RICE UNIVERSITY

CORRESPONDING METHODS AND IDEAS
IN GOLDSMITH'S THE TRAVELLER AND THE CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

by

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TO

DAVE ROBINS

AND

DR. LOUIS JOHNSTON

THANK YOU
ABSTRACT

In *The Citizen of the World* and in *The Traveller* Goldsmith exercised conscious techniques and was seriously concerned with the expression of a few major ideas. These two works are closely linked through the versatile figure of the traveller which is the basic device in both. In the *Chinese Letters* it is the cosmopolitan traveller who is able to tell about his journeys through various nations and to report his conclusions concerning these countries; it is the oriental traveller who satirizes the oriental fad of *England* and lends a particularly humorous slant to the satire on the manifestations of national partiality; it is the citizen of the world who can comment on the purposes of literature and the duties of the learned; it is the man who sympathizes with all mankind who can be concerned with the problems of the individual and of the nation; and it is the philosophic wanderer who must continue his travels while retaining a special affection for his family, friends, and homeland. The narrator of *The Traveller* closely resembles the wanderer of *The Citizen of the World*. Both profess to be impartial, to have few, or no, preconceived notions, and to be happy anywhere yet nowhere. But in each case there is clearly a discrepancy between the professed cosmopolitan point of view and the particular partiality and concern for England which is revealed. Both hold preconceptions concerning man, life, and government—ideas which remain unchanged in the course of the works and which affect the characters' thinking; and both have local and natural attachments. But their views
regarding social, political, and moral questions are founded on a realistic
evaluation of history and of contemporary conditions and are at no time
sentimental although the characters themselves are feeling and sensitive
men who entertain affection for certain individuals as well as a sympathy
for all mankind. Through the comments of his travellers, it is not
Goldsmith's purpose to condemn passions, feeling, or personal enjoyment,
but to urge moderation in all areas of life. Nor is it his aim to extol
one nation, one way of life, one class, or one type of government but to
show that each may have its good and bad features; and, as each period of
individual life has its compensations, so each phase of national develop-
ment has compensations as well. At the same time, particular emphasis is
laid on the necessity of curbing selfish avariciousness and personal
ambitions in order to preserve the good of a nation and of its people;
and both "the traveller" and "the citizen of the world" are used to
convey this message to the English.
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I. Introduction: Background on Goldsmith

"The adequate criticism," stated Leslie Stephen, "must be rooted in history," for "every man . . . is an organ of the society in which he has been brought up. The material upon which he works is the whole complex of conceptions, religious, imaginative, and ethical, which forms his mental atmosphere . . . . He is also dependent upon what in modern phrase we call his 'environment' -- the social structure of which he forms a part, and which gives a special direction to his passions and aspirations . . . . Fully to appreciate any great writer, therefore, it is necessary to distinguish between the characteristics due to the individual writer with certain idiosyncrasies and the characteristics due to his special modification by the existing stage of social and intellectual development."¹

Such an approach seems particularly necessary for the study of the literary compositions of Oliver Goldsmith since many of the critics concerned with him have overemphasized the effects on his works of his personal background and peculiarities and have thus produced a variety of incomplete and one-sided views as to the nature of these works. Primarily this emphasis has led to the interpretation of Goldsmith as a sentimentalist whose writings in sympathy with the plight of the poor were "rather a matter of heart than of doctrine"²; whose major works (The Vicar of Wakefield, The Traveller, and The Deserted Village) were an idealization of his early life and an "emotional retreat"³; or whose "childlike innocence of mind" -- maintained in
spite of his numerous personal experiences and writings—was reflected in the "childlike detachment of his works." What have been regarded by some critics as inconsistencies in his works have been explained as showing the "difference between Goldsmith the poet, governed by emotion and sentimentalism, and Goldsmith the critic, conditioned by neo-classic doctrine," and also as reflecting his philosophy of "sensationalism"—a "rationalization of his own desires"—and his inability "to arrive at a satisfactory solution between the demands of practicality and those of the heart." One critic even traces all of Goldsmith's social and political ideas to his early experiences in Ireland and attempts to show that the "Utopia" of Auburn (The Deserted Village) was built out of a conflict "between his Irish and English self."

At the same time, the critics, with a few important exceptions, have failed to examine adequately Goldsmith and his works in light of the larger panorama of eighteenth century English life—political, social, economic, and literary. Content with giving an autobiographical interpretation of his major works, they have often neglected to note or to take seriously his concern with contemporary life and literature. Some examples of the views of Goldsmith as a writer governed by his heart and by his personality were briefly noted above; and it will be useful here to discuss in more detail these and other opinions of the critics concerning Goldsmith's literary, social, and political point of view.

**Goldsmith as Sentimentalist**

There seems to be little agreement among critics concerning Goldsmith's literary doctrines and practices. He has been described by some critics as a romanticist while others term him a neo-classicist; he has been both
attacked and defended as a sentimentalist at the same time that others have attempted to show that he is a rationalist; and he has been accused of being inconsistent in his views while others have defended his consistency.

One of the most sentimental pictures in itself is that of R. Wyse Jackson, who sees Goldsmith as being abused, neglected, bullied, and a failure in his boyhood and never understood by his English acquaintances so that he was forced to go into "camouflage" in his personal relations and to use his writings as a form of escape. "Goldsmith," says Jackson, "could never lose his brogue and he could never learn to be quite at ease. So he made the Poor-Polishness a camouflage, behind which he crawled." He says that all of Goldsmith's "dammed-down instincts of gentleness and gentility overflowed through the point of his pen" and that he himself can be found "in all those writings which he meant to be objective and which in fact are most completely subjective."^8

Similar in tone are the remarks of Richard Church when he describes Goldsmith as being "too inspired, too immediate and emotional to become learned"; "that he loved first the procession of things, be they words, ideas, or events. That he was capable of stopping the procession at will, and pronouncing authoritatively on it, we have clear evidence. But he would not do so unless he felt safe in his detachment from the deceptive chain of logic."^9

Since it is well known that Goldsmith repeated in his literary works several expressions he had used in his letters and that he also applied to his fictional characters many traits he ascribed to himself, such remarks as these of Jackson make Goldsmith not only appear to be revealing himself unconsciously but also to be writing unconsciously. That Goldsmith felt it necessary to maintain a freedom from logic appears particularly absurd in
the light of the many writings in which he explicitly advocates an adherence to reason and which are themselves organized on a logical basis. C. G. Osgood, stating that the essential excellence of Goldsmith's art was the "emotional quality" which "permeates all his best work," pointed out that this feature led the critic "to impressionistic and emotional effusion about the work and life of Goldsmith, while he neglects the sober facts, and sane, impartial judgment enters but slightly into his estimate." Although Osgood himself was somewhat guilty of this error, he was certainly correct as to the "emotional effusion" of critics.

Perhaps a more reasonable evaluation of Goldsmith as a sentimentalist is that of A. Norman Jeffares, who states that although Goldsmith was "kind and artless, good-humoured and good-natured, gentle and generous," he was "well aware of his failings" and satirized his traits of "conceit and credulity." Yet Jeffares still characterizes Goldsmith as "a man of emotion rather than of intellect" who "gave way to his feelings"; who "shrugged off seriousness when he could"; who through his "apologia"—The Vicar of Wakefield—in the character of the Vicar, expressed "an ultimate faith in humanity as well as in another world where things will be better"; and whose poem The Traveller was a success "due to the emotion its theme engendered in Goldsmith." The Traveller, says Jeffares, "is a prospect of society written by a man not only recollecting emotion without tranquillity, but still emotionally involved in loneliness, still longing for home." Edward L. McAdam characterizes Goldsmith "as the good-natured man whom he portrayed so often, always seeking a security which he did not find and pleasure which could not wholly satisfy him, justifying and then condemning the luxury which he loved—a weak man who never gave up..." He regards Goldsmith's major works as somewhat sentimental in impulse, and his statements...
concerning *The Deserted Village* are closely related to the last remark quoted from Jeffares. He views this important poem of Goldsmith's as the "final expression of Goldsmith's insecurity in London, which at times reached the edge of despair. He was returning to the good things of his childhood and adolescence, as he chose to remember them . . ."\(^{12}\)

R. W. Seitz is another critic who is guilty of an over-generalized approach. In his attempt to prove that Goldsmith's major ideas stem from one basic concept, he casts around Goldsmith and his works an aura of sentimentalism. Seitz attributes almost all of what he considers to be Goldsmith's opinions and concerns to his Irish background. His conservative liberalism, his distrust of the great, his ideas about depopulation, in fact, all the elements of his social and political philosophy, are, according to Seitz, "made up largely of elements absorbed in Ireland."

Seitz contends that Goldsmith, confronted with the moral assets of the English middle class and having compared these virtues with his "own Irish deficiencies," felt an acute sense of inferiority and attempted "to stifle the Irishman in him." But more important is his contention that it was Goldsmith's admiration for this English middle class—a hypothetical, utopian middle class—which informed his major works. Concerned primarily with examining the "Revolution in Low Life," *The Traveller*, and *The Deserted Village*, Seitz concludes, "It would be idle to claim much 'philosophic' importance for Goldsmith's consciously held theories, though some of these—such as his views on the penal laws—are by no means without value. These are only the accidents of his philosophy. But the substance of his social and political thinking is of considerable consequence. He learned in Ireland, and clung to his conviction with all the tenacity of which a mind controlled by deep-set emotions was capable, that society
was made for man and not man for society ... Therefore, when he champi-
ioned his middle class, he instinctively set his face against everything
that threatened to substitute quantity for quality ..." For Seitz to
have identified Goldsmith's concern for one class as the substance of the
author's beliefs and then to have reduced the importance of many of his other
concerns to mere "accidents" seems to me not only to indicate the errors
which can result from such an overemphasis but also to be a rather extreme
exaggeration even in terms of the evidence which Seitz himself presents.

W. F. Gallaway, on the other hand, in his study of Goldsmith's senti-
mentalism, is not guilty of such an overemphasis and generalization. He
attempts a very careful and seemingly impartial study of certain of Gold-
smith's works in order to determine, according to a particular definition,
in what specific ways they might be considered examples of sentimentalism.
From his study of The Vicar of Wakefield, The Traveller, The Citizen of the
World, and The Good-Natured Man, he concludes: 1) that Goldsmith's cosmopol-
itanism is unsentimental and founded on a "realistic tolerance of the varied
shadows that mottle the surface of humanity"; 2) that the city-country
contrast present in his works is not romantic and may be justified "by
common sense as well as by sentiment"; 3) that his rejection of luxury is
a "hesitating one based on theories of national morale and economics"; and
4) that Goldsmith was not willing to accept the sweeping assertion of the
goodness of humanity. Although Gallaway shows to his satisfaction that
The Citizen of the World and The Vicar of Wakefield are free from the traces
of sentimentalism, he states that in The Traveller and The Deserted Village,
where such emotions as the "yearning for home, for his brother, for the
loveliness of Auburn and of the rural past that was being crushed out by the
inexorable march of economic destiny" are dominant, the "prevailing sentimentalism may well be granted." 16

Also unlike the critics who have been more or less content to admire and excuse Goldsmith's personal failings and his works as products of his acute sensibility and emotion, Morris Golden attempts a careful study of his major artistic productions in relation to what he considers to be the author's primary concern. 17 Although Golden sees Goldsmith as basically preoccupied with his own experiences and background, he does examine the works in relation to each other and thereby notes an evolution in the writer's views. According to Golden, Goldsmith's "most pervasive and characteristic theme is the contrast between the family circle and the wandering son who leaves it." Closely connected with Goldsmith's own experiences in life as a "lonely wanderer," this problem of the outcast, or exile, is especially important as it is presented in *The Citizen of the World*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, *The Traveller* (described by Golden as Goldsmith's "purest literary expression of his picture of himself as an outcast"), and *The Deserted Village*. Golden asserts that Goldsmith viewed the family as peaceful, stable, and maintaining a "permanent sense of belonging" in contrast to the wanderer whom he knew to have no roots, no lasting friendships, and to be extremely lonely. Yet he was also aware, says Golden, that the very fact of the family's static situation leads to a lack of positive achievement as well as to ignorance of the world; whereas the adventurer sees the world "in all its motion and variety" and is free to act himself or to judge the significance of the actions of others. "The static family becomes every man's ideal of childhood (without childhood's promise of development); the wanderer is the adult in a dangerous but meaningful world." From an early yearning for the family and "from a pathetic urge to return to the safety of childhood," Goldsmith finally comes "to the realization that his
past exists only as an ideal memory and the awareness that man must face
alone the chaos of the unknown present and future." Thus in The Deserted
Village the despair over the disappearance of the family is "mitigated by
the narrator's superiority, as a poet and traveller, to both the family
and its disaster."

