OLIVER GOLDSMITH AS AN ESSAYIST

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INTRODUCTION

Very little critical work has been done upon the various problems which arise in regard to the essays of Oliver Goldsmith. His fame as a poet, novelist, and dramatist has tended to overshadow the value of his essay contributions. Even in works such as Perry's "English Literature in the Eighteenth Century", Gosse's "History of Eighteenth Century Literature", and Seccombe's "The Age of Johnson", the essays of Goldsmith are barely mentioned. His chief biographers: John Foster, James Prior, Austin Dobson, Washington Irving, Frank F. Moore, Richard Ashe King, William Black, and Prof. Masson devote little space to this phase of his work. Neither these, nor such critics of the essay as Hugh Walker, William J. and Coningsby W. Dawson, Alexander Smith, J. H. Lobban, William Hazlitt and Orlo Williams give any detailed account of the sources of Goldsmith's ideas and material, his distinctive characteristics as an essayist, his advanced social and political views, or his stylistic traits. Accordingly, it is hoped that this study of Goldsmith as an essayist will suggest some new attitudes with which to approach "the most beloved of English writers" and will thus be a supplement to the existing discussions of his writings.

The various authors who have written in regard to Goldsmith's essays have not only failed to give us a careful analysis of his work, but have recorded widely differing estimates of his ability and the value of his contributions in this field. These writers
may be divided into three classes, for convenience of treatment: those who fail to see any real value in Goldsmith's essays, those who assume a patronizing air, and those who eulogize his work in rather extravagant language.

Among those of the first class who disparage Goldsmith's ability as an essayist, the idea spread by Boswell in his "Life of Johnson" seems to have taken firm root. This writer, always jealous for his hero and fearing Goldsmith's rivalry never missed a chance to refer to Oliver's lack of knowledge and wit. He records Dr. Johnson as saying: "Goldsmith had no settled notions upon any subject; so he talked always at random. It is amazing how little Goldsmith knows. He seldom comes where he is not more ignorant than any one else." 1 Boswell "damns with faint praise" when he writes the following: "No man had the art of displaying with more advantage as a writer, whatever literary acquisitions he made. His mind resembled a fertile, but thin soil". 2 In this same derogatory manner, Alexander Smith in writing about essayists in "DreamThorp" mentions Goldsmith as "not a thinker". Perry makes a more sweeping statement in his work on the eighteenth century, in the following words: "Yet no one reads Goldsmith for his views on any subject. These were as little a part of him as was his wig, and like that article they bore marks of conventionality" 3 The low estimate of Goldsmith's best essay work, "The Citizen of the World", which is held by the critics of this class might be summed

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3. English Literature in the 18th Century. - Page 399.
up in these words of Rev. Whitwell Elwin: "It is simply as a collection of light papers upon the vices and follies of the day that the work must be regarded." 1 The climax is reached, however, in Orlo Williams's book on "The Essay". In this there is no discussion of the essays of Goldsmith and we are told that "the graceful author of 'The Vicar of Wakefield' would have been less gratefully remembered had his fame depended on 'The Citizen of the World'."

In the second group of critics, those who take a somewhat more kindly view towards Goldsmith may be placed. With somewhat of a patronizing air, these men disregard the following words, spoken by Dr. Johnson after Goldsmith's death: "But let not his failings be remembered; he was a very great man". They are unable to see the depth of that character which appeared to such a disadvantage in company. Goldsmith's scarlet breeches seem to have blinded their eyes to the interior worth of the man and they are unable to appreciate anything except his style. Thackeray speaks of him as "a creature, so very gentle and weak, and full of love." 2

In the same vein the Dawsons refer to, "The real Goldsmith, wise, simple, foolish, friendly . . . . with lucidity of style." 3 With the same good intentions Rev. George Gilfillan says: "He opens up at times, as in portions of 'The Citizen of the World', a vein of quiet, serious reflection, which if never profound, is very pleasing and poetical". 4 Maccaulay's opinion is similar: "For accurate

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research or grave disquisition he was not well qualified by nature or by education. He knew nothing accurately: his reading had been desultory; nor had he meditated deeply on what he had read. He had seen much of the world; but he noticed and retained little more of what he had seen that some grotesque incidents and characters which had happened to strike his fancy. But, though his mind was very scantily stored with materials, he used what materials he had in such a way as to produce a wonderful effect. There have been many great writers; but, perhaps, no writer was ever more uniformly agreeable. Minto, in his "Manual of English Prose," summarizes the attitude of this class which I have been trying to illustrate by saying: "The strong points of Goldsmith's intellect centred in his power of easy and graceful literary composition. He was not a profound scholar, and his mind was neither very comprehensive nor very productive. His fame rests upon the claims of his style."

The critics in the third and last class, who go to the far extreme in favor of Goldsmith are becoming, it seems, more numerous. In his work, "The English Essay and Essayist", Hugh Walker says: "Probably not one in ten thinks for a moment of 'The Citizen of the World' as one of the finest collections of essays ever written and a work quite worthy of a place beside its author's more popular writings". He defends Goldsmith against those writers who call him the "inspired idiot" and "poor Nol". In regard to "The Citizen of the World", Walker speaks of

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2. Minto, Page 539.
"the extraordinary power, boldness and originality of thought shown in them" and of their "exquisite style". He also makes the following statement: "Goldsmith's literary greatness may be measured by the fact that he has equalled Addison on Addison's own ground, and greatly surpassed him elsewhere." 1 Austin Dobson is of much the same opinion as Walker and, in his article on Goldsmith in the "Cambridge History of English Literature," mentions among the other works of this author, "a series of essays ranking only below Lamb's". John Forster said that the "Chinese Letters" "amused the hour, was wise for the interval beyond it, and is still diverting and instructing us, and will delight generations yet unborn". 2 Besides these critics, Edmund Gosse, Washington Irving, Leslie Stevens, Richard Ashe King, Frank H. Moore, Thomas Seccombe, and many others have testified to their delight in and appreciation of the essays of Goldsmith, especially those included in "The Citizen of the World", praising this work for its "fresh original perception, its delicate delineation of life and manners; its wit and humor; its playful and diverting satire, its exhilarating gaiety, and its clear and lively style." 3 These writers would agree in classing this collection as "one of the classics of the century" and as "a distinct foretaste of Charles Lamb" and would defend their contentions against those who assume a patronizing attitude towards Goldsmith and those who entirely disparage his essay work.

1. Minto. - Page 146 - 155
2. Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith. - Page 253, Vol. 1
In view of such a conflict of opinions, this discussion of the various problems arising in connection with a study of Goldsmith's essays with the purpose of arriving at a judicious estimate of his essay work, does not appear useless. An attempt will first be made to set forth a few of the characteristics of his age and of the work of his predecessors in the field of essay writing and in the use of the foreign letter-writer scheme. Goldsmith's distinctive characteristics will then be pointed out: after which, his contributions to the development of the essay will be discussed.
CHAPTER I
GOLDSMITH'S PREDECESSORS

A. In the Periodical Essay.

One of the very first suggestions for the periodical essay may be found in Daniel Defoe's tri-weekly "Review" (1704-1713). In this early newspaper, there was one section entitled "Mercure Scandale; Or Advice from the Scandalous Club", which approached in character the later essays of Steele and Addison. Defoe gave his ideas on politics, morals, love, poetry, etc. in this "Weekly history of Nonsense, Impertinence, Vice, and Debauchery". The element of news, however, gradually crowded out this department and it later became a monthly supplement and then was separated and called "The Little Review". Defoe attempted "to exalt virtue, and put down vice" and desired to be amusing as well as instructive. One of his purposes was to aid in the restoration of morals and manners from their degradation after the Restoration. His "Scandalous Club" contains a great mass of material and many of the items treated are similar to those in the later periodicals. But Defoe lacked lightness of style and human touches. In closing his work, he refers to "The Tatler" as fulfilling his purpose better than he could do. It was from "The Review", however, that Richard Steele took the hint for "The Tatler".

Steele was the first great periodical essayist. On April 12, 1709, he published the first issue of "The Tatler". This paper continued until January, 1711, Steele writing one-hundred eighty-eight of the two hundred and seventy-one issues. In this work he
was aided by Joseph Addison, but the original idea of "The Tatler" was entirely Steele's own and he alone was responsible for the regular supply of material. He recognized the function of his work and had a moral purpose, as is shown in the following passage from his dedication to the first volume. He writes:

"The general purpose of this paper is to expose the false arts of life, to pull off the disguises of cunning, vanity, and affectation, and to recommend a general simplicity in our dress, our discourse, and our behavior."

At first, Steele made little distinction between his own project and other newspapers. He took for his subject, "Quicquid agunt homines"; but after about forty numbers his motto was changed to "Celebrare domestica facta". He purposed not only to give news, but to give its significance also. The subject of each article was to be indicated by the name of the coffee-house from which it was to come. From Will's Coffee-house, accounts of poetry and selections were to be given; from the Grecian, Learning; from Saint James', Foreign and Domestic news; "and whatever else I have to offer on any other subject shall be dated from my own apartment". As the paper progressed, this last section began to crowd out the news element and the greater part of the last half of the issues of "The Tatler" contains only one part. This change represents the tendency away from journalism to literature. In order to gain a point of view for his paper, Steele assumed the character of Isaac Bickerstaff, supposed to be an old bachelor well acquainted about town. He also felt that his own name would detract from the influence of his moral teaching and, in order to gain the requisite
gravity "chose to talk in a mask". Point is usually given to the paper by sketching some type of character, such as a fop or coquette. The character of Isaac is not very clearly sketched, however, nor do the other characters which appear in his essays occupy a prominent place. He uses Jennie Disstaff, a half-sister of Isaac to give the feminine point of view and includes letters from various readers of "The Tatler", some real, some imaginary, in order to gain further variety. Another noteworthy thing about "The Tatler" is the variety of devices used to gain interest, most of which were invented by Steele. The form of a dream is employed in the eighth number. In another, Isaach Bickerstaff tells of his familiar spirit, from whom he can learn the inmost thoughts of people. The Society of Up-holders in a Court of Justice, before which offenders in morals were brought, is another device successfully employed. Foibles and fashions, rather than vices were tried before the "Court of Honor." "The Club at The Trumpet", composed of a number of garrulous old men, is introduced to point a moral against an empty life. Steele also used some allegory, but it was neither polished nor elaborate. Many of the happenings to Isaac Bickerstaff are described in such an artistic way that they attain to the short story type, thus transcending mere journalistic work. Steele contributed his personality to his work. He wrote in a perfectly fresh and

1. "The Tatler" No. 271
2. "The Tatler" No. 143
3. "The Tatler" No. 27
4. "The Tatler" No. 10
5. "The Tatler" No. 15
unaffected style, the impressions of the moment. His mild censorship of the vices and follies of the time was well fitted to improve the morals of the Cavaliers and to make the Puritans more sympathetic. He was far in advance of his time in his respect for women and his pure humanity is to be seen in his sympathetic account of domestic joys and sorrows. In the last number of "The Tatler", Steele writes: "It has been a most exquisite pleasure to me to frame characters of domestic life." 1 In 1714, Steele published another paper, "The Lover", which extended through forty numbers. This paper is more specialized, but reveals no new features worthy of note in this place. Steele also wrote many essays for "The Spectator". He is best known, however, for his work in "The Tatler", where he carried out his moral purpose, developed the periodical essay away from the newspaper tone and towards a literary form, painted a picture of the daily life of the town, introduced many devices for gaining interest and illustrating his points, and revealed a character just to women and sympathetic with domestic life. Steele's written word depicts his own character and, without telling actual facts about his own life, he constantly reveals the feelings of his heart, his virtues and vices, his blemishes and beauties.

On March 1, 1711, two months after the last issue of "The Tatler", its legitimate successor, "The Spectator", appeared. This daily paper was the joint work of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, but the influence of the former predominated. It built upon the foundation formed by the pioneer work of "The Tatler. "The Spectator" had confidence in its mission and was, from the

beginning to the end, a high class literary production. It was higher in theme, more elaborate and philosophical in style, treating the enduring traits of human character; while "The Tatler" was concerned, for the most part, with the minor vices and foibles. In number two-hundred and sixty-two, Addison emphasizes the elevation of tone and the absence of personalities in his work. In another paper, he vindicates himself for taking down elevated subjects to the level of the common people. 1 The character of the Spectator, as described by Addison in number one, is that of a short faced, dumb philosopher, with a speculative habit of mind and it is natural that grave subjects should appeal to him. Isaac Bickerstaff had been of a more inquisitive type and, as a result, the deeper questions of human life had not attracted him so much as they do the Spectator. The admirable character portrayed in "The Spectator" is one of its chief claims on posterity. The group of characters described by Steele in the second issue of this paper and later developed by both Addison and Steele represents the attitude of the town. Each member of the Spectator Club represents a class in the English nation and these characters take the place of the device used in "The Tatler", in which different coffee-houses were represented as occasions for the discussion of different topics. In "The Spectator" Sir Roger de Coverley is the unsophisticated, unpolished country gentleman; the Templar represents the conservative respect for traditions; Sir Andrew Freeport, the merchant class; Captain Sentry, the military class; Will Honeycomb, the World of fashion; and the clergyman, the religious side of life. These figures show a keen insight into human character and the picture of the "Country Gentleman".

is a masterpiece. "The Spectator" also marked an advance in periodical essay writing by exhausting all topics suitable and thus fixing its literary form. It included sober, analytical, critical essays, extending at times into critical treatises, such as Addison's papers on "Paradise Lost"; a trifling, inconsequential theme treated with light banter, sometimes with a moral; and some dramatic papers, with character and incident. The paper describing the Spectator's visits to Sir Roger in the country have points in common with the novel, such as setting, character, and incident. Throughout his writing Addison used wit and raillery in exposing vice and folly. His devices for holding interest were similar to those employed in "The Tatler", but more use is made of the doings of the characters. In comparison with Steele, Addison possesses some greater talents, as well as some greater defects. He is less sympathetic and colder; he is a juster man, but less generous; with him the head is dominant over the heart and, in this, he is a typical man of that age. Steele was an originating and Addison an elaborating genius. On the other hand, Addison's writings are highly polished and almost flawless. He possessed a more perfect style and a greater facility of expression than did Steele. Besides his admirable portrayal of very human characters, his treatment of elevated themes, his critical writings, and his satire of minor vices and foibles, Addison should be ranked high for the elegance, purity, and correctness which he gave to the style of the periodical essay. Many were the writers who imitated Addison and

1. Nathan Drake lists eighty-two such papers between the appearance of "The Tatler" and Johnson's "The Rambler" (1750), in his "Essays"
Steele's work in "The Tatler" and "The Spectator", but none for many years after, reached their height.

