.

APPENDIX 5

The Reverend David Wilkins

The full text of Wilkins's letter, from Brit. Mus. Stowe MS. 748, fol. 165, runs as follows :

Hadleigh in Suffolk Nov^r. 12. 1738

Good Sir.

When D^r. Courayer's Translation of the Council of Trent first came out, I read it over as a Relaxation from my severe Studies of my Concilia, & here & there did not like His Notes altogether, especially about some of y^e Protestant Reformers ; which the present Editor will easily find out.

In D^r. Courayer's Preface pag. ix. instead of *Michel Newton*, it should be Sir Adam Newton Bar^t. Dean of Durham, and Preceptor etc.

If my Subscription to this New Edition can be of any Service to You, You may command me. I hope to be <in> Town sometime next February, & then I will acquaint You, what laborious a Work I have in Hand now, w^{ch} has taken up all my Time since I was in Print last, & will very likely employ me three or four Years more. I am

Good Sir Your affectionate & Obliged Humble Serv^t.

D Wilkins

I beg the Favour of Your Frank for the Inclosed.

It is addressed to Edward Cave at St. John's Gate, and there is one legible post-mark, "COLCHESTER".

The reference to his own book is to the four massive volumes of *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 1737, of which this Prussian scholar was editor.¹ Professor Sykes has recently written that "perhaps the greatest tribute to its importance may be seen in the fact that after a lapse of two centuries a panel of expert medieval scholars has embarked upon a revision and expansion of Wilkins's *Concilia*, as Wake and his librarian [i.e. Wilkins] did of Spelman".² Wilkins had been Lambeth Librarian ; in 1719, he became Wake's chaplain, receiving collation of the rectories of Hadleigh and Monks Eleigh ; in 1724, he was presented to the option of the archdeaconry of Suffolk.³ After *Concilia* in 1737, he helped with Bishop Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, but died in 1745 before it was actually published (*D.N.B.*).

Thomas Hearne has several references to Wilkins, whom he did not like at all ; for us, the most interesting is under 23 June 1728 :⁴

¹ See D. C. Douglas, *English Scholars 1660-1730*, 2nd edn. rev., 1951, pp. 217-21.

² Sykes, *Wake*, ii. 252. See also two articles by E. F. Jacob, "Wilkins's *Concilia* and the Fifteenth Century", *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4S., xv (1932), 91-131, and "Wilkins's Copy of Sir Henry Spelman's *Concilia*", *The Antiquaries Journal*, xiii (1933), 155-8. There is a summary of the latter article in Simpson, *Proof-Reading*, pp. 89-90.

³ Sykes, *Wake*, i. 240-1.

⁴ *Remarks and Collections*, x, ed. Rev. H. E. Salter, Oxford Hist. Soc., 67 (Clarendon Press, 1915), p. 22. The Vice Principal Hearne mentions was a Robert, and Zachary Pearce is not indexed in this volume ; but cf. p. 119 of vol.

[Mr. E. Burton] said also that D^r. Wilkins had a design some time ago of publishing the Councils, with M^r. Wharton's Additions and Corrections, but that the Archbishop, D^r. Wake, put him by, saying that M^r. Pearce (he that was some time since V. Principal of Edm. Hall) intended to do that work. This is what I never heard of before, with respect to Pearce. It seems after Pearce had got his Living, he excused himself by complaining of his eyes.

Unfortunately, Hearne's last reference to Wilkins was on 14 September 1734,¹ so that we learn no more of him from this source. It seems highly improbable that such a man would not have heard of the Rev. John Johnson's project; and yet he is ready to support a rival translation, which lacked the kind of clerical support enjoyed by the other. (See Ruhe, p. 434.) The tone of the letter to Cave is friendly,² but one wonders if the delays in appointing Wilkins the official editor of *Concilia* made him more ready to support a translation *not* under the auspices of Zachary Pearce.

APPENDIX 6

Six Sheets or Twelve?

At least two references to the fate of Johnson's Sarpì translation were made while he was still living, the first in John Nichols, *Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer, Printer*, published in 1782:³

Notwithstanding the excellence of F. Courayer's French translation of Father Paul, the Literati have reason to regret that an English translation (which was begun in 1738, and some sheets of it actually printed off) was not proceeded with. This assertion will be readily credited, when I add that it was undertaken by Dr. SAMUEL JOHNSON. The part that was printed has long since been converted into waste paper, and (unfortunately) not a single copy of it is known to have been preserved.

The next reference is in the August 1784 number of the *Universal Magazine* but it adds nothing to Nichols and very probably depends upon his account.⁴

xi (OHS, 72), under 20 October 1732: "D^r. Wake . . . would have had Zachary Pearce . . ." (quoted by Douglas). Professor Sykes does not mention Z. Pearce in his account of the various delays before Wilkins took over; he gives, however, certain evidence of another candidate (*Wake*, ii. 249-52).