In so far as Golden attempts, in terms of specific works, to analyze
the development of, as he terms it, this "most pervasive and characteristic
theme," his statements are perhaps justified. But when he concludes that
Goldsmith's "view of life, of art, of politics, of history, indeed of every¬
thing, seems ... to be grounded largely in his view of the family and the
son who has escaped it, with this in turn based on his evaluation (both
conscious and not) of his own experience" and that "in all his work and in
all his thoughts is a nostalgic yearning for the family circle of his child¬
hood with a sane awareness of its defects"; he is guilty of an unjustified
and unwarranted generalization which presents Goldsmith's works as being
more sentimental than, in fact, they are.

Goldsmith as Romanticist

Aside from the critics who give a sentimental interpretation to Gold¬
smith's work, there are those who attempt to connect him with the romantic
movement. For example, James W. Webb, writing about both Washington
Irving and Goldsmith, states, "They were products of the eighteenth century
classical tradition while imbibing romantic traits of individualism, senti¬
mentalism, optimism, and love of adventure."\textsuperscript{18} Webb is characteristic of
such critics in his failure to prove this assertion through specific examples.
Ralph Wardle, the most recent biographer of Goldsmith, also associates him
with the romantic movement. According to Wardle, Goldsmith's \textit{An Enquiry}
Into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe (1759) shows him to be "a conscious artist, at odds with the spirit of his times, looking to life for inspiration rather than to books, impatient of rules established by misguided critics—an artist who wrote as he did on principle and whose theories anticipated in many details those of Wordsworth, Shelley, Lamb, Ruskin, and, in general spirit, the attitudes of the Romantic Revival with its stress on originality, interest in the common man, distrust of intellect, simplicity of expression, and the dignity and freedom of the individual—especially the individual artist." Wardle also attributes much of the success of The Deserted Village to the fact "that its ideas were related to the Romantic primitivism which was already gaining ground. The poet's praise of rural life, his appreciation of nature, his humanitarianism, and his subjectivity all found sympathetic readers . . ." 19

Goldsmith as Critic

Ivan L. Schulze sees in Goldsmith's Essay on the Theatre; or, a Comparison Between Sentimental and Laughing Comedy (1773) an example of the critic governed by neo-classic doctrine whereas in The Deserted Village there is only the emotional and sentimental poet. 21 W. W. Reynolds presents a more serious argument in defense of Goldsmith as an earnest critic in line with the Augustan critics. From his examination of Goldsmith's criticism—including such material as the dedications of his poems and plays—Reynolds concludes that "his criticism . . . was not haphazard, but based upon sound and reasonable principles. He shared the general opinions of the Augustan critics, but his judgment was guided by common sense, honesty, and courage, and he owed no slavish allegiance to any system. His attitude to rules was on the whole distrustful, and he was in line with the best
Augustan critics in considering them valuable only in so far as they were useful. Reynolds, laying particular emphasis upon Goldsmith's *An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe*, shows him to be in accord with Augustan criticism in his interpretation of the precept to "follow Nature," in his conception of the purpose of literature being both to please and to instruct, and in his distaste for new trends in poetry and for sentimental comedy.

William Lyon Phelps, in his study of the beginnings of Romanticism in England in the eighteenth century, points to Goldsmith's *Enquiry into Learning* as an example of the classicists' attack on blank verse and especially marks its "pessimistic note" and "contempt for the revival of old English authors." Similarly, Henry A. Beers, in his *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, identifies Goldsmith with the "conservative party" in literature and contends that in his distaste for such literary trends as the restoration on the stage of the original texts of plays by the older authors such as Shakespeare, Jonson, and Fletcher—a view expressed in the *Enquiry* as well as in *The Vicar of Wakefield, Life of Parnell*, and elsewhere—he was representative of the views of the Augustan critics. Although Beers here places Goldsmith in a position of opposing the Romantic tendencies then growing in England, he also aligns him with sentimentalism. For example, in discussing Thomson's *Seasons*, he points to several features—Thomson's "denunciation of the slave trade and of cruelty to animals"; his "preference of country to town"; his "rhapsodies on domestic love and the innocence of the Golden Age"; his "contrast between the misery of the poor and the heartless luxury of the rich"—as foreshadowing of romantic trends and as foretokening "the sentimentalism of Sterne and Goldsmith" as "well as the writings of Rousseau."
As can be seen from this discussion of some of the critics' views on Goldsmith, there has been a great deal of emphasis placed upon his personality and background and, consequently, a tendency to describe him as a sentimentalist. The attempt to identify him with one particular point of view—whether it be sentimentalism or neo-classicism—always seems to have been accomplished at the expense of any other concepts which might be present in his works. Likewise, there has been a general inclination to underestimate and undervalue Goldsmith's serious concern with ideas—whether of a social, political, historical, philosophical, or artistic nature. Such factors have frequently led the critics to present a distorted or narrow interpretation both of Goldsmith as a writer and of his artistic productions. A comparison of his major works, including his histories, his numerous essays, his important poems, his novel, and even his plays, will readily reveal the inadequacy of such one-sided views. His works are very closely connected with literary tradition; and his discussions of literary history, of the contemporary artistic situation, and of new literary trends are frequent and consistent. Many subjects, such as love and friendship, justice and generosity, prudence and moderation, are constantly recurring themes in his literary productions; and a serious political interest and an anxious concern for the welfare of England and her people, as well as a cosmopolitan point of view which was somewhat exceptional at the time, are outstanding features of his writings. It is my intention in this paper, therefore, to analyze and compare *The Citizen of the World* and *The Traveller* in order not only to present a more complete picture of the complexity of these works themselves but also to show that Goldsmith was a conscious
artist. He wrote in line with literary tradition although he was not controlled by "rules," and he found a place in his works for sentiment and feeling without becoming involved in the "cult of the heart." It is perhaps true that he was not an original or profound thinker, but he was very much aware of the problems of his world—such as the problems of war, of government, of excessive wealth, of poverty, and of the conflicts in party and among men of letters arising from personal ambition and selfish interests. Goldsmith was sincerely interested in many of these issues, and he disclosed this concern throughout his literary career.
II. The Citizen of the World

In a letter to his cousin Robert Bryanton on August 14, 1758, Goldsmith wrote: "If ever my works find their way to Tartary or China, I know the consequences. Suppose one of your Chinese Owanowitzers instructing one of your Tartarian Chinnobacchi--you see I use Chinese names to show my own erudition, as I shall soon make our Chinese talk like an Englishman to show his."\(^{1}\) Two years later Goldsmith's "Chinese" finally appeared. On January 24, 1760, in the Public Ledger (a new daily paper which was first published January 12, 1760) in a letter supposedly from a merchant in Amsterdam and addressed "To Mr. ______, Merchant in London," Lien Chi Altangi was introduced to the English reading public as follows:

The bearer of this is my friend, therefore let him be yours. He is a native of Honan in China, and one who did me signal services, when he was a mandarine, and I a factor, at Canton. By frequently conversing with the English there, he has learned the language, though he is entirely a stranger to their manners and customs. I am told he is a philosopher--I am sure he is an honest man . . . \(^{2}\)

Thus was begun the series of Chinese Letters which Goldsmith continued to write until August 14, 1761.

A "Domestic criticism in a series of letters, by a pretended foreigner, was a well developed literary device" long before Goldsmith wrote his Letters from a Citizen of the World.\(^{3}\) Both Hamilton Jewett Smith in his study of The Citizen of the World (1926) and Martha Pike Conant in The
Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century (1908) discuss this tradition in detail. The origin of the pseudo-letter type of satire has been traced back as far as the sixteenth century and has even been connected with the dialogues of Lucian. The first really important work of this type, however, seems to be Giovanni Paolo Marana's L'Espion Turc (Turkish Spy), first written in Italian in 1684 and in 1686 translated into French and published at Paris. Marana, who "seems to deserve the credit of being the originator of the device in its developed form," was copied by Charles Rivière Du Fresny in his Amusemens Sérieux et Comiques (1699) where the author, "in order to examine French conditions with critical eyes," posed as a Siamese traveller at Paris. Du Fresny's work was, in turn, adapted by Thomas Brown, who in 1700 published his Amusements Serious and Comical Calculated for the Meridian of London. Perhaps the most important imitator of Marana was Montesquieu, who, according to Mr. Smith, not only found general inspiration for his Lettres Persanes (1721) in the work of Marana but also made use of specific details. But, as Mr. Smith stated, "the completed scheme of Montesquieu's Lettres had a gradual evolution, whether conscious or not, . . . from the simple dialogue of a native of a country explaining to a foreigner the customs of his land, until it appeared as it did in Montesquieu, a continued series of satiric letters with a much broader scope."6

Since the publication of Goldsmith's The Citizen of the World, many of its sources have been found or suggested. Besides those works already mentioned, some of these sources are:

Pseudo-letter type:7

Joseph Addison, Spectator, no. 50, April 27, 1711.


Horace Walpole, *A Letter from Xo-Ho, a Chinese Philosopher at London to his friend Lien Chi at Peking*, 1757.