The next outstanding figure in the history of the periodical essay is Dr. Samuel Johnson, whose work preceded that of Goldsmith by a few years. His papers divide the eighteenth century periodicals and mark a new impulse in this field of writing. His chief essay writing was done in his "Rambler" (1750-1752) and "Idler" (1758-1760), but he also contributed to Hawkesworth's "Adventurer" (1752-1754). Dr. Johnson wrote with a heavier hand and a more serious purpose, especially in "The Rambler", than his immediate predecessors. He wrote with dignity and restored the essay to the classical character which it had possessed before Steele's work. He made no attempt in "The Rambler", as he fully explains in No. 208 of that paper, to gain a great mass of readers by discussing the topics of the day, or by developing characters, or by any other of the devices by which Addison and Steele had gained external attractiveness. He scorned the popular audience, with which he did not sympathize. He writes: "They only were expected to peruse them, whose passions left them leisure for abstract truth, and whom virtue could please by its naked truth". In "The Idler", however, he publishes many letters supposed to have been written by readers of that paper. Many of these essays are of a somewhat lighter character than those in "The Rambler", but they all bear the impress of Johnson's personality and style of writing. He desired to inculcate wisdom and piety and attacked vice in a direct manner. He also wished to refine the English language to grammatical purity and to eliminate all barbarisms, etc. His style is ponderous,
characterized by exactly balanced and deeply involved sentences, by which he hoped to give elegance and balance to the English language. Johnson's personality pervades his essay work and gives to most of it a cold melancholy and pessimistic tone. He looked upon happiness as not attainable in this world and felt that the only way to make life endurable is through the exercise of christian virtues. He displays a powerful intellect, although his insularity is apparent in various essays. For example, in his discussion of the "Sufficiency of the English Language", he says:

"We consider the whole succession from Spenser to Pope, as superior to any names which the Continent can boast; and therefore the poets of other nations, however familiarly they may be sometimes mentioned, are very little read, except by those who design to borrow their beauties ............
Thus copiously instructive to the English language; and thus needless is all recourse to foreign writers."

In this study of Goldsmith's essay work it will be valuable to keep in mind Johnson's work in giving a classical turn to the periodical essay, his serious purpose, his scorn of the general public, his ponderous style, and his melancholy view of life.

"The Adventurer" (1752-1754) was the successor of "The Rambler" and contains several features worthy of note. It was the joint work of John Hawkesworth, Samuel Johnson, and Joseph Warton. It practically reverted to "The Spectator" style of gaining interest by the use of devices. The most popular

1. "The Idler" No. 91.
device was that of the oriental tale. Hawkesworth wrote the best
tales and they contributed much to the success of the paper. It is
quite probable that Goldsmith was greatly influenced by them. In
fact, his "Asem the Man-hater; an Eastern Tale" is a direct
parallel to No. 40 of "The Adventurer", which appeared on March 24,
1753. Both stories describe a country where everyone receives just
punishment and reward, but where no one is allowed to relieve the
misery of a fellow, or is given any chance to exercise his virtues.
Nearly all of the tales in "The Adventurer" are told with a moral
purpose, while many of Goldsmith's oriental tales are told for the
love of a story. Many of the stories in "The Adventurer" are
monotonous and full of bare machinery and the moralizing is
superficial in too many cases. The literary essays contributed
to this periodical by Joseph Warton form another interesting feature.
They are generally original and represent the growth of the spirit
of romanticism. This appears in his critical papers on
Shakespeare. In speaking of "The Tempest", for example, he says:
"He has there given the reigns to his boundless imagination, and
has carried the romantic, the wonderful, and the wild, to the most
pleasing extravagance". Warton's method is informal, but his
criticism is minute. On account of his essays in criticism and
Hawkesworth's oriental tales, "The Adventurer" is of interest
in the present study.

Two other papers which preceded Goldsmith's "Bee" and
"Citizen of the World" are worthy of passing notice. They are

1. Miscellaneous Essays. No. XVI
"The World" (1753-1756) and "The Connoisseur" (1754-1756). The former was founded by Edward More, who was also the chief contributor. Horace Walpole, Owen Cambridge, and Lord Chesterfield also wrote for it. In the first issue, Moore called "The World" "a weekly paper of amusement" and states that, "There are only two subjects which, as matters stand at present, I shall absolutely disclaim touching upon; and these are religion and politics."

The light vein of satire which this paper adopted and the lightness of the substance treated are in contrast to the serious and weighty "Rambler". Somewhat of a similar tone pervades the essays of Goldsmith. Goldsmith may have gotten suggestions for his treatment of the Races at Newmarket from number seventeen of "The World", which is entitled, "Account of the Races and Manners of Newmarket". Goldsmith also ridicules the gambling of women in much the same way as is done in No. 154 of "The World".

There are some close parallels in these and other accounts and many similar subjects are treated in "The Citizen of the World" and "The World". The purpose of both papers was to "ridicule, with novelty and good-humour, the fashions, follies, vices and absurdities, of that part of the human species which calls itself The World, and to trace it through all its business, pleasures, and amusements". It is therefore natural that current absurdities should draw forth satirical papers from both periodicals. "The Connoisseur" resembled "The World" in its general character,

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1. Citizen of the World. No. LXXXVI.
2. Citizen of the World. No. CII.
3. The World. No. XXIV.
It was, for the most part, the joint work of George Coleman and Bonnell Thornton. In it, also, there are many suggestions of the topics later treated by Goldsmith. Number 23, for instance, is a "Letter from Mr. Village, with a description of a Quack Doctor, and a company of Strolling Players in a country town". Goldsmith later wrote a paper entitled "The Venders of Quack Medicines and Nostrums ridiculed" and another concerning the "Adventures of a Strolling Player". It is quite possible that Goldsmith took suggestions from "The World" and "The Connoisseur" for his essays. He took up the periodical essay at the point to which they had brought it and carried it on to greater perfection. His work is based on that done by his predecessors, but his contributions are many and well worth analyzing.

1. Citizen of the World. No. XXIV.
2. Miscellaneous Essays No. XXI.
B. Predecessors in the Foreign Letter-Writer Collection.

In choosing a scheme or plan for his essays, Goldsmith was greatly influenced by the example of his contemporaries and the taste of his readers. His first and only independent magazine, "The Bee" (1759), started like the dozens of other periodicals in the eighteenth century which imitated Addison's and Steele's "Tatler" and "Spectator". In truth, Goldsmith's era seemed to be that of the magazine. Old ones were constantly ending and new ones crowding into their places. Some few enjoyed an extended existence of many years; but many more lived no longer than Goldsmith's "The Bee", being starved to death in the great crowd of papers. This new paper was announced as follows, in the "Public Advertiser": "The Bee, Consisting of a variety of Essays on Amusements, Follies, and Vices in fashion: particularly the most recent Topics of Conversation: Remarks on Theatrical Exhibitions: Memoirs of Modern Literature etc., etc." The nature of "The Bee" will be sufficiently illustrated, for the present, by this list of the contents of No. IV: "Miscellaneous. A Flemish Tradition. The Sagacity of some Insects. The Characteristics of Greatness. A city Night-Piece. An Elegy on that glory of her sex, Mrs. Mary Blaize". The failure of this thirty-two pages weekly might be attributed, partially, to its lack of a definite, unifying scheme. Its beginning, its plan (rather, lack of plan) and its failure are, however, in no way unique in the history of eighteenth century periodicals.

Likewise, there is no unifying element in Goldsmith's miscellaneous essays. It appears that he contributed detached pieces to current periodicals, such as "The Busy Body" and "The Lady's Magazine", in much the same manner as his fellow-workers. It was the intrinsic worth of these essays which made them popular and led to their being copied, not any superiority or strangeness of scheme.

On the other hand, a great deal of the interest aroused in "The Citizen of the World", which was started by Goldsmith about two months after the failure of "The Bee", was due to its scheme. For this reason, we are led to enquire whether Goldsmith originated the plan; or, if he did not, from whence he obtained suggestions. In this work, the character of Lien Chi Altangi serves to connect the one hundred and twenty-three letters, which treat widely diverse topics. This philosopher, or "Citizen of the World", came to England, "in order to examine its opulence, buildings, sciences, arts and manufactures, on the spot". 1 In writing an account of this stranger's observations and reflections, which were addressed to his friends back in China, a good opportunity was offered to Goldsmith to treat of whatever he desired. It is doubtful, however, whether Goldsmith had any definite plan in view when, early in 1760, he agreed to contribute papers of an amusing character, twice a week, to Newberry's "Public Ledger". He probably realized, however, that the writer of miscellaneous papers often was not recognized and that a distinguishing title or subject fixes a stronger hold on the imagination of the reader,

1. No. 2 of "Citizen of the World".
as well as furnishing a clew to the identity of the author. Thus, after two miscellaneous papers, the first of the Chinese letters appeared, probably an experiment testing the taste of the public. Seeing its popularity, Goldsmith continued the "Chinese Letters" and his reputation and the circulation of the "Public Ledger" rapidly increased.

Among the collections of letters written under the assumed character of a foreigner in a strange country, which preceded Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World" and may have influenced him, four are worthy of particular discussion. They are J. P. Marana's "Turkish Spy" (1691), Montesquieu's "Persian Letters" (1721), Lord Lyttleton's "Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend at Isphahan" (1735), and Horatio Walpole's "Letter from Xo Ho to his Friend Lien Chi" (1757). In addition to these, there were numerous other works which show that the public taste was prepared for the "Chinese Letters", but they are relatively unimportant. The points of similarity and dissimilarity of the four works just mentioned to Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World" will now be considered, after which slight mention will be made of some of the other works employing a like scheme.

The eight volumes of "Letters Writ by a Turkish Spy who lived five and forty years, undiscovered at Paris: Giving an Impartial Account to the Divan at Constantinople, of the most Remarkable Transactions of Europe; and Discovering several Intrigues and Secrets of the Christian Courts (especially of France) from the year 1637, to the year 1683" were first published in English in 1691 and went through twenty-six editions by 1770.
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These letters bear some resemblance to Goldsmith's work. In his preface "To the Reader", the English editor claimed to be merely a translator of the Italian version of these letters which had been, according to his version, written by a Turk, found in a lodging house in Paris, and translated from Arabick into Latin by their discoverer. The writer of at least the first volume of this collection, J. P. Marara, was a Genoese and died in Paris, in 1693. He used this ingenious contrivance to give the history of the age in which he lived. Under the mask of this foreigner, Mahm ut the Arabian, the author was enabled to write in a secrecy and security like that which is claimed for the Turk, in the following passage from the Preface: "Have, moreover, some respect for the memory of this Mahometan; for, living unknown, he was safe from the insults of the great ones, so that he might write truth without danger, which ordinarily is disguised by fear or avarice, having still reported the transactions of Christians with no less truth than eloquence."

The chief value of the work is the record of current history and the letter scheme further serves as a sugar coat to make this material palatable. A certain amount of oriental machinery used in this work is similar to that in Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World". However, many differences in the use to which the scheme is put immediately appear. The "Turkish Letters" are often records of a confused mass of facts, while Goldsmith nearly always developed in essay style one main idea in each of his "Chinese Letters". The former set forth instructive, historical facts; while the latter treat some minor vice or foible with a gentle ridicule which is
both pleasing and effective. In the first, we learn of wars, political transactions, and the intrigues of the courts in a representation of actual personages and facts. In Goldsmith's work, we are given a picture of private life and the doings of the middle and lower class, in a representation, for the most part, of fictitious personages and happenings. Goldsmith may have gotten suggestions from the "Turkish Spy" in regard to a plan of work; but he used the foreign letter disguise in such a totally different purpose that a further comparison of the works would be superfluous.