¹ Hearne, xi (OHS, 72), 375.

² Three letters to S. Pegge from Wilkins (Bodl. MS. Eng. Lett. d. 43, pp. 147-52) end in a similar way with "affectionately". Their dates (30 June 1741, 9 July 1743 and 9 August 1743) show that they help fill a gap in most accounts of his career.

³ The passage occurs in the lengthy "Appendix", in a note on p. 544, and is reprinted in *Anecdotes*, ii. 44. The octavo edition of 1778 lacks the passage quoted.

⁴ By an anonymous author, p. 92: "But no great progress was made in this translation; although some sheets of it were actually printed. These have been long converted into waste paper. Such an excellent writer, translated by such a master, would have been a literary treasure."

Johnson died on 13 December 1784, and in the same month's issue the *Gentleman's Magazine* ran the first part of Thomas Tyers's "Biographical Sketch". Tyers had a somewhat different story (p. 902):

In the year 1738 he wrote the *Life of Father Paul*, and published proposals for a translation of his *History of the Council of Trent* by subscription: but it did not go on. Mr. Urban [i.e. John Nichols] even yet hopes to recover some sheets of this translation, that were in a box under St. John's Gate; more certainly once placed there, than Rowley's *Poems* were in the chest in a tower of the church of Bristol.

The Chatterton allusion was fairly topical, of course, but the whole passage is perhaps better seen as an emphatic way of countering two previous assertions, one within a few months, that the Sarpi sheets had been reduced to waste paper in their entirety.¹ For some reason, John Nichols had changed his mind by 1784, and had told Tyers that he was going to search for the remains; it is therefore probable that his figure of six sheets given in the very same number of the *Magazine* (see above p. 363), so far from being casually set down, was the first fruit of his investigation—some record, it might be, turned up at St. John's Gate, of which Cave's own brother-in-law still owned the freehold in 1792.²

The next reference, in the *European Magazine* for January 1785, acknowledges its dependence on John Nichols, but has something to add concerning the rival translation.³ A spur to Nichols in his researches was provided by William Shaw in his *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late Dr. Samuel Johnson*, 1785 (pp. 44-45):

It is not known on what account this work was laid aside. Though no great progress was ever made in it, a few sheets of it were certainly printed. These, it is to be hoped, will be carefully preserved by some friend to letters; and the public will be highly indebted to the editor, who shall be the first to present it with such an acceptable curiosity.

However, in 1787 Sir John Hawkins wrote that twelve sheets had been printed (see Davis, p. 98, n. 4), and a brief glance at some later biographies shows that his figure had been accepted.⁴ It was all this that Nichols set himself to contradict in *Anecdotes* (v. 29, n.):

¹ Tyers did not alter this account subsequently. (See G. D. Meyer, ed. *A Biographical Sketch of Dr. Samuel Johnson* (1785), Augustan Reprint Soc., no. 34 (Los Angeles, 1952), p. 6.) The Rowley imposture is lengthily considered in the *GM* for 1781.

² *Rise and Progress*, p. lxxii. Printing at St. John's Gate had been given up in 1781, but Nichols refers to such things as "imperfect sets of the *Magazine*, then remaining in the old warehouse" there (pp. lviii, lix).

³ The writer [Davis (p. 47) suggests George Steevens] had before him a *Life*, etc. of Sarpi in octavo, "probably intended as part of the rival edition". He went on, "It has no title-page, nor does it appear, after a strict enquiry, that it was ever to have been published" (p. 9, n.).

⁴ A. Murphy, *Essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 1793, p. 31; R. Anderson, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 1795, p. 59; anon. life prefixed to *The Idler*, Cooke's Edition [1799], p. viii. No doubt there were others.

The account of Johnson's translation of Father Paul is accurately stated in *Gent. Mag.* vol. LIV. p. 891. There were only six [see Ruhe, p. 433, n. 7] sheets printed off; and of these the greater part of the impression was converted into waste paper. A few copies were intended to have been reserved; but they were so carefully put by, as to be lost in the mass of Mr. Cave's papers deposited in St. John's Gate.

It is clear that he had not been able to find actual copies, but that he was perfectly sure about what had happened.¹ He was surely relying on the memory of someone like David Henry, who had almost certainly been around in 1738 (see Carlson, p. 13), or on press records. All in all, in this question of the number of sheets printed and their fate, I would prefer to follow John Nichols, as I have done so often in the preceding pages.

¹ The same information is given in his *Rise and Progress*, 1821, p. xv, n.