Reference Books:


Others:


Some critics consider Voltaire to have been Goldsmith's greatest inspiration in the writing of his *Chinese Letters*. He had reviewed and even translated some of Voltaire's work, and certainly his attention had been drawn to Voltaire's opinions on the "excellence of Chinese laws, morals, government, and social institutions" as well as to his remarks on the value of the pseudo-letter. At one point Goldsmith even quotes Voltaire's statement that "satire which in the mouth of an Asiatic is poignant, would lose all its force when coming from an European." Voltaire's influence also seems apparent in the views which Goldsmith himself held concerning the style necessary for the writing of pseudo-letters. These ideas appear in his 1757 criticism of *Letters from an Armenian in Ireland, to his Friends at Trebisonde*. Here Goldsmith states:
The writer who would inform, or improve, his countrymen under the assumed character of an Eastern traveller should be careful to let nothing escape him which might betray the imposture. If his aim be satirical, his remarks should be collected from the more striking follies abounding in the country he describes, and from those prevailing absurdities which commonly usurp the softer name of fashions. His account should be of such a nature as we may fancy his Asiatic friend would wish to know, such as we ourselves would expect from a correspondent in Asia. 10

Goldsmith, whose aims were frequently satirical in his own letters, did endeavor to follow his own advice but failed to deceive the public for very long. Using L'Espion Turc and the Lettres Persanes as models, Goldsmith used such works as those of Du Halde and Le Comte to supply most of the oriental flavor. In his search for oriental background Goldsmith often went in quest of material which defended and reinforced his views. It is clear from the subjects and quality of the essays as a whole that Goldsmith exercised an interested, critical, and often calculated selection when he borrowed material. For example, in Letter XXXVI of the Chinese Letters, dated May 16, 1760, Goldsmith wrote what was obviously an imitation of Dr. Johnson's Rasselas, published in 1759. Besides fitting in well with his aim and style, such an imitation was probably very appealing to his eighteenth century readers.

Besides Goldsmith's many affiliations with the pseudo-letter genre, there are also important links with the continually growing and renewed popularity of Oriental tales (such as the Arabian Nights, the Persian Tales, or Thousand and One Days, The Turkish Tales, and many others) as well as with the contemporary Chinese cult, which Goldsmith satirized. 11 All of these factors helped to provide a fresh and interesting slant for Goldsmith's periodic moral essays and certainly must have increased their popularity. But the real success of the Chinese Letters must be credited to Goldsmith's
own special abilities and contributions, such as his satiric wit and humor, his ability to portray a dramatic and comic situation and to create such interesting characters as Beau Tibbs and the Man in Black. Contemporary opinions of these essays, such as the following from the *Critical Review* of May, 1762, seem to have been high and the ability clearly recognized.

These letters, if we mistake not, made their first appearance in a daily newspaper, and were necessarily calculated to the meridian of the multitude, although they greatly surpass any late publications of the same nature, both in diction and sentiment... It is rather extraordinary that the philosopher Lien Chi Altangi could handle so many topics agreeably, and sustain the fatigue of so long a course without weariness, than that he has sometimes stumbled. All his observations are marked with good sense, genius frequently breaks the fetters of restraint, and humor is sometimes successfully employed to enforce the dictates of reason. 

The literary background and the sources of the *Chinese Letters* reflect both Goldsmith's ability to adapt material for his own purposes, and his recognition and utilization of trends and subject-matter of interest to the reading public.

One of the most immediately striking features of *The Citizen of the World* is the title, and it is perhaps possible that this phrase may provide us with a key insight into the work as a whole. It is as such a cosmopolitan figure—a man belonging to all the world, at home in any country, and who is without national prejudices—that Lien Chi, the main figure of the letters, is consistently described. Pictured as a man of a liberal and tolerant outlook, he functions as a detached spectator who observes and describes the customs and peculiarities characteristic of the peoples of the many nations through which he travels. Distinguished as a learned man
and as a philosophic wanderer, he reflects on the course of history, on the present situation of Europe, and on the human condition. But he is also revealed as a father, a friend, and a man of great sensitivity who is lonely yet compelled to continue his quest for knowledge and an understanding of mankind. Through him the essays are connected; and out of his various functions, characteristics, and relationships with others, the topics of the letters develop.

The Detached Spectator

Humorous satirical accounts of the manners and customs of the people of various nationalities, especially of the English, comprise a large portion of the essays, and Goldsmith immediately prepares the way for this function of his Chinese traveller. Besides the fact that Lien Chi is a foreigner in a strange country and is thus automatically viewing the society as an outsider, it is revealed that he has travelled extensively in other parts of the world and has examined the inhabitants of other nations both carefully and objectively. Hence he supposedly brings with him to this new country not only a broad knowledge of the people of the rest of the world with which to compare the behaviour of the English but also an intelligent and objective point of view and approach which acknowledges the existence of folly even in the most virtuous of men. His past experiences, writes Lien Chi, have taught him "to laugh at folly alone, and to find nothing truly ridiculous but villainy and vice." Similarly, he has learned the absurdity of attempting to judge a people only on the basis of a superficial acquaintance. No matter how extensive his travels may have been elsewhere, a person who has been in a country for only a few days cannot possibly give a true evaluation of what he has seen but should
wait until he can rationally "compare those objects with each other which were before examined without reflection" before drawing conclusions. In the attempt to emphasize his own impartiality and his hesitancy to form hasty judgments, Lien Chi comments that he considers himself in the light of a "newly created being, introduced into a new world" in which every object strikes him "with wonder and surprise." The Chinese philosopher, however, like most travellers, is not as free from bias as the author would like the readers to believe, and many of his preconceived ideas are reflected in his descriptions of England.

But on the surface Lien Chi, for the present, will supposedly write without critical comment about the superficial and external appearances of the English and their country. Actually, however, Goldsmith is very much aware that the satirical presentation is itself serving as an innate criticism even without the explicit remarks on the part of the narrator. Thus depicted as a detached spectator among a "strange people," Lien Chi is free to comment on such things as the gloomy appearance of London with its muddy "puddles" running along the pavements and the great number of conveyances which jam the streets and endanger the lives of the pedestrians. Although from such observations he is inclined to conclude that the people are very poor—a circumstance in sharp opposition to England's world-wide reputation for opulence—he is quick to add that, since he has been there for such a short time, he will not be hasty in his decisions. In the meantime, of course, he has already given his picture, which carries with it the subtle suggestion that improvements should be made.

From the account of the external appearances of the city of London he moves in the next letter to a description of the external appearances of
the inhabitants. Being very careful to declare that he has nothing against the "desire to be more excellent than others"—a vanity which, at the same time, gives rise to numerous trades and provides employment for thousands—he goes on to satirize such current English fashions as wigs and patches while describing what composes a "fine gentleman" and a "fine lady," both of whom appear to lack everything—intelligence, sentiment, beauty—except outside finery and affectation.

Topics similar to these are touched upon throughout the series, and, in general, Goldsmith's methods remain the same. When writing of social foibles and fashions, it is not usually his intention to become obviously didactic or even bitingly satirical. Rather, by having Lien Chi present an objective and humorous picture which reveals the foolishness of such action, Goldsmith hopes to make people see their behaviour as it really is and thus to win them to a more rational conduct.

Another method by which the satire is sometimes accomplished is through Lien Chi's comparisons of English manners, customs, or other characteristics with those of his own or other countries. In this process the satire is frequently extended beyond the English to apply to the other countries as well and in a few instances may even relate to Lien Chi himself. At times, for example, Lien Chi is ironically made to embody the qualities of national partiality and prejudice in his accounts of the English. By so doing Goldsmith is clearly showing his readers how foolish such opinions are, and the satire is aimed not at Lien Chi but at those travel accounts or other productions which are the outcome of such views.

Another technique which is used with great success is that of the contrast between Lien Chi's first impressions concerning an experience
or his expectations about a forthcoming event and what the situation is or
turns out to be in reality. As it is used in his encounters with the English
prostitute, this device produces an effect which is more humourous than
satirical and which seems to be directed more at the naiveté and vanity of
Lien Chi than at the perfidy of the one who has taken advantage of him. 19
But in some cases where Goldsmith perhaps regards the subject more seriously—
such as Lien Chi's visit to Westminster Abbey (Letters XII-XIII), his
presence at a "visitation" dinner (Letter LVIII), or his dream about the
looking-glass of Lao (Letters XLV-XLVI)—this method intensifies the satire
through its sharp contrast between what ought to be and what is.

Each of these methods of presentation is somewhat dependent on the fact
of Lien Chi's being a foreign traveller. His objectivity and his impartial
narration are partly a result of his being outside of the society or events
which he is attempting to depict, and both the appeal as well as the accept-
ability of his criticisms are enhanced by being presented from this point of
view. Similarly, the comparisons with other countries do not appear to be
an artificial contrivance but rather a natural product of his many travels.
Both the fact that he is unfamiliar not only with the manners of individuals
but also with the way in which major institutions are conducted and the
idea that he has preconceived notions which have been formed by his experi-
ences elsewhere are prerequisites for the success of the technique which
shows Lien Chi discovering a situation to be contrary to what he had
expected. 20

Duties of Travellers and "Learned Men"

While establishing Lien Chi's suitability as commentator on English
customs and practices by revealing both his background and his basically
impartial and objective point of view, Goldsmith is at the same time preparing the way for Lien Chi's more serious critical reflections by emphasizing both his learning and his philosophical and rational nature. An important part of the justification of these functions of Lien Chi derives from his own comments concerning the duties both of travellers and of scholars. Instead of travelling across seas and deserts to measure the height of a mountain or to describe the cataract of a river, European travellers should be like a philosopher "who is desirous of understanding the human heart, who seeks to know the men of every country, who desires to discover those differences which result from climate, religion, education, prejudice, and partiality." A person who writes an account of his travels should have as his purpose the improvement of his readers. He should endeavor to instruct them so that they will be better able to control their passions and to bear hardships, and he should attempt to inspire them with a love of virtue and a hatred of vice. The man who travels in order to be able to "mend" both himself and others--who desires to instruct the heart--is an asset to the world. But a person "who goes from country to country, guided by the blind impulse of curiosity, is only a vagabond," while the traveller who merely indulges the imagination in his writings is to be despised. "I honour," says Lien Chi, "all those great names who endeavor to unite the world by their travels: such men grew wiser as well as better, the farther they departed from home, and seemed like rivers, whose streams are not only increased but refined as they travel from their source." If travellers were to write according to the correct standards and objectives, they would show how the men of various countries are only superficially different and would thereby improve understanding and toleration among different peoples and nations. They would then reveal that "true politeness
is everywhere the same" and that national peculiarities are to be little valued in judging of the worth of men. "The wise are polite all the world over... fools are polite only at home."  

Very similar are the duties which he ascribes to "learned men"—those men, for example, who supposedly comprise "The Republic of Letters." From this appellation, as Lien Chi points out, one would assume that these men were united in interests and goals—all contributing "to build the temple of science without attempting from ignorance or envy, to obstruct each other." Although such a situation is obviously the ideal which Lien Chi desires, it is not the condition which prevails. Instead, all of the "members" are at variance: they compete against rather than assist one another; they "calumniate, they injure, they despise, they ridicule, each other." He does find, he says, a few men of "superior abilities who reverence and esteem each other"; but they have little strength in comparison to the "dunces" who "hunt in full cry, till they have run down a reputation, and then snarl and fight with each other about dividing the spoil." Lien Chi writes that it was Confucius's teaching that the duty of the learned was to unite society more closely, and "to persuade men to become citizens of the world." But these writers are like parasites or the savage animals suggested by his description. They seldom perform any real or significant service for the good of mankind and are more interested in destroying than creating—in dividing rather than uniting. The situation is different among the few exceptional men of learning in each country. Those of real merit are not unwilling to admit merit in others whether or not they belong to the same nationality or race. It is by such men as these that the true purposes of learning are fulfilled, and it is among them that the "citizens of the world" may be discovered.
These standards and goals, as set forth and applied to travellers and learned men by the Chinese philosopher, are those which Goldsmith himself attempts to achieve in this work. It is his purpose to instruct men in order that they may lead better and happier lives. In some cases he desires to dissuade his readers from irrational behaviour or from irrational thinking. At times he advocates moderation and temperance, at others the necessity of prudence or the advisability of acceptance of and adjustment to one's situation in life. There are also occasions when he becomes very critical of contemporary conditions and issues warnings for the future. Almost all of these subjects are in some way related to the improvement of life: whether it be of the individual or of the nation. And as was characteristic of the periodical essay, the methods of presentation are various and include satirical accounts, allegorical tales, historical incidents and examples drawn from the course of history, life-writing, fictional tales used as examples, and even romance—all in accord with the eighteenth century concept of entertaining while instructing. An important instance of the inheritance of The Citizen of the World from The Tatler and the periodical essay tradition is its "definite point of view" which had proved very helpful in providing such essays with both continuity and interest.