In Montesquieu's "Lettres Persanes", which appeared in 1721 and were very popular, we have a more striking resemblance to Goldsmith's "Chinese Letters" than that offered by "The Turkish Spy". The author of this work pretends to be the translator of the genuine letters written and received by some Persians who had been his guests. In these letters we learn that Rica, Usbek, and Rhedi had set out from their home in Persia in order to study the manners and institutions of the people of Europe. Rhedi stopped at Venice, while Rica and Usbek pushed on to Paris. Very soon after their departure there was a brisk interchange of letters between Usbek and his wives Zachi, Zephis, Fatme, Roxana, and the eunuchs, as well as between the travellers and the friends they had left at Ispahan. Using this device as a mask, Montesquieu satirized unmercifully the social, political, ecclesiastical and literary follies of the day in France. Many of the same topics were treated by Goldsmith, forty years later, and it is probable that this work influenced him in the creation of "The Citizen of the World". A comparison of the two works shows, however, that
Goldsmith was not a servile imitator. In the first place, much more space is devoted to the development of the plan by Montesquieu and his "Persian Letters" contain a kind of romance, written in a rather flowery style. Fifty-six out of the one hundred and sixty-one letters are wholly occupied with this scheme. 1 "The Citizen of the World" preserves its unity with less effort by representing all letters as being sent or received by just one character, Lein Chi Altangi. Goldsmith does not feel so bound down by his assumed character and is not hindered in his exposition of vices and foibles by so much oriental clap-trap. Montesquieu, having no such moral purpose in view, makes great play with the Persian customs and the happenings in the Seraglio, often attaining to a license in language which never sullied Goldsmith's work. The latter desired his entertaining papers to make virtue pleasant and vice repulsive. He has succeeded in giving us a rather complete picture of the life of the middle and lower class of people in the England of his day, while Montesquieu's work gives us purple patches of French life. The latter employs the foreign character for a protection in casting forth his witty and bitter satire against the French people, 2 government, 3 and church; 4 the former uses the plan as an attractive vehicle for a sympathetic criticism of customs and manners.

Lord Lyttleton's "Letters from a Persian in England to

1. Alloffirst 3rd and nos. 27, 39, 41, 42, 43, 47, 53, 56, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71, 77, 80, 97, 127, 147, 161.
2. Nos. 100, 56, 48, 111, 114, 123, 135.
3. No. 89 is example.
4. No. 35, 29, 69, 75.
his Friend at Ispahan", first published in 1735, was probably
t modelled after the work by Montesquieu; but it is more like the
"Citizen of the World" than any of the other works mentioned.
Goldsmith treated the same type of subjects and in much the same
manner as Lyttleton. In No. 1 of these "Letters from a Persian",
Selim writes to Mirza from London: "Whatever in the Manners of
this people appears to me to be singular and fantastical, I
will also give thee some account of: and if I may judge by
what I have seen already, this is a subject which will not easily
be exhausted." In Letter 2, he describes his experience at the
opera. Following this, is a letter "On Bear and Bull fights and
Fighting Men at the Circus" in which there is a description of one
of the spectators. The next describes a debtor's prison with
the story of some of the prisoners. Selim says: "Good Heavens!
can it be possible that, in a country governed by laws, the
Innocent, who are cheated out of all, should be put in prison, and
the villains who cheat them left at Liberty!" In the next letter
there is a fine satire on intoxication and the fashionable custom
of gambling. Letter 6, tells a tale of "The Loves of Ludovico
and Harraria" in illustration of the nature of love, while Letter 8
discusses Government, Poverty, and Commerce. In Letter 30 there
is a delightful essay on toleration, which is illustrated by
practices in England and certain adventures which Selim had passed
through. In Letters 11 to 22, Lyttleton gives the story of
Troglodites, to show that, "Mankind becomes wickeder and more
miserable in a state of government, than they were when left in
a State of Nature." In the guise of Troglodites, he satirizes the growth of corruption in the English Church and government. Lyttleton is far less advanced in thought, however, than Goldsmith, although he displays some modern ideas on education in Letters 46 and 47. He gives a too extended discussion of the history of England and its questions of government and politics in Letter 58 to 68, and, in Letter 31, the "Story of Acasto and Septimius" extends over fifty pages. Although nearly all the eighty letters, as these illustrations indicate, treat topics similar to those later discussed by Goldsmith, there are noteworthy differences. Taken as a whole, these letters are not so applicable in teaching, so catholic in view, so unified in structure, so good in portraiture, or so sympathetic and realistic in treatment as are "The Chinese Letters". Goldsmith's literary ability was of a much higher type than that of Lyttleton and a comparison of their "Letters" serves to bring out this difference as well as many resemblances in their works.

Just three years before Goldsmith started his "Chinese Letters" and some time after these other works had been published, Walpole's "Letter from Xo Ho, a Chinese Philosopher at London, To his Friend Lien Chi, at Peking," appeared. This short letter, extending over only five folio pages, was published in 1757 and went through five editions. In it, we have the Chinese philosopher's satirical account of the political proceedings of appointing a ministry in England. The title of this letter suggests Goldsmith's, "The Citizen of the World, or Letters From a Chinese Philosopher, Residing in London To His Friends In the
East" and in it we have the same attitude of observing, reflecting, and commenting as is attributed to this philosopher by Goldsmith. This is illustrated by the following passage from Walpole's Letter: "Now thou wilt say, my friend Xo Ho, leave those things which thou dost not understand, or canst not explain; and pass on to facts: tell me, thou wilt say, now the trials are finished, who are the new ministers? From which faction are they chosen? - By Cong-fou-tsee, thou wilt believe as little what I shall tell thee, as what I have already delivered. Their king who dismissed a whole ministry because one of them did not humble himself enough before the throne, is gone into the country, without knowing who are to be his ministers, -." However, this work is political in tone and refers indirectly to prominent men in the politics of that time. It is so brief and restricted in subject matter, that it could have suggested little to Goldsmith except the use to which a Chinese character might be put. Goldsmith was, however, always receptive to chance suggestions and this popular letter which undoubtedly came to his attention, probably aided in shaping a plan for his essay contribution to the "Public Ledger."

Various other works, besides these which have been discussed, were published in the first half of the eighteenth century and were supposed to be translations of letters written by foreigners in strange countries. Even if these did not exert any influence upon Goldsmith's choice of a plan for his essays, they are worthy of note as indications of the public taste for accounts of English and French customs and institutions as viewed by foreigners. The "Spectator" for April 27, 1711 contained a paper of this nature.
It was supposed to have been written by an Indian king who had visited London and left a package of papers upon his departure. None of the other papers were published, however. Defoe published his "Tour Through England" (written as a foreigner) in 1724 and 1726 and in 1740. William Lloyd's "Letters from a Moor at London to his Friend at Tunis) appeared. The latter work is more like a text book than a collection of light essays or manners and costumes.

In the twenty-four letters in this volume, the city of London, public buildings, the government of England, etc. are described at great length with an utter absence of satire or humor. In fact, the Moor is in reality a mere name used to attract attention to this guide-book to England. At about the same time as Lloyd's book, Marquis D'Argens published "The Jewish Spy", a second edition of all five volumes in English appearing in 1744. This work is an imitation of "The Turkish Spy", but nearly all of its satire is directed against the Catholics. Different orders of monks, especially the Jesuits, are ruthlessly attacked. In 1748, another French work was published in English. This was Graffigny's "Letters Written by a Peruvian Princess". The next year, the "Sequel of the Letters Written by a Peruvian Princess" and, in 1751, "Letters of Aza a Peruvian" by the same author were printed. In these collections, the elaborate story of the separation of Aza and Zilia is narrated. There is little comment, however, on the customs of France and Spain, in which countries the principal events take place. Letters 14, 16 and 18 in the last mentioned work and Letters 16, 21, 22, 30 and 31 in the first, include some satire on current practices. The language throughout these works of Graffigny is that of highly eloquent
and impassioned love and despair. All of these miscellaneous works have but few points in common with Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World", but they indicate the popularity of foreign letter collections at the time when he commenced his work.

Goldsmith gained some valuable suggestions from these preceding collections of letters supposed to have been written by foreign observers, but he contributed much to this type of literature. This will become more apparent in the following sections of this discussion, but it will be well to suggest some of his important innovations, here. His predecessors had done practically nothing in character delineation, while Goldsmith has his Chinese Philosopher meet and describe some very interesting persons. Goldsmith aimed at more than entertainment or satire. Unlike his predecessors, he had a moral purpose and desired to instruct his readers. Sometimes his Eastern tales have strangely English morals attached, but his didactic tendency gives a deeper value to his letters. Goldsmith at times looses the Chinese attitude and style of writing and in this falls below the consistent tone of Montesquien's work. He takes great liberty with his scheme and makes Lein Chi Altangi appear to all intent and purposes an Englishman in many essays. I find that this adds, rather than detracts, from his work. In the "Lettres Persanes", for instance, the harmful effect of following such a scheme too closely is to be seen. Not only is the author hampered by the machinery, but it becomes tiresome when stressed too much. Goldsmith's Chinese Philosopher cultivates all interests and writes on all subjects. He is fitted for this by his extensive
travels and philosophical turn of mind and his friendships are such as to lead him into all fields. Goldsmith not only treats a wider variety of subjects with more freedom than did his predecessors in this form of writing, but he also reveals his own personality though it. Under his skilful touch, the foreign letter type of writing took on a new and enlarged life.
During the mid-eighteenth century, two opposite movements or tendencies were felt in English literature. Although both are made up of widely diversified elements, they have been designated by the general names of Classicism and Romanticism. In order to gain an idea of Goldsmith's contribution to the literary trend of his day, it will be well to note some of these tendencies with which he came in contact. The prevailing taste of the majority of literary men of his age was that of the old school of classicism, although romanticism was becoming more manifest in several directions. Three of the elements which were prominent in classicism and three in the romantic movement with which Goldsmith came in contact will now be pointed out and briefly discussed.

One of the conspicuous features in the classical movement was the exaltation of common sense. Men attempted to restrain their emotions and carried all questions of conduct and of literature to the court of common sense. They measured and investigated, rather than dreamed. The realities of life were the things which occupied their attention and the prevalent respect for well-accepted conventions, the obedience to the dictates of reason, and the desire for universal law and order are illustrated in the great literary dictator of this age, Dr. Johnson. He was a typical Englishman, always putting his theories to the test, and one of the elements of his greatness is his firm hold on the realities of life and his attempt to improve his own character through his reason. This exaltation of the head over the heart
is seen in the formation of much of the literature of this period. By the aid of common sense, literature had been reduced to rules, imagination had been shackled, and enthusiasm done away with. Conservatism and rationalism were typical of the classical writer and thinker.

Another distinguishing mark of classicism is its cynical view of human nature and the coldness with which it regards men. The representative writers of Queen Anne's time had despised and satirized humanity. Pope, the leading literary light of that time and the most prominent poet of the pseudo-classical school, showed a very low estimate of men and women in his writings, especially in "The Dunciad" (1728), which is full of abuse and malice, ridiculing human stupidity. An even more fierce and cynical misanthropy is seen in Swift's "Gulliver's Travels" (1726), which revealed the foolishness and weakness of man by means of terse and keen satire. Addison was not as bitter in pointing out the faults of humanity as was Swift, but what he lacked in this respect he made up in coldness. Like Pope, he examined man and his struggles at arm's length with a touch of the unsympathetic attitude of a scientist observing a curious kind of animal with which he has nothing in common. Johnson, as I pointed out in the discussion of "The Rambler", expressed a melancholy view of human life in general and his own in particular. He was often melancholy, feeling that life is an unhappy business. Much of this is apparent in his "Rasselas" (1759), which suggests the futility of the search for happiness in this world. In fact, most of the classical writers were blind to the good qualities and possibilities of men, because their coldness and cynicism kept them from seeing
in a sympathetic way the inmost hearts of their fellows.

In addition to these characteristics, the typical view of members of the classical school was insular. These men failed to appreciate foreign peoples and literature. Johnson, for example, abused Americans and Frenchmen, and greatly disliked Scotland. National prejudice was conspicuous in politics and literature. The great writers contemporary with Goldsmith exhibited an amusing complacency and a belief that England was the sole refuge for literature and arts. The great thoughts which were later to stir up vast revolutions bothered them but little. Practical questions of daily conduct and of national politics excluded abstract questions of human rights or of religious faith. They still loved moderation and compromise and these classical characteristics are stamped on their writings.

When Goldsmith began to write, romanticism was exerting an increasing influence in opposition to these three neo-classical tendencies and one of the chief elements in this movement was the exaltation of the worth of each individual no matter what his rank or wealth. Writers were now appealing to the public at large and, in order to succeed and thus win their bread, it was necessary to get the common man's viewpoint and write with that in mind. The aspirations and passions that throb in the hearts of the common people were becoming more important with the decrease in patronage. In another manner, John Wesley and his popular religious revival had aided in reviving the interest in and sympathy with the individual. Oglethorpe, and other reformers
had won better schools and prisons for him and Steele, Fielding, Gray, and, later on, Burke and Cowper expressed sympathy for their fellow-men. The compassion for suffering and the sense of the worth of the individual became more evident as the century drew nearer to its close and it is this rise of democracy which is one of the greatest movements of the eighteenth century.

Imagination and enthusiasm became more prominent and, with the democratic view of man, infused new life into the literature of the mid-eighteenth century. As has been pointed out, classicism tended to restrain wildness of fancy and to check the emotions. People were, however, becoming tired of the common-place and the prosaic and were demanding to feel as well as think and to be allowed to give freer scope to the imagination. Thus, many tended away from the classic purity, restraint, and repose, into the realm of passion, imagination, and aspiration. The old sources of wonder, the medieval customs and tales, the enchanted foreign lands, and the mysteries of the unseen and the unknown — were utilized in the creation of literature. The oriental tale and books of foreign travel had long been popular in England. In 1709, Ambrose Philips had published a collection of "Persian Tales" which he had "turned" into English and, in the numerous periodicals published throughout the century, tales of Persia and the far East held a prominent place. Addison and Steele and even Johnson had written some, and, as has been pointed out, a great deal of the popularity of "The Adventurer" was due to its oriental tales. It is probable that Du Halde's French
work on the history of the Chinese was utilized by Goldsmith and it is almost certain that he was acquainted with Sir William Temple's description of China and its people in the essay "On Heroic Virtue". These various works are manifestations of the greater freedom exerted in choosing subject matter. This spirit became more prominent after Goldsmith's essay work and is shown to a greater extent in the following: MacPherson's "Fingal" (1762), Walpole's "Castle of Otranto" (1764), Percy's "Reliques" (1765), and Chatterton's "Rowley Poems" (1765-1770). Authors were also coming to a warmer style of writing and no longer hesitated to reveal their hearts. This was carried to the extreme in the sentimental works of Sterne ("Tristram Shandy" 1759-1767). Thus, it is clear that the tendency to freedom in imagination and enthusiasm in expression was plainly evident in the seventh decade of the eighteenth century and that its origin was much earlier.

The third and last element in the romantic movement to be noticed here is the impulse to criticise and revolt. A bold opposition to authority is manifest in the political and religious writings of England and Europe. The tone of philosophical thought is expressed by the skepticism of Hume's "Treatise of the Human Understanding" (1739-1740). Rousseau's writings were just appearing in France and many were beginning to cry out against the received opinions in metaphysics, morals and social science, and art. In somewhat of the same spirit, the moral essays of Addison and

Steele and their numerous followers had pointed out the foibles and follies of mankind. This new spirit was to culminate politically in the revolution in America and France. In literature, it meant the overthrow of classical rules and restrictions and a greater freedom to the individuality of the writer.
CHAPTER 111
GOLDSMITH'S INDIVIDUALITY.

A. His Broad Outlook.

One of the most striking elements in Goldsmith's personality is the broad outlook with which he regards all questions. In the first place, his cosmopolitan treatment of foreign countries and national questions is in striking contrast to the insularity of nearly all of his contemporaries. This may be partially attributed to Goldsmith's early experiences. Before settling down in London in 1756, he had travelled quite extensively in Europe without money and on foot. He visited various places in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. It was this extended trip that did so much to make him sympathetic with all peoples. Another broadening influence was his early study. He tried Divinity, Law, and Physic before drifting into Letters. In this last field, his spirit of world-wideness and the hatred for national prejudices became especially noticeable.

This cosmopolitan element in Goldsmith's character gives universal value to his observations and makes him intolerant of the narrowness of the common English point of view. In the preface to "The Citizen of the World" he writes:

"Different degrees of refinement, and not of distance, mark the distinctions among mankind. Savages of the most opposite climates have all but one character of improvidence and rapacity; and tutored nations, however separate, make use of the very same methods to procure refined enjoyments." Goldsmith felt that the attitude assumed by so many toward his
Chinese Philosopher revealed the narrowness of the English. He says that, "many were angry not to find him as ignorant as a Tripoline ambassador, or an envoy from Mujac. They were surprised to find a man born so far away from London, that school of prudence and wisdom, endued even with a moderate capacity." In contrast to the self-satisfaction and narrowness of the English, Goldsmith portrays the world-wideness of his Chinese Philosopher. Lien Chi Altangi says that he considered all others highly ridiculous just because they differed from him, at first; but, he continues, "I soon perceived that the ridicule lay not in them, but in me; that I falsely condemned others of absurdity, because they happened to differ from a standard originally founded in prejudice or partiality. The following passage is the result of Goldsmith's training and further illustrates his freedom from the insularity which, as has been pointed out, was characteristic of the great literary dictator of his age, Dr. Johnson.

"Ceremonies are different in every country; but true politeness is the same. He is truly well-bred who knows when to value and when to despise those national peculiarities, which are regarded by some with so much observance: a traveller of taste at once perceives that the wise are polite all the world over, but that fools are polite only at home." 3

By comparing the customs and temper of the English with those of other countries, Goldsmith was better able to see just what was foolish and what valuable. In this work, he shows his deep insight

1. Preface to "The Citizens of the World".
2. Citizens of the World. No. 111
into the character of his fellow-countrymen and of the inhabitants of European nations. This tendency to compare elevates Goldsmith's criticisms above those of his contemporary writers in "The World" and "The Connoisseur", giving them greater depth and wisdom. In writing of "The Characteristics of Greatness", in No. IV of "The Bee", for instance, Goldsmith makes use of his knowledge of many peoples and his ideas are, as a result, broader. In discussing "The English Clergy and Popular Preachers", he compares the English divines with those of other countries. He says:

"The French preachers generally assume all that dignity which becomes men who are ambassadors from Christ: the English divines, like erroneous envoys, seem more solicitous not to offend the court to which they are sent, than to drive home the interests of the employer." 1

The politeness of the French and of the English are compared by telling of the manner in which a man from each offered his services to Lein Chi Altangi. 2 The Englishman pretended that the favor amounted to nothing, while the Frenchman made much of the sacrifice, but said that he was glad to make it for a friend. At times, Goldsmith utilizes the likeness of English customs to those of barbarous countries for the sake of keen satire. In Letter LXXIV, he tells us that, when the Tartars make a Lama, or god, or idol, they use the same plan that an Englishman uses to become great.

"The idol only keeps close, sends out his little emissaries to be hearty in his praise: and straight, whether statesman or author, he is set down in the

Goldsmith's cosmopolitan attitude is further brought out in his method of criticizing literature and government. In fact, he shows traces of the modern tendency towards the study of comparative law. This is in keeping with the romantic tendency away from accepted standards which ended, politically, in the French revolution. His praise of literary conditions in foreign countries is a great advance over Johnson's attitude as expressed in the paper on "The Sufficiency of the English Language." In the first number of "The Bee", Goldsmith's "Remarks on our Theatres" contains such criticisms as the following:

"There is something in the deportment of all our players infinitely more stiff and formal than among the actors of other nations...... A French comedian finds proper models of action in every company and in every coffee-house he enters."

His conception of the national characteristics of the writings of several European countries is revealed in the review of a "Specimen of a Newspaper." He writes:

"Thus you perceive, that a single gazette is the joint manufacture of Europe; and he who would peruse it with a philosophical eye might perceive in every paragraph something characteristic of the nation to which it belongs......The superstition and erroneous delicacy of Italy, the formality of Spain, the cruelty of Portugal, the fears of Austria, the confidence of

1. "Idler No. 91.
2. "Citizen of the World" No. V
Prussia, the levity of France, the avarice of Holland, the pride of England, the absurdity of Ireland, and the national partiality of Scotland, are all conspicuous in every page."

Very many of Goldsmith's illustrations are taken from the writers of foreign countries and he represents many noble qualities in sketches of famous foreigners. His "History of Catharina Alexowna, wife of Peter the Great" is only one of many tributes to noble people of other nations. Goldsmith shows great familiarity with Chinese laws and emperors and praises their good qualities. In discussing laws, Goldsmith draws many valuable lessons from the governments of Europe. In his essay on "Political Frugality" he asserts that, "The best and the most useful laws I have ever seen, are generally practised in Holland". In the same paper, he points out the happy condition of Rotterdam, where there are very few public-houses. Although Goldsmith commended whatever seemed good to him in European literature, customs, and government and refused to be bound down by local prejudices, he was loyal to his native country. He hoped to lead the English to a broader view of other nations and in this he was doing pioneer work.

Goldsmith's attitude towards individuals is characterized by the same breadth as is shown in his opinions of nations. The spirit of humanity and democracy pervades his essay writings, as well as his life. This is in keeping with the romantic tendency to exalt the worth of the unpolished individual. Goldsmith did great service in

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1. "Citizen of the World". No. LXII
2. "Bee" No. V.
combating the cold and cynical attitude, characteristic of so many literary men of the Classical school, and in bringing about a compassion for suffering and an increasing sense of the worth of the individual. He had gained a new vision of mankind in his varied experiences and this is expressed in his essays with true feeling. There he reveals a sympathy, uncommon in his day, with men of low position and all human beings in need or in misery.

Goldsmith's humanity is noticeable in his treatment of vagabonds. He had been a tramp and knew the pleasures and miseries of the wanderer's life. The following praise is not forced:

"O the delights of poverty and a good appetite! I love a straggling life above all things in the world; sometimes good, sometimes bad; to be warm to-day, and cold to-morrow; to eat when one can get it, and drink when it stands before me."

The vivid language used in describing the gormandizing at a Visitation Dinner came from the heart of one who sympathized with the "underdog". Goldsmith writes:

"Let me suppose, after such a meal as this I have been describing, while all the company are sitting in lethargic silence round the table, groaning under a load of soup, pig, pork, and bacon; let me suppose, I say, some hungry beggar with looks of want, peeping through one of the windows, and thus addressing the assembly: 'Prithee, pluck those napkins from your chins:

after nature is satisfied, all that you eat extraordinary is my property, and I claim it as mine. It was given you in order to relieve me, and not to oppress yourselves."

Goldsmith had lived in poverty and, even when earning good wages, was nearly always in debt. At least one good thing came from this: he acquired an insight into the lower types of human character which was impossible to nearly all of his predecessors in the periodical essay writing. His distance from Addison or Johnson is very evident in those essays where he writes with deep emotion of the "man out of luck". He felt that, "The proper study of mankind is man"; but to him it was not man in the abstract. The individuals of all ranks made a direct appeal to him.

The joys and passions of the crowd were not foreign to Goldsmith's life or writings. He was fond of amusement and did not stand coldly aloof from the common people. When Lein Chi Altangi analyzes his own character in Letter LIV, Goldsmith is giving us a description of himself. He writes:

"Though naturally pensive, yet I am fond of gay company, and take every opportunity of thus dismissing the mind from duty. From this motive, I am often found in the centre of a crowd; and whatever pleasure is to be sold am always a purchaser. In those places, without being remarked by any, I join in whatever goes forward, work my passions into a similitude of frivolous earnestness, shout as they shout, and condemn as they happen to disapprove. A mind thus

1. "Citizen of the World". No. XXI
sunk for a while below its natural standard, is qualified for stronger flights, as those first retire who would spring forward with greater vigour."
The common sense of most of Goldsmith's learned contemporaries would never have permitted them to give rein to their emotions and to partake in the pleasures of the crowd. Goldsmith, however, took pleasure in people just because they were his fellow-creatures. He writes as follows of his experience at the play:

"Upon the whole, the lights, the music, the ladies in their gayest dresses, the men with cheerfulness and expectation in their looks, all conspired to make a most agreeable picture, and to fill a heart that sympathizes at human happiness with an expressible serenity." 1

The same feeling is expressed in Letter LXV.

"Though not very fond of seeing a pageant myself, yet I am generally pleased with being in the crowd which sees it: it is amusing to observe the effect which such a spectacle has upon the variety of faces; the pleasure it excites in some, the envy in others, and the wishes it raises in all."

Goldsmith's humanity is especially evident in his sensitiveness to human suffering. He reveals this in the words of his Chinese Philosopher, as follows:-

1. "Citizens of the World" No. XXI
"You know my heart, and that all who are miserable may claim a place there." 1

In the introduction to the first issue of "The Bee", he says that neither war nor scandal would be treated in his paper and then he bursts out in the following words.

"Happy could any effort of mine, but for a moment, repress that savage pleasure some men find in the accounts of human misery! How gladly would I lead them from scenes of blood and altercation, to prospects of innocence and ease, where every breeze breathes health, and every sound is but the echo of tranquility."

His humanity was touched by the English subscription for the French prisoners and Letter XXIII in "The Citizen of the World" was written in commendation of those who took part in it. The following is a part of this admirable essay:

"The English now saw thousands of their fellow-creatures starving in every prison, forsaken, by those whose duty it was to protect them, labouring with disease, and without clothes to keep off the severity of the season. National benevolence prevailed over national animosity; their prisoners were indeed enemies, but they were enemies in distress, they ceased to be hateful, when they no longer continued to be formidable; forgetting,

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1. "Citizen of the World", No. LII
therefore, their national hatred, the men who were brave enough to conquer, were generous enough to forgive; and they whom all the world seemed to have disclaimed, at last found pity and redress from those they attempted to subdue."

Goldsmith then tells a story which shows that "to make one man happy, was more truly great, than having ten thousand captives groaning at the wheels of his chariot". He was not always wise in his lavish giving, but he lays down some wise principles in the essay "On Justice and Generosity."