Correspondents

The topics discussed and the methods used are all made to appear the natural outcome of the experiences and interests of the Chinese philosopher and of his correspondents. For example, Fum Hoam, as Lien Chi's teacher and correspondent, plays an important part not only in providing opportunities for discussions of Lien Chi's family, his previous experiences, and
his beliefs and aspirations but also by being an excellent recipient for most of Lien Chi's letters. At the same time, Fum Hoam himself, depicted as a very well-educated and intelligent person, serves as the natural voice for many of Goldsmith's serious ideas on the progress of history and the state of contemporary Europe and affords at least a superficial type of variety from the letters of Lien Chi.

Hingpo, the son of the Chinese Philosopher, provides variety not only by the letters which he supposedly writes but also by providing Lien Chi with a channel for topics which would not be as appropriate if written to Fum Hoam. Thus Lien Chi writes advice to Hingpo about such matters as education, the control of the passions, romances and romantic love, and seeking contentment in life. Since Hingpo is a young, attractive youth, it seems natural that he fall in love and thus provide the letters with romantic interest. This development gives an opportunity for building suspense through adventures which are typical of the early romantic tales: the Christian slave forced to marry her master; discovery in attempted escape; escape finally accomplished; boy and girl in love; separation on the high seas; and, finally, miraculous reunion and a happy life ever after. Although the letters concerning these romantic adventures comprise a very small segment of the series, they probably had a great appeal to the contemporary taste for Eastern tales.

It is especially interesting to note that both Fum Hoam and Hingpo also function as travellers in the course of the letters, the latter to a much greater extent than the former. But the one instance of Fum Hoam as traveller is significant in that his role is very definitely that of a detached spectator who is not himself a participant in the action but who can observe, reflect, and comment upon what he sees. His supposed mission to the court
of Japan is an excellent opportunity for Goldsmith to comment on the avarice and resulting meanness of the Dutch, a topic related to other letters which deal in some way with the problem of excessive luxury. But there is another important point. Unlike Lien Chi, whose desire is to continue his travels in spite of personal consequences or unpleasant experiences, Fum Hoam is anxious to return to his own country after only a few days' absence. Thus he writes to Lien Chi: "... you can hardly conceive the pleasure I shall find upon revisiting my native country. I shall leave with joy this proud, barbarous, inhospitable region, where every object conspires to diminish my satisfaction, and increase my patriotism." It is, as we shall see, the patriotic and conservative Fum Hoam, who—by representing a different point of view and reprimanding the "philosophic wanderer" for his—helps to clarify the character and position of Lien Chi.

Hingpo's functions as a traveller differ in several ways from those of Lien Chi. In the first place, he is in search of a definite physical goal as he attempts to join his father. He is in motion while the Chinese philosopher is temporarily stationary in London. His letters concerning his experiences provide variety from Lien Chi's accounts of his travels and also, in the adventurous encounters, a different motive and point of view. His role as spectator is neither satirical nor ironical; and his comments are intended to reflect the training he has received from his father and, in many cases, to point up and support the validity of Lien Chi's ideas and teachings. Hingpo's statements concerning love and beauty, though definitely containing lessons for the reader, do not appear as didactic or as obvious as those written by Lien Chi. Hingpo, in a logical attempt to examine his feelings for Zelis—why, for example, he prefers her over women who are more beautiful than she—concludes that the cultivation of
her mind is a very important part of her attraction; and he supports this idea by repeating to his father an allegory: the "Region of Beauty" and the "Valley of Graces." Hingpo also presents an important example in attempting to suppress his emotions and only admitting his love when he has become familiar with Zelis's mind and sentiments as well as with her external graces and when he has cared for her long enough to know that it is not simply infatuation.

It is important to note that there is no attempt on the part of Lien Chi either to discourage Hingpo in his affections or to explain love on a strictly rational basis. In fact, he writes to his son about the differences between love and gratitude—one of Goldsmith's favorite topics—and he definitely states that "actual love is the spontaneous production of the mind" and "often an involuntary passion." It can neither be bought nor increased by generosity and is not coexistent with gratitude. The case of Zelis and Hingpo attests the validity of these statements.

Also, the very fact that Hingpo travels across continents in order to reach his father not only reflects the filial piety which is supposedly part of China's tradition, but also shows that his father is capable of feeling. By Hingpo's actions and through his expressed sentiments it is established that there once existed a close family relationship in which Lien Chi played a dominant role both as affectionate father and husband and as a teacher. This serves as a lesson to the English public at the same time that it reveals the human side of Lien Chi.

National Peculiarities and Prejudices

The very nature of Lien Chi's position as traveller and his role as a citizen of the world afford Goldsmith an excellent vehicle for presenting
his many ideas on the differences, characteristics, and relative worth of nations. Basic to these concepts is his view of national prejudice and patriotism. In his position as editor of the work, Goldsmith presents his opinion of the vain notion that one country is innately superior to all others or that its inhabitants are possessed of superior intelligence. Satirically, he comments on the reception of the Chinese philosopher in London—how amazed the English were to find "a man born so far from London—that school of prudence and wisdom—endued even with a moderate capacity."

But he points out that the English are not the only ones guilty of this error but the Chinese as well. Then Goldsmith states the theory which is supported by Lien Chi throughout the letters:

The truth is, the Chinese and we are pretty much alike. 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 enjoyment.

Thus he starts Lien Chi on his travels to satirize national peculiarities, or, as Lien Chi puts it, "what is most strikingly absurd in [various]
countries. In the process the French meet with rather severe criticism. He reprehends their "breeding" and "civility" which permit them to speak their language in the presence of foreigners when even "a travelling Hottentot himself would be silent if acquainted only with the language of his country"; their "admiration of themselves"; their love of praise and their levity; and, more seriously, their selfishness and unconcern in relation to the plight of their soldiers in foreign prisons and their cruelty to those of the enemy whom they have captured. The Italians are characterized by their superstition and erroneous delicacy as well as a people "whose
only happiness lies in sensual refinement," and the English are humoursly satirized for their subjection to the spleen. Concerning the latter, Lien Chi writes,

When the men of this country are once turned of thirty they regularly retire every year, at proper intervals, to lie in of the spleen. The vulgar, unfurnished with the luxurious comforts of the soft cushion, down bed, and easy chair, are obliged, when the fit is on them, to muse it up by drinking, idleness, and ill-humour.

Not only do the rich and poor react differently when beset by this malady; but, for some strange reason, it seems to affect wives in the country and their husbands in town! But one of the most amazing features of this disorder is the effect of the weather. For example:

... an east wind ... has been known to change a lady of fashion into a parlour couch; and an alderman into a plate of custard; and a dispenser of justice into a rat-trap. Even philosophers themselves are not exempt from its influences; it has often converted a poet into a coral and bells, and a patriot senator into a dumb waiter.

Even the Man in Black, Lien Chi's friend and companion, can be thrown into a case of the spleen by such a thing as reading about thief takers and can find relief, although not a cure, only by playing his German flute.

Closely related to his depiction of the spleen is that of another English malady which he terms "Epidemic Terror" and which is directed at the irrational thinking and behaviour which accompanies or produces such occurrences as the then current "mad-dog" scare and the Cock Lane ghost episode. Apparently not content with being exempt from real evils, they manufacture their own peculiar terrors. This same characteristic makes them unduly fond of strange sights--"From the highest to the lowest, this people seem fond of sights and monsters."
In spite of these few foibles, however, the English are clearly an admirable people characterized by, among other things, national benevolence and politeness. Their desire to gain esteem is such that it gives an air of formality to their pleasures and even to their conversations. Yet though it would be the last place Lien Chi would suggest that one go for entertainment, it would still be the first place for instruction. This is a slight example of the idea of compensation which is very important in Goldsmith's thinking.

But the outstanding quality of the English is their pride, which is the source both of their national vices and their virtues. It is this that makes them loyal as well as fiercely independent; it is this which makes them love liberty and despise those nations which have bowed to a tyrant's hand. And, as Lien Chi finally concludes, in spite of their apparent irresolution and inconstancy, the English are basically a reasoning people. Their government, which is a reasoning government, as well as their people, gain ultimate stability from their "continual fluctuation." That the English are regarded very favorably may be clearly seen by the fact that it is among them that Lien Chi finds another citizen of the world. Speaking of the recent subscription by the English for the benefit of the French prisoners, he cites one contribution which read: "The mite of an Englishman, a citizen of the world, to Frenchmen, prisoners of war, and naked." Such a man, writes Lien Chi to Fum Hoam, is truly "a native of the world; and the Emperor of China may be proud that he has such a countryman."

In addition to the descriptions of France, Italy, and England already noted, Switzerland is described as a land of liberty; while Spain is characterized by its formality, Portugal by its cruelty, Austria by its...
fears, Prussia by confidence, Holland by avarice, Ireland by absurdity, and Scotland by national partiality.48

Connected with the satire on national prejudices are the letters which satirize orientalism, or the oriental fad, which was then current in England. Two of the most successful and humorous of these essays present the encounters of our oriental traveller with some oriental faddists. One "lady," upon meeting him, exclaims, "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 cut of his face!"49 Upon another occasion he is invited to dinner in order to be asked to sit on the floor; to have a napkin pinned under his chin; to eat bear's claws or birds' nests; and to use chopsticks—all of which he protests, without effect, are totally un-Chinese—and is then accused of having none of the "true Eastern style" in his conversation. One of the ladies comments that he sounds as she herself does—"mere chit-chat and common sense" instead of the sublimity necessary. "'Oh!'" cries she, "'for a history of Aboulfaouris, the grand voyager, or genie, magicians, rocks, bags of bullets, giants, and enchanters, where all is great, obscure, magnificent, and unintelligible.'"50 Here, too, Goldsmith is satirizing useless learning and dilettanti as well as the Oriental craze, but the pleasing effect is certainly largely due to the irony resulting from a man from China being told he knows nothing about what is really Chinese! Goldsmith's ideas are clearly revealed in the preface when he comments on his Chinese character's resembling his countrymen not only in his conciseness, gravity, and sententiousness, but, more particularly: "The Chinese are often dull; and so is he." And since fashion had long appreciated the "furniture, frippery, and fireworks of China," he thinks
it is about time to treat the public to a small cargo of "Chinese morality."\textsuperscript{51} Certainly these letters are a condemnation of current tastes as well as of the way of thinking which denies the possibility of learning and culture to nations distant from or unfamiliar to oneself.

Two comparisons are recurrent in the letters: the differences between the more civilized and the relatively primitive nations and the differences between the vulgar and the refined peoples of various countries. Here occur Goldsmith's ideas about climate and its varying effects and some of his anti-primitive statements.