"True generosity is a duty as indispensably necessary as those imposed upon us by law. It is a rule imposed upon us by reason, which should be the sovereign law of a rational being. But this generosity does not consist in obeying every impulse of humanity, in following blind passion for our guide, and impairing our circumstances by present benefactions, so as to render us incapable of future ones." 1

Goldsmith vividly pictures the way in which the Man in Black struggles to justify his lavish generosity by a brusque manner and in this Goldsmith reveals his own difficulty to reconcile the dictates of his heart to those of his common sense. He cared more for those who needed friends than for those who were high up in the ranks of society. His humanity and democracy are distinguishing marks in his personality.

1. "Bee" No. 111
Goldsmith maintains a broad outlook towards life in general. A temperamental tendency to make the best of things is as much a part of his personality as his cosmopolitanism or humanity and democracy. He calls his Chinaman a philosopher. By philosophy Goldsmith did not mean some scheme of the universe which had been worked out in an orderly and abstract manner. By him, the name philosopher is applied to that man who has a highly developed and practical power of reason and judgment and takes a broad attitude towards all questions. The following quotations will illustrate this idea. In Letter VII, he speaks of the philosopher, "who is desirous of understanding the human heart, who seeks to know men of every country, who desires to discover those differences which result from climate, religion, education, prejudice, and partiality." In another he writes:

"To a philosopher no circumstance, however trifling, is too minute; he finds instruction and entertainment in occurrences, which are passed over by the rest of mankind as low, trite, and indifferent; it is from the number of these particulars, which to many appear insignificant, that he is at last enabled to form general conclusions; this, therefore, must be my excuse for sending so far as China, accounts of manners and follies, which, though minute in their own nature, serve more truly to characterize the people, than histories of their public treaties."¹

¹ "Citizen of the World". No. XXX
Goldsmith had undergone many experiences and was of such a character that he made much of little things. As a result, his opinions, though not much concerned with deep problems of metaphysics, are full of wisdom in regard to the common questions of life. By endowing Lien Chi Altangi with experiences similar to those he has passed through in his travels, Goldsmith makes the Chinese Philosopher a fitting mouthpiece for his own broad views.

His emphasis upon happiness and his teachings in regard to this elusive quality of life are worthy of note. He believes that every man should be a philosopher for, "Philosophy is no more than the art of making ourselves happy: that is, of seeking pleasure in regularity and reconciling what we owe to society with what is due to ourselves." 1 He was not a Stoic but advocated "That we should enjoy as many of the luxuries of life as are consistent with our own safety, and the prosperity of others: and that he who finds out a new pleasure, is one of the most useful members of society." 2 "Knowledge, wisdom, erudition, arts, and eloquence, what are they but the mere trappings of the mind, if they do not serve to increase the happiness of the possessor." In a paper supposed to be written by a Frenchman and entitled "The Sentiments of a Frenchman On the Temper of the English", he contrasts the gloomy Englishman and the gay Frenchman. He condemns the cold manner of Addison and his criticism of laughter and

1. "The Bee". No. VII
2. "Citizen of the World". No. XI
gaiety, after observing that:

"Nothing is so uncommon among the English, as that easy affability, that instant method of acquaintance, or that cheerfulness of disposition, which make in France the charm of every society. Yet, in this gloomy reserve they seem to pride themselves, and think themselves less happy, if obliged to be more social. One may assert, without wronging them, that they do not study the method of going through life with pleasure and tranquility, like the French." 1

This pleasure and tranquility of life was sought for by Goldsmith and his experiences formed the basis for his conclusions. Although some statements of Goldsmith are contradictory, being written under different influences, he formed a fairly consistent solution for the secret of happiness. He realized however that, "It is impossible to form a philosophic system of happiness which is adapted to every condition in life, since every person who travels in this great pursuit takes a separate road." 2 Goldsmith points out the falseness in the idea, that wisdom alone is sufficient to make us happy. He writes:

"When we rise in knowledge, as the prospect widens the objects of our regard become more obscure, and the unlettered peasant, whose views are only directed to the narrow sphere around him, beholds nature with a finer relish, and tastes her blessings with a keener appetite, than the philosopher whose mind attempts to grasp an universal system." 3

1. "Citizen of the World". No 44
2. "Citizen of the World". No 37
3. "Bee" No. VI
In this passage there is a faint suggestion of Rousseau's "noble savage" and the Romantic love for Nature. Goldsmith further concludes that happiness is not to be found in worldly grandeur. This conclusion is very old and trite, but Goldsmith makes it appear interesting by the language in which he conveys it to his readers. He, like Addison and Steele, brought philosophy out of the libraries into the market place and the popular appeal is apparent in the following section:

"Popular glory is a perfect coquet; her lovers must toil, feel every inquietude, indulge every caprice, and perhaps at last be jilted into the bargain." 1

Neither is this elusive happiness to be found in foreign countries. Goldsmith felt this deeply and embodied such an idea in his poem "The Traveller," as well as in the first issue of "The Bee" in "A Letter From a Traveller." He writes:

"When at Lyons, I thought all happiness lay beyond the Alps; when in Italy, I found myself still in want of something, and expected to leave solicitude behind me by going into Romelia; and now you find me turning back, still expecting ease every where, but where I am."

Those who, after trying these various roads to happiness, complained over the evil times in which they lived found little sympathy in Goldsmith. After reading his "Reverie at the Boar's Head Tavern", 2 I am tempted to agree with one of his characters, Mr. Rigmarole, who

1. "Bee" No. VI
2. Essay No XIX
"If we observe the actions of the busy part of mankind, your ancestors will be found infinitely more gross, servile, and even dishonest, than you. If, forsaking history, we only trace them in their hours of amusement, and dissipation, we shall find them more sensual, more entirely devoted to pleasure, and infinitely more selfish."

Goldsmith reveals this precious secret of happiness, which is not to be found in wisdom alone, or worldly grandeur, or life in some other country, or in some other age, in the following words:

"If the soul be happily disposed, every thing becomes a subject of entertainment, and distress will almost want a name." 1

He does not claim this as an original idea for, "Writers of every age have endeavored to show that pleasure is in us." His illustration of this doctrine, however, by the concrete examples of a happy slave, the Cardinal de Retz, and of young Dick Wildgoose makes a popular appeal and the theory ceases to be abstract.

Goldsmith was not blind to the presence of evil in the world, which greatly interferes, it seems, with the attainment of happiness. As a solution of the problem of evil, he reveals his theory in "The Eastern Tale of Asem". This essay is highly praised for its originality by Hugh Walker, 2 Goldsmith's enthusiastic champion. He sees in it the beginnings of the doctrine of the necessity of evil.

1. "Bee" No. 2
which was later adopted by Hegel, Hawthorne, and Browning. It is true that this tale reveals the need of evil in order to have virtues, in a pleasing and realistic manner; but I believe that Prof. Walker overestimates Goldsmith's originality. The German philosopher, Leibnitz (1646-1716) had called this "the best of all possible worlds", long before, meaning that bad could not be done away with except in a world which would have been, on the whole, a worse world. As has been suggested in the discussion of "The Adventurer", the issue of that paper for March 24, 1753, contains a story with the same moral as "The Eastern Tale of Asem" and told in a strikingly similar way.

The discussion of moral questions is scattered through all of Goldsmith's essays. He is not, however, systematic or deep enough to be called a moral philosopher. Like the writers in "The Tatler" and "The Spectator" and their numerous imitators, he ridiculed the current vices and follies. His own experience had not been restricted to the narrow range of a few virtues and vices, for he had tasted of a great variety of pains and pleasures and had done many wise and foolish acts. He says:

"Were I to be angry at men for being fools, I could here find ample room for declamation; but alas! I have been a fool myself; and why should I be angry with them for being something so natural to every child of humanity?" 2

1. Essay No. XVI
2. Essay No. IV
Accordingly, Goldsmith was able to give realistic accounts of many current absurdities in dress and manners. Like his predecessors in the periodical essay, he writes against cruelty, pride, dissimulation, the emptiness of human vanity, and the transientness of every sublunary possession. Although he did not always practice the moral virtues, he always shows virtue triumphant and, in his essays, vice always receives its just punishment. Goldsmith was a practical philosopher, if by that we mean one who strives to find the best way to live this life, and he wrote for a large and varied public. He did not hesitate to enquire into the philosophical questions of life, but they only interested him in as much as they tended to make life more happy, less evil, and fuller of useful wisdom and justice.
E. His views on Politics, Society, and Literature.

Goldsmith's individuality is further illustrated by the views he expressed in regard to Politics, Society, and Literature. These are in accordance with his broad outlook and, in some cases, show remarkable insight. As has been pointed out in the introduction to this paper, Goldsmith has been termed "not a thinker" by many writers. He shows himself in accord with the Romantic tendency to criticism and to revolt against accepted standards, I believe, and many of his criticisms prove that he was a thinker. He was sensitive to the forces which were at work in England and Europe and his tolerance, good judgment, and delightful humour and satire give keenness and force to the statement of his views.

The political views of Goldsmith are concerned with international questions as well as domestic issues. In the former, his keen foresight and freedom from insularity are to be seen. In Letter XXV of "The Citizen of the World", he gives "the History of The Kingdom of Loo" which illustrates the fact "that extending empire is often diminishing power". He more openly condemns the English colonial policy in regard to America in Letter XVII, where he writes "Of the War Now Carried on Between France and England, with its Frivolous Motives." He was a student of the governments of the continental countries and his analysis of "The Present Situation of the Several States of Europe" is unusual, in consideration of the fact that it was written about thirty years before the French Revolution. The following proved to be true prophecy:

"As the Swedes are making concealed approaches to despotism,
the French, on the other hand, are imperceptibly vindicating themselves into freedom. When I consider that those parliaments (the members of which are all created by the court, the presidents of which can act only by immediate direction) presume even to mention privileges and freedom, who, till of late, received directions from the throne with implicit humility; when this is considered, I cannot help fancying that the genius of freedom has entered that kingdom in disguise. If they have but three weak monarchs more successively on the throne, the mask will be laid aside, and the country will certainly once more be free."

Goldsmith also saw the need of reform in England's system of administering justice and advocated it, fearlessly. In the criticism he goes deeper than did his predecessors in the periodical essay writing and his criticism is more friendly and sympathetic than that Montesquieu made upon the French in his "Persian Letters". He strikes at the vast waste of money in conducting the courts. He has the Man in Black explain to the Chinese Philosopher how so many live off of one court, as follows:

"The catchpole watches the man in debt, the attorney watches the catchpole, the counsellor the attorney, the solicitor the counsellor and all find sufficient employment."2

The Philosopher also learned that the client pays them all for

1. Letter LVI. Citizen of the World.
2. Letter XCVIII.
watching. Besides this, the multiplicity of laws rendered the execution of justice extremely difficult. Goldsmith's opinion in this matter is remarkably sane. He says:

"From hence we see how much greater benefit it would be to the state rather to abridge than increase its laws. We every day find them increasing; acts and reports, which may be termed the acts of judges, are every day becoming more voluminous, and loading the subject with new penalties. Laws even increase in number and severity, until they at length are strained so tight as to break themselves." 1

The evil of increasing penal laws, or enforcing with rigor even those already created is further pointed out in Letter LXXX, as follows:

"A royal tyrant is generally dreadful to the great, but numerous penal laws grind every rank of people, and chiefly those least able to resist oppression, the poor. . . . In fact, penal laws, instead of preventing crimes, are generally enacted after commission; instead of repressing the growth of ingenious villany, only multiply deceit, by pitting it upon new shifts and expeditions of practising it with impunity."

Goldsmith's attitude towards nobility and the lower classes is advanced. He was no respecter of rank and judged men by their characters, not their titles. This is shown in his discussion of "Earl Ferrer's being hanged for murdering his steward". He says:

1. "The Bee" No. VII
"It was well considered that virtue alone is true nobility; and that he whose actions sink him even beneath the vulgar, has no right to those distinctions which should be the rewards only of merit: it was perhaps considered that crimes were more heinous among the higher class of people, as necessity exposes them to fewer temptations." 1

He deprecates, time and again, the worship of nobility which prevails among some classes of people and seemingly takes pleasure in remembering the low station of most of the great literary men. He says "that almost all the excellent productions in wit that have appeared here, were purely the offspring of necessity; their Drydens, Butlers, Otways, and Farquhars were all writers for bread". 2 Goldsmith writes one of the letters in "The Citizen of the World" "Of the Degeneracy of the English Nobility" 3 and is very plain in his condemnation of those useless members of society who had no right to their titles. His emphasis upon the importance of the middle and lower classes is truly democratic and wise economics. He writes:

"Those who constitute the basis of the great fabric of society, should be particularly regarded; for, in policy, as in architecture, ruin is most fatal when it begins from the bottom." 4

Taken as a whole, Goldsmith's criticisms of national and inter-

1. "Citizen of the World" No. XXXVIII
2. "Citizen of the World" No. XCIII
3. "Citizen of the World" No. XXXII
4. Essay XVII
national questions of politics are wise and, in some instances, in advance of contemporary thought.

His criticisms of society are, for the most part, similar to those included in other periodical essays; but some of his ideas are worthy of attention. He was not blind to the incessant moralizing of nearly all papers, as is shown by the following passage; but he also realized the power of the press upon the lives of men. He writes:

"But to do the English justice, their publications in general aim at mending either the heart, or improving the common weal. The dullest writer talks of virtue, and liberty, and benevolence, with esteem; tells his true story, filled with good and wholesome advice; warns against slavery, bribery, or the bite of a mad dog; and dresses up his little useful magazine of knowledge and entertainment at least with good intention." 1

He also writes as follows:

"In a polished society, that man, though in rags, who has the power of enforcing virtue from the press, is of more real use than forty stylish brachmans, or bonzes, or guebres, though they preach never so often, never so loud, or never so long." 2

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1. "Citizen of the World" No. LXXV
2. "Citizen of the World" No. LVIII
There were several abuses of the Church which Goldsmith noticed and attacked. In letter XLII, he satirizes the system of absentee Church officials by portraying the Chinese Philosopher's astonishment, upon learning, "that some are appointed to preside over temples they never visit; and, while they receive all the money, are contented with letting others do all the good". His description of "The Visitation Dinner", 1 in which he attacks the gormandizing priests, is a keener piece of satire than is to be found in any of Goldsmith's contemporary essayists. He shows sound psychology in the discussion of "The English Clergy and Popular Preachers." 2 He would have the clergy appeal more to the mass of people, leave out vain learning, and give a simple discourse which would do good to the hearers.

Goldsmith also gives some good constructive criticism and this is well illustrated in his essays on education. In "The Bee", No. V., he writes:

"Education should teach us to become useful, sober, disinterested, and laborious members of society; but does it not at present point out a different path? It teaches us to multiply our wants, by which means we become more eager to possess, in order to dissipate, a greater charge to ourselves, and more useless or obnoxious to society."

1. "Citizen of the World" No. LVIII
2. "Essay" No XVII
In No. VI of "The Bee", he elaborates his views on education, which are similar in some points to those held by his French contemporary, Rousseau, whose "Emilius" had not yet appeared. These criticisms are in accord with the Romantic spirit of criticism and revolt. He laments the low talent and character possessed by most of the teachers and blames the low salaries offered to school masters and the indifference of the parents.

He writes:

"We send them to board in the country to the most ignorant set of men that can be imagined. But, lest the ignorance of the master be not sufficient, the child is generally consigned to the usher. This is generally some poor needy animal, little superior to a footman either in learning or spirit, invited to his place by an advertisement, and kept there merely from his being of a complying disposition, and making the children fond of him:

Goldsmith differs from Rousseau in advocating public education. His reasons for this stand are as follows:

"A boy will learn more true wisdom in a public school in a year, than by a private education in five. It is not from masters, but from their equals, youth learn a knowledge of the world .......and all the ways of men are practiced in a public school in miniature."

He is essentially modern in the emphasis upon specialization. He says:
"Another passion which the present age is apt to run into, is to make the children learn all things; the languages, the sciences, music, the exercises, and painting. He thus acquires a superficial fondness for everything, and only shows his ignorance when he attempts to exhibit his skill."

These and many other criticisms of the existing educational system were included in a letter supposed to have been sent to "The Bee", in order "to remedy some defects which have crept into the present system of school education". Some of these suggestions are in accord with present ideas, although some are rather curious. They illustrate, however, Goldsmith's interest in all departments of life and his study of various contemporary problems.

Goldsmith's literary opinions do not seem to be based upon any preconceived body of literary doctrines. Although "The Bee" and "The Citizen of the World" do not contain any essays of literary criticism equal to many which appeared in "The Spectator", "The Rambler", or "The World", there are some references of interest. Goldsmith was extremely hostile to the reviewers and critics of his day and seldom fell into their error of condemning or praising merely to gain popularity and money. He rejoiced in the writer's lately acquired freedom from dependence or the patronage of wealthy nobility, but deplored the practice of so many authors of pampering a degraded public taste. He does not stand out as a great literary critic, a leader of public opinion in literary matters. His own wavering between the Classic and the Romantic schools rendered him incapable of this. His clear insight and good judgment is displayed, however, in several
of his papers which touch on literary matters.

As a dramatic critic, Goldsmith appears to a good advantage. He was a frequent attender at the theatres and his criticism of the drama is quite extensive, especially in "The Bee". In his essay on "The Preparation of Both Theatres for a Winter Campaign" 1 he ridicules the degeneracy of the stage, especially at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, in representing the wildly spectacular in order to amuse and attract the crowds. He describes the ridiculous competition of the two theatres in the number of children on the stage and "guards in red clothes, who strut and shoulder their swords to the astonishment of every spectator". He further criticises the condition of the stage by describing the knowledge necessary to an author for the plays, as follows:

"When well acquainted with the value of thunder and lightning, when versed in all the mystery of scene-shifting and trap doors; when skilled in the proper periods to introduce a wire-walker, or a waterfall: when thus instructed, he knows all that can give a modern audience pleasure."

In the first number of "The Bee" he writes the following criticism:

"But there are several improprieties still continued, or lately come into fashion. As, for instance, spreading a carpet punctually at the beginning of the death scene, in order to prevent our actors from spoiling their clothes: this immediately apprises us of the tragedy to follow: for laying the cloth is not a more sure indication of dinner, than laying the carpet of bloody work at Drury-lane".

1. "Citizen of the World". LXXIX
Goldsmith's criticism of the actors contains a similar condemnation of formality and artificiality. He says that it was the common opinion that, "To speak and act as in common life is not playing, nor is it what people come to see. To please in town or country, the way is, to cry, wring, cringe into attitudes, mark the emphasis, slap the pockets, and labour like one in the falling sickness: that is the way to work for applause, that is the way to gain it." 1 He gives good advice to the players and condemns them, Garrick only excepted, for "going forward all at once with hands, eyes, head, and voice". 2 He wittily ridicules the "hero dying for love of a lady totally destitute of beauty" and the lady "unwieldy with fat, endeavoring to convince the audience that she is dying in hunger." 3 His criticism extends to the plays themselves. In Letter LXXXV of "The Citizen of the World", he writes of the great popularity and extended run of "The Beggars Opera," in the following words:

"Though I have ears for music, thanks be to heaven, not altogether ass's ears. What! Polly and Pick-pocket tonight, Polly and Pick-pocket to-morrow night, and Polly and Pick-pocket again! I want patience. I'll hear no more. My soul is out of time; all jarring, discord, and confusion."

Goldsmith's ridicule of the sentimental type of play is also good. The Chinese Philosopher says in Letter XXI that "death and tenderness are leading passions of every modern huskined hero:

1. Essay No. 21
2. Bee No. 11.
3. Bee No. I
this moment they embrace and the next stab, mixing daggers and kisses in every period." He describes a play where the queen fell into a fit. "The fifth act began, and a busy piece it was. Scenes shifting, trumpets sounding, mobs hallowing, carpets spreading, guards bustling from one door to another; gods, daemons, daggers, racks and ratsbane." Goldsmith's own opinion appears in Lein Chi's outburst in the following passage:

"How is it possible, said I, to sympathize with them through five long acts! Pity is but a short-lived passion; I hate to hear an actor mouthing trifles; neither startings, strainings, nor attitudes affect me, unless there be cause."

His attitude towards the formal rules of the drama is shown in "The Bee", No. V. Here he writes as follows, in regard to "the late Farce, called 'High Life Below Stairs'":

"From a conformity to critic rules, which perhaps, on the whole, have done more harm than good, our author has sacrificed all the vivacity of the dialogue to nature . . . . Though he is always natural, he happens seldom to be humorous."

Goldsmith defended the exaggerations of the ordinary absurdities of the vulgar in comedy against those who proscribed the comic or satirical muse from every walk but high life. He objected to the restriction of the legitimate functions of comedy and deplored the departure of humour from the stage. He also believed in laughter. He later worked out his dramatic theories, or rather stray opinions, in his plays: "The Good Natured Man", played in 1768, and "She Stoops to Conquer" in 1773.
It is almost impossible to determine the exact relation maintained by Goldsmith to the literary tenets of the Classical and Romantic schools. His own statements are not consistent, nor are they very extended or clear in this regard. It is my opinion that Goldsmith was in sympathy with the Romantic tendency to put feeling and imagination into poetry, but that the classical influence of his friend, Dr. Johnson, led him to conform to the external observance of the classic rules. His belief in the new poetry is attested to in Letter XL of "The Citizen of the World" where he writes:

"The ignorant term that alone poetry which is couched in a certain number of syllables in every line, where a vapid thought is drawn out into a number of verses of equal length, and perhaps pointed with rhymes at the end. But glowing sentiment, striking imagery, concise expression, natural description, and modulated periods, are fully sufficient entirely to fill up my idea of this art, and make way to every passion. . . . I can see several poets in disguise among them, men furnished with that strength of soul, sublimity of sentiment, and granduer of expression which constitutes the character."

In "The Bee" No VIII, Goldsmith gives "An account of the Augustan Age of England" and shows a classical taste in designating "the reign of Queen Anne, or some years before that period" as the Golden Age of English Letters. Goldsmith stands out against the modern writers of romances such as Sterne's "Tristram Shandy".

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1. "Citizen of the World". No. LIII and No. LXXXIII.
His own work is comparatively free from such coarseness as he finds them guilty of. He writes his warning as follows:

"It was a saying of the ancients, that a man never opens a book without reaping some advantage by it. I say with them that every book can serve to make us more expert, except romances, and these are no better then the instruments of debauchery. They are dangerous fictions, where love is the ruling passion." 1

Goldsmith was not overly enthusiastic over ancient literature. The following passage shows his sympathy for the moderns:

"The works of antiquity were ever praised, those of the moderns read; the treasures of our ancestors have our esteem, and we boast the passion; those of contemporary genius engage our heart, although we blush to own it. The visits we pay the former resemble those we pay the great; the ceremony is troublesome, and yet such as we would not choose to forego; our acquaintance with modern books is like sitting with a friend; our pride is not flattered in the interview, but it gives more internal satisfaction." 2

Taken as a whole, Goldsmith's literary discussions are inferior to those of his predecessors in the periodical essay, although they are an innovation in the foreign letter-writer collection. His personality was infused into his writings, however, and a broader view is apparent in his essays than is to be found in those of his predecessors. His cosmopolitanism, his humanity and democracy,

1. "Citizen of the World". No LIII
2. "Citizen of the World". No. LXXV
and his attitude towards life in general are in keeping with the new tendencies of his age and he helped to bring about a new life through his wise advocacy of reform in politics and society. Goldsmith was a thinker - perhaps not very systematic and scientific, at times; but, nevertheless, a thinker. What is more, he was a writer with a broad personality and a deep and sympathetic insight into the common-place problems of his fellow-men.
CHAPTER IV.

GOLDSMITH'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ESSAY.

A. Introduction of the Foreign-Observer Type.

Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World" represents an innovation in essay writing. He was the first to cast the essay in the form of a letter written by a stranger in a foreign country to his friends at home. By so doing he gained certain results which would have been unattainable, at least to such a high degree, had he continued to use the conventional forms and devices which he had inherited from Steele, Addison, Johnson, Hawkesworth, and the hundreds of other periodical essayists who had preceded him, and which he had employed in the eight issues of "The Bee".

One of the most noteworthy results of the scheme used in "The Citizen of the World" is the bond of unity which pervades all the essays. The idea that all the letters were written or received by one single person serves to link them to each other. In the letter, a person lays aside much of his customary reserve and takes us into his confidence. Each letter reveals a little more of the writer's personality and we learn to recognize certain peculiar traits of style and of thinking. Lien Chi Altangi mentions many of his habits of living and thinking and, after reading a few of his letters, we desire to know more of his opinions and to hear of his experiences. Each new letter is a continuation of an acquaintanceship with an interesting friend, not a dry and abstract discussion of some moral or political question. The fact that Lien Chi Altangi's opinions and attitude are those of Goldsmith himself, in so many cases, increases our interest in him. His desire to give a full and
true account of his observations and his experiences also contributes to the realistic tone of his personal letters. His point of view is that of a cosmopolitan spectator and his freedom from local prejudices gives us added confidence. Surely, a citizen of the world is the best prepared of all men to give a broad minded and consistent account of the customs and laws of any country. By putting his essays in the form of letters written by the Chinese Philosopher, Goldsmith has created a bond of unity for his writings and has given them a sustained point of view superior to that in "The Bee" and his miscellaneous essays.