In relation to climate, Lien Chi, who feels it should be one of the traveller's pleasures to discover what influences the climate may have on the disposition of a people, presents a description of "the influence of climate and soil upon the tempers and disposition of the English."\textsuperscript{52} At several points in the letters mention is also made of the fact that the very different climates in various nations and parts of the world determine, to a large extent, the type of society and economy of the country as well as the degree of civilization the country may have been able to attain.\textsuperscript{53}

What a land may lack in natural resources, however, seems to be compensated for by the hardiness and temper of the people; in fact, the temperament of the inhabitants appears to correspond with their surroundings. Thus Lien Chi, in commenting on the land of the Tartars, states that while the Tartar wanders "for a precarious subsistence" in a terrible waste, he himself possesses a heart without pity and is "himself more hideous than the wilderness he makes."\textsuperscript{54}

When the Chinese philosopher's son is made a slave by the Tartars, Lien Chi writes that the only interest "his savage masters" have is in how much "raw flesh" he can provide and that they take no notice of his beauty,
learning, or virtues. When sold to the Persians his condition is little bettered, for he is owned by a master who is voluptuous and cruel, "a man fond of pleasure, yet incapable of refinement, whom many years service in war has taught pride, but not bravery." Neither the conditions of the barbarous Tartars nor those of the slightly more refined Persians have anything which recommends them to either Hingpo or Lien Chi.

The description of the Russian nation is a further example of Goldsmith's attitude toward primitivism. Fum Hoam, supposedly commenting on reports which Lien Chi has sent to him about Russia's returning to a state of "pristine barbarity," extends his reflections to include all such primitive peoples when he says,

A savage people may be resembled to their own forests: a few years are sufficient to clear away the obstructions to agriculture; but it requires many, ere the ground acquires a proper degree of fertility.

Like the Russians, such peoples will probably return to their native prejudices, "renew their hatred to strangers, and indulge every former brutal excess." A savage life begets a savage temperament, and it is extremely difficult to break the cords of barbarity.

The one apparent exception to such comments in relation to the people of unrefined nations seems to be the account of Siberia, where the inhabitants are commended on their honesty, benevolence, and generosity. But their attributes only seem to point up the lack of these features in other nations:

... perhaps the savages of that desolate region are the only untutored people of the globe that cultivate the moral virtues, even without knowing that their actions merit praise.

But it is quite obvious that such pictures of barbarity make Lien Chi and Fum Hoam glad that they are the products of a more civilized atmosphere in spite of their admission that each way of life has its assets and liabilities.
and that each of these countries, no matter how primitive or uncultivated it may be, has some peculiar knowledge which would be of service to more cultured nations. Here, in the process of presenting his views as to the relative worth of these two ways of life, occurs one side of Goldsmith's theory of compensation. "Is it not a truth," asks the Chinese philosopher, "that refined countries have more vices, but those not so terrible; barbarous nations few, and they of the most hideous complexion?" Does not "every kind of life" have "vices peculiarly its own?" And again Lien Chi contends, in accord with a "Chinese lawgiver," that it is best to admire "the rude virtues of the ignorant" while we "imitate the delicate morals of the polite." England itself is offered in support of his argument:

In the country where I reside, though honesty and benevolence be not so congenial, yet art supplies the place of nature. Though here every vice is carried to excess, yet every virtue is practised also with unexampled superiority. A city like this [London] is the soil for the great virtues and great vices... And such a condition is apparently the one the citizen of the world would prefer. The situation of such nations somewhat resembles the nature of great men--possessed of faults and guilty of many transgressions yet alone capable of attaining the ultimate virtues.

Not only are there differences between the "polite" nations and the barbarous ones but also between the vulgar and refined peoples of the same country. Here is an echo of the earlier statement that the distinctions of mankind are determined by degrees of refinement rather than by distance as Lien Chi writes:
The polite of every country pretty nearly resemble each other. But as ... it is among the unculti-
vated productions of nature we are to examine the characteristic differences of climate and soil, so in an estimate of the genius of the people, we must look among the sons of unpolished rusticity.

Hence he embarks on his description of the unpolished English. In the face of his professed impartiality, however, his praise of them does seem somewhat in excess in spite of the sincere attempt to point out faults as well as virtues. According to Lien Chi, the vulgar English are distinguished from all the rest of the world by "superior pride, impatience, and a peculiar hardiness of soul"—qualities capable of the finest polish but when remaining in a state of "primitive rudeness" render the individuals possessing them very ill fitted for the company of others. Clearly, nevertheless, the tone is not one of condemnation even when he points out the absurdity of the poor of England who treat each other with "more than savage animosity." All of these qualities are compensated for by their generosity, bravery, enterprise, and fortitude. Those travellers who have reported England as the land of spleen, insolence, and ill-will have only viewed the country on the surface. Thus Lien Chi explains:

Taking, therefore, my opinion of the English from the virtues and vices practised among the vulgar, they at once present to a stranger all their faults, and keep their virtues up only for the enquiring eye of a philosopher.

Obviously, Goldsmith, via Lien Chi, considers himself to possess the eye which has seen through the rough façade of the English temper.

In the letters comparing in various ways refined and unrefined nations, statements do occur which give insight into the author's view of the basic nature of man. The idea which these comments convey seems to be in
agreement with that presented elsewhere in the work and to constitute a basically unsentimental attitude.

When in the process of examining certain religious practices Lien Chi becomes appalled at the absurdity of a belief in a wicked deity, he does not attribute this belief merely to the fact of a low level of civilized development. Rather, he connects it with what is apparently the irrational nature of man himself and indicates that it is surprising that such a belief has not spread all over the earth. Possibly he is exaggerating the case in order both to emphasize the necessity of the discipline which ordinary man requires in order to act judiciously and perhaps also to provide an opportunity for his interesting praise of some rather exceptional men. For, according to our Chinese philosopher, if it were not for some few virtuous men, if it were not, that is, for philosophers, "who seem to be of a different nature from the rest of mankind," such beliefs would spread uncontrollably over the earth. It is not gratitude, love, or admiration, which cause man to adhere to the laws of religion, of justice, or of morality. It is fear.

... for one man who is virtuous from the love of virtue, from the obligation that he thinks he lies under to the Giver of all, there are ten thousand who are good only from the apprehensions of punishment. 68

Certainly related to this are the very unromantic ideas on friendship which are reflected in the histories of the Man in Black and of the "philosophic" cobbler and in the advice which Lien Chi writes to Hingpo about the nature of gratitude. Friends, it seems, are strange creatures who are available only when not needed. The only relationships the cobbler has are with his last and hammer. "'Nobody else will be my friend,'" he tells Lien Chi, "'because I want a friend,'" while those who have no occasion for them
have hundreds. 69 And the Man in Black eulogizes friendship as that upon which every man may depend and thereby be "disappointed." A friend is one who always offers you money when you do not request it and are probably not in need of it but who never seems to have any available when you request a loan. As one of his "friends" once told him: "'They who want money when they come to borrow, will always want money when they should come to pay.'" 70

Generosity may procure a person esteem and may provide the giver with a real sense of self-satisfaction, but it will not give him either friends or love. In fact, a debt places the recipient in a situation almost of humiliation and, when the obligation becomes great, is much more likely to produce a feeling of dislike than of love. "Every favour a man receives," Lien Chi tells Hingpo, "in some measure sinks him below his dignity; and, in proportion to the value of the benefit, or the frequency of its acceptance, he gives up so much of his native independence." He who is able to continue accepting favor after favor and incurring obligation after obligation becomes hardened and "disavows" his duty to make any retribution; and, finally, he becomes to some measure "pleased with conscious baseness." 71 The realization that this is the case should prove the necessity of moderation and prudence in the exercise of generosity. Benevolence carried to the extreme can bring no compensation but poverty. The man who gives all that he has to others only incurs their detestation and places himself in their situation. As in the case of the development of the misanthrope who rails against mankind or withdraws from society, such a person is probably some "good-natured man" who lacked experience and has brought on his own distresses through his failure to view man realistically--through having endowed man with too virtuous a character. But he must not blame others for his
own folly, and he has no justification for becoming a man-hater or for thereby forgetting his own duties to society. 72

In a letter entitled "On the Danger of Having too High an Opinion of Human Nature," 73 Lien Chi points out other errors resulting from such an ideal conception of man. In spite of the many discourses which have been written throughout the ages extolling and teaching the dignity of man, Lien Chi, judging from his own observations and experiences, contends that "men appear more apt to err by having too high, than by having too despicable an opinion of their nature; and, by attempting to exalt their original place in creation, depress their real value in society." Then the Chinese philosopher proceeds to satirize this exaltation of man whom he refers to as "wiser indeed than the monkey, and more active than the oyster"--surely an unromantic, non-idealistic picture! It is this high opinion of human nature which leads to the evil of demigods. These "great men" are more prevalent and more successful in ignorant and barbarous countries than in the more civilized nations not because man's nature is different but because the boundaries of knowledge widen and refined nations "generally have too close an inspection into human weakness, to think it invested with celestial power." 74

Luxury

A very good example of Goldsmith's liberal, tolerant, and cosmopolitan outlook as well as of his realistic and anti-primitivistic views is his theory of the relative benefits of luxury for civilized and uncivilized countries. Much has been written concerning the inconsistency of his statements on luxury as they occur throughout his works, but that such is not the true case has been shown by both Howard Bell and Earl Miner in their excellent studies of The Deserted Village. 75 Goldsmith's special concern
with the problem of luxury as he considered it to exist for England very probably led him to take a special interest in its history and to analyze its benefits and liabilities. Both Miner and Bell have defended Goldsmith's apparently contradictory assertions concerning luxury as various facets in his complex, and not inconsistent, total view. The comments in The Citizen of the World which relate to luxury in refined and unrefined nations are important not only as part of Goldsmith's examination of the entire problem but also in their connection with the particular application of his ideas to England and as a reflection of his theories of moderation and compensation. In the course of the total discussion of luxury Lien Chi functions variously as the traveller observer, the traveller historian and philosopher, and the traveller as a man of feeling who takes a special interest in the problems of the country where he temporarily resides.

Lien Chi corresponds with Fum Hoam about the controversy being carried on among the philosophers of Europe concerning the value of the virtues of the uncultivated nations—those countries, that is, which subsist without any of the modern arts and sciences and which are supposedly without the vices to be found only in the more polished societies. In Lien Chi's opinion, that which may be of great service and benefit in a civilized land may be harmful or useless in an unrefined country; and that this is the case is not a deplorable situation but is completely in accord with the nature, interests, and wants of the inhabitants. Those who contend that the sciences would be immediately useful throughout the uncivilized nations are just as mistaken as those who advocate their destruction in the populous, refined countries. Men of all countries—whether savage or civilized—are interested only in what best fulfills their happiness. Activities and
endeavors must in some way be related to sensual desire of one form or another—man's nature is simply this way! Books and art are of little interest to people who may be struggling every day in order to eke out a mere existence. But it is equally true that a man will not engage himself in a more laborious way of life if his present one satisfies his needs. An advanced mode of farming would not excite a man who is quite content with his less laborious employment of hunting and who sees no advantage in spending long days cultivating the earth. But if the game should disappear, then one might be able to interest him in agricultural processes.77)

A barbarian's desires are few and thus his curiosity and his interests are equally narrow. But that these nations have no time or interest in the refined pleasures does not make them better people nor their state of life more desirable or worthy of emulation. As Lien Chi writes to Fum Hoam, "From such a picture of nature in primeval simplicity, tell me, my much respected friend, are you in love with fatigue and solitude?" There is no attempt on the part of Lien Chi to advocate such a "simple" way of life for the more civilized—and, to some eighteenth century authors, the more corrupt—society. At the same time, however, he does not regard those people as basically any worse. In time, in fact, these nations will themselves become refined. As population increases, as the means of livelihood begin to widen, as laws become necessary to protect property and to join the people together in a civil society, as the struggle for survival becomes less severe and perhaps hardly even a struggle; there will be both an increase of leisure time and thus a growing interest in a different side of life. This interest has concurrent with it a need to be satisfied, and something will eventually be found—invented or discovered—which will meet this desire. "Sensual enjoyment," says Lien Chi, "adds wings to curiosity."
Objects are of interest to man only as they have some connection with his desires, entertainment, or necessities.

A desire of enjoyment first interests our passions in the pursuit, points out the object of investigation, and reason then comments where sense has led the way. An increase in the number of our enjoyments, therefore, necessarily produces an increase of scientific research; but in countries where almost every enjoyment is wanting, reason there seems destitute of its great inspirer, and speculation is the business of fools when it becomes its own reward.

It is not science which stimulates pleasures but the desire for pleasures which produces an interest in satisfying these needs. It is not stupidity but wisdom on the part of the savage which causes him not to waste his time in pursuit of knowledge which will assist neither his pleasure nor is prompted by curiosity. Like the cobbler, more knowledge would only cause him to be unhappy; "it might lend a ray to show him the misery of his situation, but could not guide him in his efforts to avoid it." "Ignorance," says the Chinese philosopher, "is the happiness of the poor."

But a country's condition and the state of its inhabitants are not static but will slowly pass through various stages and will eventually reach a state of "superfluity, when luxury is then introduced, and demands its continual supply." Then it will be the time that the sciences become "necessary and useful; the state then cannot subsist without them; they must then be introduced at once to teach men to draw the greatest possible quantity of pleasure from circumscribed possession, and to restrain them within the bounds of moderate enjoyment." For luxury brings with it the antidote for its possible poisons in its stimulation of the arts and sciences. It is due to luxury that man has found both the time and the motivation to become interested in ideas; to write; to discover; to practice benevolence, generosity, and even justice. By increasing man's wants luxury simultaneously increases man's capacity for happiness, especially
happiness of a cultivated nature. Whatever the primitivists may say against it, luxury is what adds the "spur to curiosity, and gives us a desire of becoming more wise." "Examine the history of any country remarkable for opulence and wisdom," states the Chinese historian, "you will find they would never have been wise had they not first been luxurious." Luxury, likewise, by increasing man's self-interest, increases his political interests since what endangers the strength of the nation is a danger to him. Luxury, as a motivation to knowledge, as the creator of numerous employments, or as the provider of new "inlets to happiness" deserves man's support and his commendation.

But as time passes in a luxurious nation and as wealth continues to increase, luxury passes beyond the healthy stage--beyond the stage of moderation--and brings disaster and ruin in its train. For a man's happiness must not be accomplished at the expense of others. As, according to Lien Chi, Confucius expressed it: "We should enjoy as many of the luxuries of life as are consistent with our own safety, and the prosperity of others." It is now that Lien Chi's message takes on a special significance for England; for as luxury, generally assisted by commerce, becomes greater and greater, its effects begin to be more harmful than beneficial to the nation as a whole. Individuals become motivated only by avarice and the selfish desire for personal gain. Forgetting the good of the country in their own egoistic endeavors, they accumulate great riches in their own hands and they become lazy and degenerate. Continuing on the road to more and more amassed riches, the country neglects to consider and to cultivate the good of all the people and thus weakens the country at what should be its strongest point. It is moderation which maintains a just and happy equilibrium; it is excess that brings ruin.
History, as Lien Chi tries to show, emphasizes the truth of these assertions, and it is time that England took warning from such lessons as that of the example of Rome. Signs of trouble and of decay already exist in the state of literature and in the state of society. Man must learn to stem his desires before he finds himself in the despicable condition of the avaricious Dutch and before the poor are ground into a despairing condition of poverty or are shipped off to the colonies where they will eventually assist in the further destruction of England's power.

References to the decay and degeneration of Rome and of other wealthy, commercial nations are used throughout The Citizen of the World both to show the folly of human ambition and the results of personal uses of power by rulers, and to serve as veiled warnings that the same might be happening to England and the British Empire.

Ruin was the first sight presented to Goldsmith's Chinese traveller as he passed the great wall of China—prospects which might "humble the pride of kings and repress human vanity." Once the seat of luxury and the arts, this land was brought to destruction through the personal ambition of its prince. Continuing on his journey, Lien Chi passes through a country dependent on China and ruled by its officers and governors. Here, already, in the abuses by these officials of the exercise of their "duties," is an example of the problems involved with a country's possession of colonies. In this case Goldsmith is subtly emphasizing for the English government the necessity of sending honest, just, and loyal men to these distant provinces: "The more distant the government, the honester should be the governor to whom it is intrusted; for hope of impunity is a strong inducement to violation."\(^2\) Certainly, too, this is not a very idealistic conception of man's basic character.
In Fum Hoam's praise of the history of China, the objects selected for comment serve as suggestions obviously relevant to England. Here occurs the proposition that filial obedience helps to unite and strengthen the entire nation and not merely the family unit. In the traditions of China one can see examples of princes who regarded themselves as the fathers and protectors of their people and not in the position of accumulating wealth and glory at their expense. Likewise, there have been a long line of philosophers who fought the inroads of superstition, prejudice, and tyranny and who sacrificed personal contentment and material wealth in order to secure and preserve the good of all. All of Europe might take heed from such examples.

We have already looked at one example of the low position of the Dutch (Letter CXVIII) and in Letter LVI Fum Hoam again refers to their degeneration. Although they may be in control of the Indian seas, they are merely slaves in their own state. "No longer the sons of freedom, but of avarice; no longer assertors of their rights by courage, but by negotiations; fawning on those who insult them, and crouching under the rod of every neighbouring power. Without a friend to save them in distress, and without virtue to save themselves; their government is poor, and their private wealth will serve but to invite some neighbouring invader." And in case of any doubt that the condition of the Dutch is intended as a lesson for England, Lien Chi points out the relation between the two in his citing of the British politician's views of the nature and objectives of England's government and economy:

'What have we...to do with the wars on the Continent?' we are a commercial nation; we have only to cultivate commerce, like our neighbours the Dutch; it is our
business to increase trade by settling new colonies; riches are the strength of a nation; and, for the rest, our ships, our ships alone will protect us. 85

In Letter II Lien Chi had already indicated his opinion of the possible folly involved in a nation's founding an empire on the "unstable element" of the sea; 86 and now, in order to point up the errors in the politician's way of thinking and thus the faults of certain conditions and policies of the English nation, Lien Chi relates the story of "The Rise and Declension of the Kingdom of Lao." 87 This story actually reveals Goldsmith's ideas about the natural development of a nation at the same time that it presents his ideas on the problem of excessive luxury and its destructive effects. Here we see a country growing from a condition of primitive simplicity to one of elegance and refinement with its subsequent division of labor and growth of luxuries. For a long period of time there existed a proper balance of power between the artisans and the soldiers of the country while there was a desire only to preserve internal security rather than to accumulate more possessions. Engaging in commerce with other nations who then had to fear neither its ambition nor its excessive strength, Lao continued to grow in wealth and luxury. Though their opulence now invited the invader, they still were internally strong enough to maintain their own security. But as wealth increased so did ambition and avarice, and the nation began to acquire and populate colonies. The riches temporarily derived from these new possessions only hastened their progress toward more luxurious, voluptuous, and degenerate living while the state began to resemble a body "bloated with disease, whose bulk is only a symptom of its wretchedness." Finally, weakened and ultimately deserted by its colonies, its inhabitants degenerate and impotent, Lao was invaded and conquered by a more powerful nation. Then concludes Lien Chi:
Happy, very happy might they have been, had they known when to bound their riches and their glory; had they known that extending empire is often diminishing power; that countries are ever strongest which are internally powerful; that colonies, by draining away the brave and enterprising, leave the country in hands of the timid and avaricious; that walls give little protection, unless manned with resolution; that too much commerce may injure a nation as well as too little; and that there is a wide difference between a conquering and a flourishing empire.

Most important, then, is the maintenance of inner strength—the character of the people and thus the cultivation and consideration of all the people, not just the rich. Likewise important is the continuation of a state of moderate wealth and luxury. A country must not indulge its desire for excessive riches, power, or glory through an extension of dominions; for by thus going beyond the bounds prescribed by both reason and prudence, a nation only brings about its own destruction.

The culmination of these historical examples and warnings occurs in "A City-Night Piece" (Letter CXVII) where Lien Chi predicts the possibility of such a destruction for England. "There will come a time," he exclaims, "when this temporary solitude may be made continual, and the city itself ... fade away, and leave a desert in its room." And he considers the fact that other cities, at one time greater even than London, now exist only in ruins for the "sorrowful traveller" to behold and from them to learn wisdom. Senate house, theatres, and temples are fallen and through the fault of "luxury and avarice." The state failed to reward its useful members while it cultivated riches and opulence which, in turn, only served as enticements to the invader who finally "swept the defendants into undistinguished destruction." And while the clock strikes the early morning hour, Lien Chi wanders the streets of London where he finds testimony to England's failure to care for her people. Strangers, wanderers, orphans—beset by disease
and some without even rags for clothing—attempt to find a temporary resting place "at the doors of the opulent"; and women, "prostituted to the gay luxurious villain," are perhaps even now lying at the doors of their seducers.

Considering not only the plight of these wretches whom he observes, Lien Chi reflects on the attention paid to the slightest misfortune of the great while "the poor weep unheeded, persecuted by every subordinate species of tyranny, and every law which gives others security, becomes an enemy to them." 89

Through a strength of presentation and language which might almost be termed poetic yet certainly appropriate to the character of the philosophic sympathizer with mankind, Goldsmith here truly conveys the seriousness of his message.

Oppression of the Poor

In the "City-Night Piece" it was shown that one of the means by which the poor are oppressed is by the very laws which should exist for their protection. In the letters there are many references to these laws and a connection is shown to exist between them and a state of excessive luxury or, in other words, with signs of degeneration in the strength of a nation. However, in Letter LXXX, entitled "The Evil Tendency of Increasing Penal Laws, or Enforcing even Those Already in Being with Rigour," Goldsmith, apparently with the hope of encouraging its continuation since elsewhere in the letters he remarks that no people in the world were burdened with so many laws, 90 praises the spirit of mercy which exists in English law and law enforcement. But he primarily uses this as an opportunity to point out the dangers of conducting the country in any other manner. He
emphasizes the fact that a country characterized by severe law is under the most terrible species of tyranny; for while a "royal tyrant" is "dreadful to the great... numerous penal laws grind every rank of people, and chiefly those least able to resist oppression—the poor." Penal laws do not actually diminish or repress crime; and while they may secure property, they at the same time diminish personal security. For any law is capable of being used unjustly; and when laws are more numerous and where, especially, magistrates are mercenary, "the more laws, the wider means, not of satisfying justice, but of satiating avarice." That injustice is being exercised in the enforcement of laws may be seen in the discussion of the English "seraglios" where Lien Chi describes the "magistrates, the country justices and squires" as first "debauching young virgins, and then punishing the transgression."