The portrayal of the many different characters whom Lien Chi Altangi meets is an element which contributes to realism in the essays and is another result of the foreign letter-writer scheme. As has been pointed out, character descriptions were common in the periodical essay before Goldsmith's time. By his work, however, Goldsmith introduced a new and very valuable element in the foreign-observer type of writing, as well as continuing and improving the essay use of character. It is quite natural that a writer should describe his new friends in his letters and Lien Chi Altangi is not made unnatural. Goldsmith's ability is well shown in this work and one of his best realistic representations is that of Beau Tibbs, which is the best character sketched since Addison and Steele's Sir Roger de Coverley. This "Important Trifler" is unrivalled for his fancy, vanity, and poverty. He is both comic and human. He puffs up his miserable poverty with an air of nobility, wealth and style. His conceit carries him through the most trying situations with triumphant cheerfulness and he enjoys his humble possessions more keenly than a king does his elaborate
Goldsmith reveals this character more fully than any other in "The Citizen of the World". He accomplishes this by reporting the attitude other people assume toward him, by his own words, his personal appearance, and his conduct. Beau Tibbs is first mentioned when the Man in Black hustles Lien Chi Altangi out of the public walks in order to avoid meeting him. As the Chinese Philosopher later found out, the little Beau had a habit of asking his friends for frequent loans, and for this reason, was often avoided. In walking through the park, Mr. Tibbs, "bowed to several well-dressed persons, who, by their manner of returning the compliment, appeared perfect strangers." Speaking continually of his familiarity with great persons and of the favor shown to him by them, the little Beau shows what he cares for in this life. Although he has only two shirts he vindicates his genteeiness by calling his daughter Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia Tibbs. In looking forward to the coming coronation of King George III, "His whole mind was blazoned with a variety of glittering images, coronets, escutcheons, lace, fringe, tassels, stones, bugles and spun glass." The following vivid account of his personal appearance is included in one of the letters of the Chinese Philosopher:

"His hat was pinched up with peculiar smartness; his looks were pale, thin, and sharp; round his neck he wore a broad black ribbon, and in his bosom a buckle studded with glass; his coat was trimmed with tarnished twist; he wore by his side a sword with a black hilt, and his stockings of silk, though newly washed, were grown yellow by long service."
The character of Beau Tibbs and of his wife, too, are shown by their actions on the trip to Vaxvall Gardens. The little Beau rides on his wife's lap, because there isn't enough room in the cab for the whole party to have seats. They strive to be genteel at all costs, criticising everything in order to show their superiority. One of their companions, the pawnbroker's widow, is overawed by their style. She even represses her desire to see the water-works in order not to appear ill-bred before this fashionable couple. Goldsmith further reveals the character of the "Important Trifler" by reporting his words in a realistic manner.

Upon being complimented on the taste of his clothes and the bloom in his countenance by the Man in Black, Mr. Tibbs says:

"Psha, psha, Will, no more of that if you love me: you know I hate flattery, on my soul I do; and yet, to be sure, an intimacy with the great will improve one's appearance, and a course of venison will fatten; and yet, faith, I despise the great as much as you do: but there are a great many damn'd honest fellows among them; and we must not quarrel with one half, because the other wants breeding. If they were all such as my lord Mudler, one of the most good natured creatures that ever squeezed a lemon, I should myself be among the number of their admirers. I was yesterday to dine at the Duchess of Piccadilly's. My lord was there. Ned, says he to me, I'll hold gold to silver I can tell where you were poaching last night. Poaching, my lord, says I; faith you have missed already; for I stay at home, and let the girls poach for me. That's my way; I take a fine women as some

1. Citizen of the World. No LXXI
animals do their prey - stand still, and swoop, they fall into my mouth." 1

"But dear Drybone, you are an honest creature, lend me half a crown for a minute or two, or so, just till - but harkee, ask me for it the next time we meet, or it may be twenty to one but I forget to pay you." 1

The frequent appearance of this character in the letters of Lien Chi Altangi aids in unifying them, as well as adding a realistic touch.

Many other characters are portrayed by Goldsmith in "The Citizen of the World", most of which are types. It is quite natural for a foreigner to describe representative characters in the English nation and this is often done by Lien Chi Altangi. The "Man in Black", however, is another highly individualized personage. He is a quiet, mysterious character and many of Goldsmith's own peculiarities are to be seen in his actions. A rather unusual trait is pointed out in the following.

"Though he is generous even to profusion, he affects to be thought a prodigy of parsimony and prudence; though his conversation be replete with the most sordid and selfish maxims, his heart is dilated with the most unbounded love." 2

In a country ramble with the Philosopher, this strange character delivers an emphatic speech condemning people who give to beggars. His heart, however, is touched by an old sailor with a wooden leg.

1. Citizen of the World. No. LIV
2. Citizen of the World. No. XXXI
and he buys this man's stock of matches, which he soon after bestows upon a woman in rags, with one child in her arm and another on her back. ¹ The many different types described by Goldsmith show a wide knowledge of men. Many times he portrays some common type of London life with a few skillful strokes. In ridiculing "Quacks", Goldsmith makes his essay realistic by the following character sketch:

"The first upon this list of glory is Doctor Richard Rock, F.U.N. This great man, short of stature, is fat, and waddles as he walks. He always wears a white three-tailed wig nicely combed, and frizzled upon each cheek: sometimes he carries a cane, but an hat never. It is indeed very remarkable, that this extraordinary personage should never wear an hat, but so it is, he never wears an hat. He is usually drawn at the top of his own bills, sitting in his arm-chair, holding a little bottle between his finger and thumb, and surrounded with rotten teeth, nippers, pills, packets, and gally-pots. No man can promise fairer nor better than he; for, as he observes, 'Be your disorder never so far gone, be under no uneasiness, make yourself quite easy; I can cure you'." ²

In telling of "The Arts Some Make Use of to Appear Learned" the Chinese briefly describes a philosophic beau whose occupations are, "dozing, mending pens, feeling his pulse, peeping through the microscope, and sometimes reading amusing books, which he condem in company". ³ A mercer is characterized by the manner in which he

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¹ Citizen of the World. No. LIV
² Citizen of the World. No. LXVIII
³ Citizen of the World. No. CIV
sells silks to the Chinese visitor and a bookseller reveals himself in his conversation. Goldsmith was by no means a pioneer in the creation of character sketches, but his keen observation and understanding of his fellowmen admirably fitted him for work of this nature. His character descriptions serve to make his essays more realistic. They are such as would naturally occur in letters and Lien Chi Altangi becomes better known to us through his relations with his friends.

The essays in "The Citizen of the World" are made still more realistic by the prominence given to accounts of experiences through which Lien Chi Altangi is supposed to have passed and by the detailed manner in which they are written. It is quite natural that the Chinese Philosopher should write about his own experiences. By using the letter device, Goldsmith gives an air of truth to the essay and provides himself with an excuse for creating events to illustrate his purpose. Instead of an abstract, lifeless discussion of little men who pose as great ones, for example, Goldsmith has Lien Chi Altangi give an interesting account of meeting a man of this type, which begins as follows:

"I was yesterday invited by a gentleman to dinner, who promised that our entertainment should consist of an haunch of venison, a turtle and a great man. I came according to appointment. The venison was fine, the turtle good, but the great man insupportable."
In fact, nearly every letter is made to appear to be a result of some experience of the Citizen of the World. Letter XIII, for instance, describes "A Visit to Westminster"; Letter XXI, "The Chinese goes to see a play"; Letter LI, "A Bookseller's Visit to the Chinese"; and Letter XCIX, "A Visit from the Little Beau."

Besides reporting the occurrence as if they actually took place, Goldsmith adds another realistic touch by including minute details in his accounts, which do not seem out of place in a personal letter. The art of charming as practiced by "A Woman's Man" is minutely analyzed as follows:

"Upon proper occasions he looks excessively tender. This is performed by laying his head upon his heart, shutting his eyes, and showing his teeth. He is excessively fond of dancing a minuet with the ladies, by which is only meant walking round the floor eight or ten times with his hat on, affecting great gravity, and sometimes looking tenderly on his partner."

The detailed description of the election dinner is rather humorous. He writes:

"Their eating, indeed, amazes me; had I five hundred heads, and were each head furnished with brains, yet would they all be insufficient to compute the number of cows, pigs, geese, and turkies, which upon this occasion die for the good of their country. . . . I left town in company with three fiddlers, nine dozen hams, and a corporation poet,

1. Citizen of the World. No. IX
which was designed as reinforcements to the gin-drinking party." 1
As a result of such an attention to details and the representation of the essays as growing out of actual experiences, I find that Goldsmith's essays are more realistic in tone than those of his predecessors.

The use of the foreign-observer manner of writing gave Goldsmith greater freedom in his essay work, as well as a superior unity and realistic style. When writing in his own name, an author is often restrained in expressing his opinions by the fear of offending those whom he criticises. He is also in danger from those in power who may feel wronged by his writings. When writing under an assumed character, however, an essayist loses this fear. Goldsmith is more frank in "The Citizen of the World" than in his miscellaneous essays or in "The Bee". An author feels less reserved when responsibility for the sentiments he expresses may be placed upon the shoulders of a character of his own creation. He no longer fears the charge of egotism, for the letter is a very personal form of composition and we expect the writer to discuss his own experiences, thoughts and feelings, and opinions. Goldsmith's own opinions are apparent in all of Lien Chi's letters, but they never seem too prominent. The use of the foreign letter form gives the essay an unconventional air. The writer may treat subjects varying as widely as his experiences. To a letter writer every subject is suitable for discussion. He who writes to those in foreign country has no fear of their already being fully acquainted with the matter which he discusses. The essayist may use this device, then,

1. Citizen of the World. No. XX
to introduce a discourse on popular questions and may reveal his personal attitude towards them with greater freedom than he would dare use if writing in his own name. Goldsmith, in his "Citizen of the World", demonstrated the value of using the foreign-observer letter type in essay writing and showed how it could be made to contribute to a better unity, heightened realism, and greater freedom than could be obtained while using the old conventional essay forms.

B. APPROACH TO OTHER LITERARY FORMS.

Goldsmith's essay work is also noteworthy in that it marks a nearer approach to the novel, the short story, and the drama. This broadening of the essay is to be seen in his miscellaneous essays and in "The Bee", as well as in "The Citizen of the World". Many of his vivid accounts give indication of the power he was to display later in his novel, "The Vicar of Wakefield." In fact, the very human "common councilman", his wife, and their daughter remind me very much of the good Vicar and his family. In the description of this family's attendance at the coronation parade, the same attention is given to the homely details as is to be found in Goldsmith's novel. Their troubles, as related by the councilman himself are very humorous and some of the conversation is equal to any in "The Vicar of Wakefield." The following passage will illustrate how near Goldsmith brough the essay to the novel and how far he departed from the old idea that an essay is "a short, methodical discourse". 1 The "Common Councilman" writes:

"That we might have good places on the scaffolding, my wife insisted upon going at seven o'clock in the evening before the coronation, for she said she would not lose a full prospect for the world. This resolution I own shocked me. 'Grizzle', said I to her, 'Grizzle my dear, consider that you are but weakly, always ailing, and will never bear sitting out all night upon the scaffold. You remember what a cold you caught the last fast day, by rising but half an hour before your time. to go to Church, and how I was scolded as the cause of it. Besides, my dear, our daughter Anna Amelia Wilhelmina Carolina will look like a perfect fright if she sits up, and you know the girl's face is something at her time of life, considering her fortune is but small.' 'Mr Grogan', replied my wife, 'Mr. Grogan, this is always the case, when you find me in spirits; I don't want to go, not I, nor I don't care whether I go at all; it is seldom that I am in spirits, but his is always the case.' In short, Mr. Printer, what will you have on't, to the coronation we went.

"What difficulties we had in getting a coach, how we were shoved about in the mob, how I had my pocket picked of the last new almanack, and my steel tobacco-box; how my daughter lost half an eye-brow, and her laced show in a gutter; my wife's lamentations upon this, with the adventures of the crumbled plum-cake, and broken brandy bottle,-what need I relate all these? we suffered this, and ten times more, before we got to our places" ¹

¹. Miscellaneous Essays. No. XXVII
In "The Citizen of the World" many characters are introduced who would be suitable for a novelist to use. Their doings are reported minutely and would furnish the incidents. By the use of a little more plot and the union of some of the essays a novel might be produced with little difficulty. A similar work might be constructed from Addison and Steele's "Sir Roger de Coverley Papers", but these are the only essays written by Goldsmith's predecessors which contain characters clearly enough drawn and incidents minutely enough reported. I believe that Goldsmith's essays are more vivid and realistic than those of Addison and Steele and that they partake of the traits of the novel to a greater extent.

Goldsmith, like many of his predecessors, included many short-stories in his work and the way in which he used them exerted a broadening effect on the essay. He excuses himself for introducing Oriental tales in "The Citizen of the World" by explaining that the Asiatics instruct mostly by narration. The continued-story of the Chinese Philosopher's son 1, however, is more extended than the Oriental tales of Goldsmith's fellow writers and does not center around a moral. It reveals in its interest the modern continued story in magazines. Many tales are told in "The Bee", similar to those published in "The Adventurer" by Hawkesworth, but I feel that Goldsmith's tales are told in a more realistic manner. He also makes use of many devices for the sake of variety: such as reveries, dreams, visions, allegories, traditions and extracts from history. Many of these had been introduced in "The Tatler" and "The Spectator", as has been

pointed out in another part of this paper. Goldsmith, however, improved the manner in this narrative work and his essays are valuable for this contribution.

His essays are more noteworthy for the dramatic suggestions which they contain, than for the narrative element. The dramatic possibilities in such an account as that of "A Visit to Vauxhall" are apparent. The Shabby Beau and his wife, the Man in Black, the Chinese Philosopher, and the Pawnbroker's Widow would have made admirable characters in a comedy of manners. These characters are represented in a public box at the Gardens - a good setting. Goldsmith's account of their behavior suggests the foundation for a plot. In fact, the disappointment of the Pawnbroker's Widow at having missed the water-works is quite tragic. In many other essays, Goldsmith not only describes characters realistically, but makes them converse and act in much the same way as his later creation in, "The Good Natured Man" and "She Stoops to Conquer". The reception of the Chinese from a lady of distinction is written in a very realistic manner. The lady's words upon seeing the Chinamen dressed in European clothes would have won a ready laugh at the theater. She says:

"Bless me! can this be the gentleman that was born so far from home? What an unusual share of somethingness in his whole appearance! Lord, how I am charmed with the outlandish art of his face! how be witching the exotic bredth of his forehead! I would give the world to see him in his own country dress."