Emphasis in the letters is also placed on the current marriage laws to which Goldsmith was very much opposed. In Letter LXXII Lien Chi humorously writes, "Would you believe it, my dear Fum Hoam, there are laws which even forbid the people's marrying each other!" The reference is apparently to a law passed in 1753 and now generally known as Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act. The provisions of this statute were intended to put an end to the "Fleet marriages often performed by bogus parsons" and the clandestine marriages of those, for example, who were unable to obtain their parents' consent. The censure of this law which occurs in The Citizen of the World is very similar to Goldsmith's unfavorable review of it in his History of England, published in 1771. In both cases he satirizes the supposed purpose of the act; and he criticizes its effects on the relationship between the rich and the poor, on the accumulation of wealth, and on propagation itself. Almost every point of his historical
account of this law has a parallel somewhere in the letters. For example, he states in the *History* that the grievance which motivated the enactment of this legislation was "that the sons and daughters of opulent families were often seduced into marriage before they had acquired sufficient experience in life, to be sensible of the disparity of the match"; and in the letters he comments that what gave rise to the law were probably "some such accidents" as a wealthy girl who disappointed her parents by eloping with the footman or who "impaired her dignity, and mended her constitution, by marrying a farmer."

The provisions of this law are described by Goldsmith as follows:

This statute . . . enacted that the bans of marriage should be regularly published three successive Sundays in the church of the parish where both parties had resided for one month, at least, before the ceremony. It declared, that any marriage solemnized without this previous publication, or a license obtained from the bishop's court, should be void, and that the person who solemnized it should be transported for seven years.

Goldsmith's opinion of the various facets of the law are reflected in these statements of Lien Chi:

There are laws which ordain, that no woman shall marry against her father and mother's consent, unless arrived at an age of maturity; by which is understood those years when women with us are generally past childbearing. This must be a clog upon matrimony, as it is more difficult for the lover to please three than one, and much more difficult to please old people than young ones. The laws ordain, that the consenting couple shall take a long time to consider before they marry: this is a very great clog, because people love to have all rash actions done in a hurry. It is ordained, that all marriages shall be proclaimed before celebration: this is a severe clog, as many are ashamed to have their marriage made public from motives of vicious modesty, and many afraid, from views of temporal interest. It is ordained, that there is nothing sacred in the ceremony but that it may be dissolved, to all intents and purposes, by the authority
of any civil magistrate. And yet, opposite to this
it is ordained, that the priest shall be paid a large.
sum of money for granting his sacred permission.97

Goldsmith contends that this law has, in reality, "laid a line between the
rich and poor" and, by preventing the poor from forming alliances with the
rich, has "left wealth to flow in its ancient channels, and thus to accu-

mulate, contrary to the interests of the state."98 Not only this, but
population itself is being affected through this failure to encourage
propagation.99 And in a rather interesting analogy, Lien Chi ironically
remarks, "The laws of this country are finely calculated to promote all
commerce but the commerce between the sexes. Their encouragement for
propagating hemp, madder, and tobacco, are indeed admirable; Marriages are
the only commodity that meets with discouragement."100

But Goldsmith's concern is certainly not with a "utopian middle
class"101 but with the working classes as a whole, and even this attitude
is not based on sentimental feelings for their plight. Lien Chi remarks
at one point that he despises the multitude,102 and his description of the
people at a state procession is not flattering. In relation to the latter
he remarks that he determined to attend the spectacle in order to observe
the effects it had on the faces of the crowd and resolved "to make one in
the mob, to shout as they shouted, to fix with earnestness upon the same
frivolous objects, and participate for a while the pleasures and the wishes
of the vulgar."103 But his very description shows that he is not truly
a part of this activity but, rather, a detached and critical spectator.

Though Goldsmith neither identifies himself with this group nor
defends their attitudes or activities, he expresses belief that the success
and stability of the government and of the entire nation depends on just
treatment, protection, and concern for them. Their oppression by law, by
the aristocracy, by an undue concentration of wealth in the hands of a few
with its concurrent evils must somehow be prevented. The failure on the
part of the monarch, of the aristocracy, or of the ministry to consider
their basic good at all times is directly contributing to the destruction
of the country's strong position. To carry on wars, always hardest on the
poor, for trivial or personal reasons; to mask selfish ambition with the
cry of "liberty" and of "democracy"; to people the colonies with the so-
called "waste of an exuberant nation" are, by undermining the foundation
of the country, all contributing to political and national suicide. For
these are the people who comprise the "laborious" and the "enterprising,"
who are contributing and serviceable members of English society. Clearly,
there is no compensation for the destruction of these men--"the sinews of
the people"--and they must be "cherished with every degree of political
indulgence."^104

Assets and Liabilities of the Contemporary Situation

One of Goldsmith's concerns in his examination of the various nations
is the different forms of government; and, basically, his contention is
that a government must be suited to the character of its people and the
economy and state of development of the nation. There is no one form of
government which would be suitable for all countries just as each variety
has its virtues and vices. But here, as elsewhere in The Citizen of the
World, a special concern and partiality for England is revealed. The
English government seems both particularly well suited to the country as
well as an exceptionally good form. From the condition of its constitution,
England affords its subjects the most "perfect state of civil liberty"
which can be imagined; they enjoy "all the advantages of democracy, with
this superior prerogative borrowed from monarchy, that the severity of their laws may be relaxed without endangering the constitution!" The people of republics, on the other hand, often run the danger of becoming slaves to laws which they themselves have made while the danger of unmixed monarchy is that of becoming a slave to the will of one, fallible man. 105

Every day in England certain laws are transgressed without harm to others and without danger of punishment; but when such offences become excessive and obstruct either the "happiness of society" or the safety of the state, then "Justice" is enforced.

It is to this ductility of the laws that an Englishman owes the freedom he enjoys superior to others in a more popular government: every step, therefore, the constitution takes towards a democratic form, every diminution of the regal authority, is, in fact, a diminution of the subject's freedom; but every attempt to render the government more popular, not only impairs natural liberty, but even will, at last, dissolve the political constitution. 106

Conditions of the government and the strength of the monarchy as they now exist are best suited for the happiness of the people and the stability of the nation. But there are signals of trouble, and these are masked as attempts to become more democratic. Here again the example of Rome is pointed to in its having enjoyed more actual freedom under tyrants than it had under the many legal injunctions of the commonwealth where "their laws were become numerous and painful, in which new laws were every day enacting, and the old ones executed with rigour." And, though seemingly predicting what might happen in the future, Lien Chi's words, especially in light of his statements elsewhere, are clearly intended as a criticism of certain contemporary activities and policies and as a serious warning of any lessening of the prerogative of the king for a corresponding increase of the power of the ministry.
The constitution of England is at present possessed of the strength of its native oak, and the flexibility of the bending tamarisk; but should the people at any time, with a mistaken zeal, pant after imaginary freedom, and fancy that abridging monarchy was increasing their privileges, they would be very much mistaken, since every jewel plucked from the crown of majesty, would only be made use of as a bribe to corruption: it might enrich the few who shared it among them, but would in fact impoverish the public.

As the Roman senators, by slow and imperceptible degrees, became masters of the people, yet still flattered them with a show of freedom, while themselves only were free; so it is possible for a body of men, while they stand up for privileges, to grow into an exuberance of power themselves, and the public become actually dependent, while some of its individuals only govern.

In spite of its title "The Rise or the Decline of Literature not Dependent on Man, But Resulting from the Vicissitudes of Nature" and even in the face of many of the remarks contained within the letter as well as of other ideas which appear elsewhere concerning the natural development and decline of nations, Letter LXIII is still representative of Goldsmith's belief that the decay and degeneration of countries and of its literature could be warded off. His purpose here, as elsewhere, is through a discussion of other countries or through narrative examples to make the English see the relevance of his remarks for themselves and for the condition of their own country. In his statements concerning the decline of China, it is not China's degeneration that he is emphasizing but the signs of this decay: that her laws have become venal, that her merchants are deceitful, and that the arts and sciences are decaying. And, in spite of his attributing the cause of this decay to Nature and to the "natural revolution of things" rather than to a voluntary degeneracy, his faith and sincerity in this contention are questionable. Rather, by stating that periods of enlightenment and of degeneration seem to have been
universal, he thus is able to point naturally to Europe for an examination of its present conditions. Here it appears, says Lien Chi, that the decline is advanced further than in China; for "mathematical disquisition" and "metaphysical subtleties" have replaced the study of morality," learning has begun to be separated from "the useful duties and concerns of life," while "every great attempt [is] suppressed by prudence, and the rapturous sublimity in writing cooled by a cautious fear of offence." There are "few of those daring spirits, who bravely ventured to be wrong, and who are willing to hazard much for the sake of great acquisitions" to be found. There are, that is, very few philosophers and citizens of the world who are willing to sacrifice their own happiness and temporal well-being in order to obtain and to secure what is best for all, in order to teach and to unite nations. And have conditions reached the point, wonders Lien Chi, that man is to be left with only a love of wisdom while he is ignorant of or incapable of exercising and enjoying its advantages? Does not Goldsmith herein imply that man should use the learning and wisdom he has already attained in order to preserve and improve the present state of civilized development rather than to assist in its destruction?

The real objective of this letter seems, then, both to support and to throw light on all of the letters in the series which have criticized and satirized such topics as useless learning; the failure of the clergy, of the "Republic of Letters," and of the nobility to fulfill their duties; the trends of literature which are contrary to its proper functions; and many others. For all of these subjects relate to the health of England—political, social, and literary—and to the health and prosperity of all of its people. The failure of any important economic, social, or governmental group to fulfill its duties affects and is reflected in the entire
country; and the same is true of literature and the other arts. Just as it is in the power of, and should be the responsibility of, the wealthy and the nobility to be useful to others and to encourage the arts and the sciences; it is the duty of literature in a polite society to correct the excesses of refinement, to "win its way to a heart already relaxed in all the effeminacy of refinement." Those members of the nobility who engage themselves in frivolous and meaningless pursuits are a testimony to the degeneration of the entire group; and those books which have no lessons to teach, which only serve to hack to pieces the reputation of others and to condemn what may be actually useful, which "address those passions which all have, or would be ashamed to disown," or which are more employed in "describing to the imagination than striking at the heart," are a reflection on the literary profession as a whole while they do nothing to improve the people of the nation. The accomplishment of one's duty may entail a moderation of riches and of other personal indulgences, but it is compensated for both by the self-satisfaction connected with it and by its contribution to the country. The indulgence in personal avarice, ambition, laziness, or hatred has no compensation but a poor character and a fallen nation.