Under Goldsmith's hand, the essay became a vehicle for dramatic conversations and settings and represented characters with great

1. Citizen of the World. No. LXXI
2. Citizen of the World. No. XIV.
dramatic possibilities. It broadened out until it resembled the novel, the short-story, and the drama in many of its important features.

C. AN ENLARGED REVELATION OF PERSONALITY.

Goldsmith's essays mark a further advance over the work of his predecessors by revealing the personality of the writer much more completely. In "The Bee" and in his miscellaneous essays, Goldsmith is, at times, almost autobiographical. In the "Introduction" to the first number of "The Bee", he takes his readers into his confidence and tells them of his plans and fears. He analyzes his own character and the situation in which he finds himself when starting a new paper as follows:

"For my part, as I was never distinguished for address, and have often even blundered in making my bow, such bodings as these had like to have totally repressed my ambition. I was at a loss whether to give the public specious promises, or give none; whether to be merry or sad on this solemn occasion. If I should decline all merit, it was too probable the hasty reader might have taken me at my word, If, on the other hand, like labourers in Magazine trade, I had, with modest impudence humbly presumed to promise an epitome of all the good things that ever were said or written, this might have disgusted those readers I most desire to please. Had I been merry, I might have been censured as vastly low; and had I been sorrowful, I might have been left to mourn in solitude and silence;
in short, whichever way I turned, nothing presented but prospects of terror, despair, chandler's shops, and waste paper."

Throughout his essays, Goldsmith made much of his experiences. His review of the theatres is founded on actual observation and he does not conceal his opinions and sources of information by writing in the third person. The following passages are very different from the literary reviews and discussions of Johnson, Thornton, and the other predecessors of Goldsmith. They show us the personality of the author and are somewhat in the vein of impressionistic criticism. Goldsmith writes:

"To illustrate what I have been saying by the play I have of late gone to see: in 'The Miser' which was played a few nights ago at Covent-Garden, Lovegold appears through the whole in circumstances of exaggerated avarice; all the player's action, therefore, should conspire with the poet's design, and represent him an epitome of penury...

"Beauty, methinks, seems a requisite qualification in an actress. This seems scrupulously observed elsewhere, and for my part I could wish to see it observed at home. I can never conceive an hero dying for love of a lady so totally destitute of beauty. I must think the part unnatural; for I cannot bear to hear him call that face angelic, when even paint cannot hide its wrinkles. I must condemn him of stupidity; and the person whom I can accuse for want of taste, will seldom become the object of my affections or admiration." 1

1. "The Bee" No. I
In writing an essay "On Dress", Goldsmith uses concrete illustrations and they are such as came to his notice in everyday life and are reported as if they had actually taken place. He writes:

"I remember, a few days ago, to have walked behind a damsel, tossed out in all the gaiety of fifteen; her dress was loose, unstudied, and seemed the result of conscious beauty. I called up all my poetry on this occasion, and fancied twenty Cupids prepared for execution in every folding of her white negligee. I had prepared my imagination for an angel's face; but what was my mortification to find that the imaginary goddess was no other than my cousin Hannah, four years older than myself, and I shall be sixty-two the twelfth of next November".

In his essay entitled "Happiness in a Great Measure Dependent on Constitution," Goldsmith gives the following paragraph, which reads like a passage from his own life. It also reflects one aspect of his personality very clearly. He writes:

"When I reflect on the unambitious retirement in which I passed the earlier part of my life in the country, I cannot avoid feeling some pain in thinking that those happy days are never to return. In that retreat all nature seemed capable of affording pleasure; I then made no refinements on

1. "The Bee" No. 1
2. "The Bee" No. IV.
happiness, but could be pleased with the most awkward efforts of rustic mirth; thought cross-purposes the highest stretch of human wit, and questions and commands the most rational amusement for spending the evening. Happy could so charming an illusion still continue! I find that age and knowledge only contribute to sour our disposition. My present enjoyments may be more refined, but they are infinitely less pleasing. The pleasure Garrick gives can no way compare to that I had received from a country wag, who imitated a Quaker's sermon. The music of Matter is dissonance to what I felt when our old dairy-maid sung me into tears with Johnny Armstrong's Last Good Night, or the Cruelty of Barbara Allen. Goldsmith then gives examples to prove that pleasure is in us. He says, "I remember to have once seen a slave in a fortification in Flanders, who appeared no way touched with his situation." After discussing this case, he continues: "Of all the men I ever read of, the famous Cardinal de Retz possessed this happiness of temper in the highest degree." Then, Goldsmith tells of Dick Wildgoose," one of the happiest silly fellows I ever knew". In the essay on "Political Frugality," Goldsmith embodies conclusions drawn from his European observations. He writes:

"In the towns and countries I have seen, I never saw a city or village yet, whose miseries were not in proportion to the number of its public-houses. In Rotterdam, you may go through eight or ten streets without finding a public-house." etc.

1. "The Bee". No. II
2. "The Bee". No. V.
3. "Forces in Fiction."
These examples show the frankness and openness to be found in Goldsmith's essays. He includes a number of letters in "The Bee", supposed to have been sent to him by his readers, but I believe he uses this old device to gain variety in point of view, rather than to hide himself. Even in those essays written in his own name, Goldsmith openly refers to his experiences and gives his personal opinions much more freely than any of his predecessors in the periodical essay had done.

Goldsmith's essays not only grew out of his own experiences, but were the product of his various moods as well. The tones in which his essays are written reveal the different sides of his interesting personality. His works have the "head-marks of the essay" as defined by Robert Burton. In his article characterizing "The Essay as Mood and Form", Mr. Burton writes:

"Slight, casual, rambling, confidential in tone, the manner much, the theme important in itself, a mood to be vented rather than a thought to add to the sum of human knowledge; the frank revelation of a personality - such has been and are the head-markes of the essay down to the present day."

Much of Goldsmith's work was done in a whimsical mood. For instance, his treatment of witchcraft is quite humorous. He writes:

"In the first place, the old woman must be prodigiously ugly; her eyes hollow and red, her face shrivelled; she goes double, and her voice trembles. It frequently happens, that this rueful figure frightens..."
a child into the palpitation of the heart: home he runs, and tells his mama, that goody such a one looked at him, and he is very ill. The good womean cries out, her dear baby is bewitched, and sends for the parson and the constable."

Goldsmith also varies his style of writing to suit his mood. In the flexibility of his expression he far surpasses his predecessors in the periodical essay and paves the way for Charles Lamb and other later essayists. His mood is delightfully shown in "The Adventures of a Strolling Player." by the light and playful manner of treatment. He writes in the following vein:

"You must know, then, that I am very well descended; my ancestors have made some noise in the world; for my mother cried oysters, and my father beat a drum: I am told we even had some trumpeters in our family.

"The life of a soldier soon therefore gave me the spleen; I asked leave to quit the service; but, as I was tall and strong, my captain thanked me for my kind intention, and said, because he had a regard for me, we should not part. I wrote to my father a very dismal penitent letter, and desired that he would raise money to pay for my discharge; but the good man was as fond of drinking as I was (sir, my service to you), and those who are fond of drinking never pay for other people's discharges: in short, he never answered my letter."

1. "The Bee." No. VIII
2. Miscellaneous Essays. No. XXI.
Many times Goldsmith gives free reign to his imagination and the results of this dreamy mood are embodied in a dream, reverie, allegory, or vision. In the fifth issue of "The Bee", he writes:

"As I was indulging these reflections, in order to eke out the present page, I could not avoid pursuing the metaphor, of going a journey in my imagination, and formed the following reverie, too wild for allegory, and too regular for a dream."

This same mood is exemplified in Letter XLVI of "The Citizen of the World". Here he uses the old device of a dream, which had been extensively employed in "The Tatler" and "The Spectator". Goldsmith, however, caught the spirit of the dream much better and his realistic accounts surpass those of his predecessors. He writes as follows, in "The Looking-Glass of Lao - A Dream":

"Upon finishing my last letter, I retired to rest, reflecting upon the wonders of the glass of Lao, wishing to be possessed of one here, and resolving in such case to oblige every lady with a sight of it for nothing. What fortune denied me waking, fancy supplied in a dream: the glass, I know not how, was put into my possession, and I could perceive several ladies approaching, some voluntarily, others driven forward against their wills, by a set of discontented genii, whom by intuition I knew were their husbands."

At times, Goldsmith writes with great pathos, using solemn, fitting language. In "A City Night-Piece", 1 Goldsmith reaches, in my opinion,
the highest point in all of his essay work. This description of a walk at night through the streets of London reveals the personality of the author in language full of intense emotion. It is a masterpiece of sentimental writing. It suggests vivid scenes, moral reflections, and a broader sympathy with the wretched and unfortunate portion of humanity. It expresses just such a mood as many sensitive men have been in under similar circumstances, but none have expressed their feelings in language so well fitted to the thought and mood. The two following are the closing paragraphs of this piece and illustrate Goldsmith's power in revealing his personality and venting his mood through the medium of the essay.

"Why, why was I born a man, and yet see the sufferings of wretches I cannot relieve! Poor houseless creatures! the world will give you reproaches, but will not give you relief! The slightest misfortunes of the great, the most imaginary uneasiness of the rich, are aggravated with all the power of eloquence, and held up to engage our attention and sympathetic sorrow. The poor weep unheaded, persecuted by every subordinate species of tyranny; and every law, which gives others security, becomes an enemy to them.

"Why was this heart of mine formed with so much sensibility! or why was not my fortune adapted to its impulses! Tenderness, without a capacity of relieving, only makes the man who feels it, more wretched than the object which sues for assistance."
Goldsmith's essay work has been underestimated by most writers. Some fail to appreciate his deep understanding of human nature and his keen insight into current customs and problems. Others take too much notice of his personal faults, failing to appreciate the intrinsic worth of his writing in comparison with that of other essayists. There are some who are too loud in their praise of his originality; for Goldsmith was an elaborating, rather than an original genius. He found the essay developed to a high degree. From his predecessors he had inherited a moral purpose as well as a desire to entertain, a vast amount of suggestive subject matter, and numerous devices. From the many Foreign Letter-Writer Collections which had appeared on the Continent and in England, he derived suggestions for the scheme of his "Citizen of the World". He fell in with certain romantic tendencies and his work helped to make these more influential and to counteract certain harmful influences which the classical school was exerting. He felt the worth of every individual, no matter how uncultured or degraded and the emotions of the common people were well known to him. He was not cold or skeptical, but gave free reign to his enthusiasm and imagination, loving the strange and wonderful. His essays are full of criticism and revolt and in this, too, he was working in accord with the romantic tendencies. Goldsmith built upon the work of his predecessors, but was by no means a servile imitator.

He filled his essays with his delightful personality. Few writers have taken such a broad, cosmopolitan view of all questions,
as did Goldsmith. His travels and other experiences had well prepared him for such a task. His creation of the Citizen of the World greatly aided him in maintaining this attitude and he constantly contrasts Lien Chi Altangi's breadth of view with that of the typical Englishman. This gives added value to his criticisms of politics, society, and literature, which are quite often far in advance of those of his contemporaries. His sensitiveness to human suffering is another valuable element of his personality which pervades his essay writing. He also reveals a temperamental tendency to make the best of things, no matter how bad they may be. In attempting to instil this spirit in the general public, Goldsmith was doing a noteworthy thing. His essay work is valuable as a revelation of his personality, if for nothing else.

Goldsmith not only improved on the work of the preceding periodical essayists, but introduced some new elements, bringing the essay to the point at which it was taken up by the nineteenth century writers. He was the first to make use of the foreign-letter device in essay writing. By this he gained a superior bond of unity, greater realism and a better opportunity to develop character, as well as greater freedom to express his own views. In this work, he set the pattern for Robert Southey's "Letters from England by Don Manuel Esprilla. Translated for the Spanish" (1808), Sir Walter Scott's "Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk" (1615), and John Gibson Lockhart's "Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk" (1819). Besides this innovation, Goldsmith brought the essay into nearer touch with other literary forms. He broadened it out until it resembled, in many features, the novel, short story, and drama.
His essays mark a further advance by revealing the personality of the writer much more fully than the essays of his predecessors had done. In his "Miscellaneous Essays" and in "The Bee", Goldsmith is almost autobiographical. His constant reference to his own experiences, feelings, and opinions is suggestive of the manner of writing employed by the nineteenth century essayists. The resemblance of his work to that of Charles Lamb is especially noteworthy. His essays are reflective of his different moods and his clear easy and flexible style is always admirably suited to his temper. His whimsical manner is also very suggestive of his successors and his sentimental writing is of the highest type of essay writing. Goldsmith stands out as an important figure in the history of the periodical essay and more attention should be devoted to that part of his literary work.
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