Expression of Feeling

Lien Chi's attitude throughout The Citizen of the World is basically realistic, rational, and un-sentimental. The ideas presented on romantic love; on gratitude; on friendship; on justice and generosity; and on the necessity of prudence, moderation, and temperance are all representative of this point of view. Discussions concerning the basic nature of man; the characteristics, historical development, and relative importance of
nations; and the virtues and vices correspondent with luxury are all attempts to be impartial and objective. Likewise, in the narration of potentially sentimental episodes, there is always an attempt to underplay emotion. At times, in fact, Lien Chi's stoic reactions to tragic occurrences border on the ridiculous. His lamentation may be vehement but always brief, and he is quickly able to philosophize and to generalize upon his own misfortune and to relate it to the larger picture of mankind. For example, at the news that his wife and daughter have been taken captive by the Chinese Emperor, the Chinese philosopher remarks that though these are indeed "circumstances of distress" and though his tears must fall, he submits to the "stroke of heaven." "I hold," says Lien Chi, "the volume of Confucius in my hand, and, as I read, grow humble, and patient, and wise." And then he proceeds to use the remainder of the letter for the purposes of giving a lecture on the mutability of fortune, on man's ability to bear misfortune, and on the proper functions of travellers. At such times Lien Chi's character seems both cold and unnatural, but his reaction is in accord with Goldsmith's dislike of excessive emotionalism and with the attempt to portray Lien Chi as rational and realistic.

That the lack of sentimental episodes and description is intentional may be seen by the way in which Hingpo's and Zelis's reunion is described. Having at various intervals in the series built up the reader's interest in their relationship and separation so that the possibility of a romantic meeting had at least been prepared for, Lien Chi remarks: "Were I to hold the pen of a novelist, I might be prolix in describing their feelings at so unexpected an interview; but you may conceive their joy without my assistance: words were unable to express their transports, then how can words describe it?" And thus at the same time having subtly implied a
criticism of the prolixity of certain novelists, Lien Chi summarily decides Hingpo's and Zelis's future; and they are married in the very next paragraph.

But also contained within the letters are some quite sincere expressions of sentiment and feeling on the part of Lien Chi. The fact that many of these statements can be related to Goldsmith biographically may help to account for their warmth or special appeal but does not mean that he was unaware or unconscious of their content or connection with his own life. His very choice of a traveller as the means through which he might be able to convey his ideas was probably influenced by his own recent experiences as a traveller on the Continent, but certainly this choice would have been conscious as it was natural. Since a man writes best concerning objects with which he is familiar, the success of the letters relating such biographically connected experiences as the story of the Man in Black should not be surprising. Surely the most unsentimental of authors at some time or other uses meaningful experiences from his own life in order to enrich his work. If the sentiment expressed by the citizen of the world can be interpreted as Goldsmith's own feelings, it should be remembered that the ideas and problems which Lien Chi discusses in the letters are likewise the author's opinions. And though these utterances of warmth and feeling may, at times, seem out of keeping with the stoic and rational character of Lien Chi, it should be noted that the Chinese wanderer's personality is consistently depicted as more complex than this. In his attempt to view things realistically, Lien Chi also accepts the fact that there are some matters which reason does not seem able to explain. His own statements concerning his feeling for home, for family, and for
friends reflect and, on occasion, even give articulation to this sane awareness. The realization that these affections are basically irrational and his presentation of this realistic attitude should free his remarks from the stigma of sentimentalism. They are, however, the sincere expressions on the part of a character who acknowledges his concern for all mankind and especially for those who are most familiar to him. Without a feeling for those human relationships which are a part of every person's life, his concern for all of humanity would appear to lack both depth and motivation and would, in fact, be very difficult to accept.

Two especially important relationships in these letters are those between Lien Chi and Fum Hoam and Lien Chi and Drybone. Fum Hoam is the guide of the Chinese philosopher's youth, his old friend and teacher; while the Man in Black is his guide and companion while he is in London. Fum Hoam represents Lien Chi's ties with his past—stable friendship, family, country, home—while Drybone is connected with both his present and future and thus with his wandering nature and philosophic quest. Although Lien Chi is continual and consistent in expressing affection for Fum Hoam, it is with the Man in Black that he continues his journeys.

In his separation from his old and revered friend Lien Chi does experience sadness and loneliness. One means of finding relief from this pain is the natural one of correspondence. "How insupportable," writes Lien Chi, "would be this separation, this immeasurable distance from my friend, were I not thus to delineate my heart upon paper, and to send thee daily a map of my mind!" And Fum Hoam is equally desirous of hearing from his friend: "The distant sounds of music, that catch new sweetness as they vibrate through the long-drawn valley, are not more pleasing to the ear than the tidings of a far distant friend."
But Fum Hoam does not actually approve of Lien Chi's actions, and he severely reminds him of the necessity of combining the pleasures of the mind with those of the practical world—with the need to experience life itself. He points out the two extremes in regard to sensual and sentimental enjoyments, both of which are equally wrong: "the savage who swallows down the draught of pleasure without staying to reflect on his happiness; and the sage, who passeth the cup while he reflects on the conveniences of drinking." He also blames the fate of Lien Chi's family on his imprudence which is a serious accusation in terms of Lien Chi's own ideals. "How long, my friend," asks Fum Hoam, "shall an enthusiasm for knowledge continue to obstruct your happiness, and tear you from all the connections that make life pleasing? How long will you continue to rove from climate to climate, circled by thousands, and yet without a friend, feeling all the inconveniences of a crowd, and all the anxiety of being alone?"* In answering Fum Hoam's criticisms, Lien Chi begins to reveal his objectives. It has been, as his friend had stated, the chief business of his life to procure wisdom, but that wisdom was sought in order to make him happy and not merely to satisfy his curiosity. His purpose has been to increase his own understanding through an examination of mankind and, in turn, to help increase the understanding and to instruct the hearts of others. And through his travels he has, in addition, steeled his body and his mind against the vicissitudes of nature, fortune, and despair.  

But the journey is lonely and Lien Chi looks forward to his son's joining him: "He shall be my companion in every intended journey for the future; in his company I can support the fatigues of the way with redoubled ardour, pleased at once with conveying instruction, and exerting obedience."*
And he still thinks of his native home with feelings of tenderness and even longing and attempts to explain this emotion in one of his letters to Hingpo where he states that a person's attachment to an object depends to a large extent upon his length of acquaintance with it. "A mind long habituated to a certain set of objects, insensibly becomes fond of seeing them, visits them from habit, and parts from them with reluctance . . ." In a letter to the Merchant in Amsterdam he echoes these same ideas while attempting to determine why he cannot remain in London in spite of its many benefits.

. . . I know not how, I could not be content to reside here for life. There is something so seducing in that spot in which we first had existence, that nothing but it can please. Whatever vicissitudes we experience in life, however we toil, or wherever we wander, our fatigued wishes still recur to home for tranquility; we long to die in that spot which gave us birth, and in that pleasing expectation opiate every calamity.

He also writes to Fum Hoam about how his heart still lingers around his home in China—"scenes of former happiness"—and that he enjoys remembering these places even if only in his imagination. Finally, in one of the most sensitive passages in The Citizen of the World, Goldsmith foreshadows an image of his famous poem The Traveller:

The farther I travel, I feel the pain of separation with stronger force; those ties that bind me to my native country and you, are still unbroken. By every remove, I only drag a greater length of chain.

These expressions of local attachment and sensitivity appear to be quite sincere and warm. Their presence is surely appropriate in a work which purports to be an attempt to teach people morality, to help them bear the misfortunes of life, and to assist them in their pursuit of
happiness. For as Fum Hoam attempted to convince Lien Chi and as the "discontented wanderer" himself assented, a large part of one's happiness derives from sharing in the happiness and joy of others and from being with loved ones. It is by having Hingpo with him that Lien Chi had planned to compensate for the hardship and loneliness of his wanderings, and it is with Drybone--his "companion, guide, and instructor" from whom he had once said he would be very sad to part--that the citizen of the world will continue his travels.

. . . the world being but one city to me, I do not much care in which of the streets I happen to reside: I shall, therefore, spend the remainder of my life in examining the manners of different countries, and have prevailed upon the man in black to be my companion. 'They must often change,' says Confucius, 'who would be constant in happiness or wisdom.'

C

In this study of The Citizen of the World I have attempted to show that Goldsmith exercised certain conscious techniques and that he was seriously concerned with the expression of a few major ideas. The idea of the "traveller" serves as the basic device of the work and is used in almost every conceivable manner. It is the traveller who is able to tell about his travels through various nations and to report his conclusions concerning these countries; it is the oriental traveller who satirizes the oriental fad of England and lends a particularly humorous slant to the satire on the manifestations of national partiality; it is the citizen of the world who can comment on the purposes of literature and the duties of the learned; it is the man who sympathizes with all mankind who can be concerned with the problems of the individual and of the nation; and it is
the philosophic wanderer who must continue his travels while retaining a special affection for his family, friends, and homeland.

In his many comments, it is not the purpose of Goldsmith's traveller to condemn passions, feeling, or personal enjoyment, but to urge moderation in all areas of life. It is not his aim to extol one nation, one way of life, one class, or one type of government but to show that each may have its good and bad features; and, as each period of individual life has its compensations, so each phase of national development has compensations as well.

Much that is present in The Citizen of the World—the traveller, national differences, problems of luxury, oppression of the poor—is also present in others of Goldsmith's important works. It is hoped that the following discussion will help to emphasize the preceding arguments and to offer more proof of Goldsmith's concern with ideas and of the complexity of his works.
III. The Traveller; or a Prospect of Society

Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
My heart untravell'd fondly turns to thee;
Still to my brother turns, with ceaseless pain,
And drags at each remove a lengthening chain.¹

These lines, which are a poetic rendering of a sentiment expressed previously by Goldsmith in The Citizen of the World,² indicate the close resemblance between Lien Chi and the narrator of The Traveller. This connection is particularly apparent in passages which reveal their feeling and sensitivity; for the objects of the "traveller's" affectionate regard and the passages in the poem reflecting his personal sentiments are echoes of the Chinese philosopher's attitudes towards Fum Hoam and towards his family, home, and native land. Just as Lien Chi acknowledges his deep regard for his old friend and teacher, so the "traveller" sincerely avows his love and respect for his brother and the pain which he suffers as a result of their separation. Also like the Chinese traveller, the wanderer of the poem entertains fond memories of the family and home which he has left behind; yet, in spite of recognizing the loneliness and hazards of the journey, he refuses to alter his course and return to his loved ones. Likewise, though both wanderers describe themselves as citizens of the world who feel sympathy for all mankind, each reveals his local and natural attachments—his unbroken ties to his homeland and his special concern for personal friends and family. The "traveller," too, functions as a detached spectator and commentator
on the nations through which he has journeyed, and the poem is ostensibly the result of his quest to find "that happiest spot below." But in each case there is clearly a discrepancy between the professed cosmopolitan point of view and the particular partiality and concern for England which is revealed; while, as I shall try to show, The Traveller is actually a carefully structured portrayal of the same message which occupies such an important and prominent position among the more diverse topics of The Citizen of the World. And in this preoccupation with England and her problems, especially with the issue of liberty or freedom, and in its basic method of a survey of nations, the poem reveals its inheritance from and close connections with eighteenth century literary tradition.

The eighteenth century attitude toward other nations and foreign travel seems to have consistently entailed a comparison and contrast with England and her institutions, and the political world of the continental scene was emphasized to such an extent that the young man on the "grand tour" or the British traveller in general "knew in advance what he was going to see and think." Long before Goldsmith wrote his "prospect of society" the English reading public had come to expect that a descriptive travel poem would embody political sentiments; and many descriptions or examples--such as the fall of Rome, the classical antithesis of liberty versus luxury and corruption, the connection of freedom with the primitive tribes of the north, accounts of the natural rise and fall of civilizations and cultures, and numerous other appeals to history and to the ancients--were common features of such works. Some of the works of James Thomson, especially Liberty (1735-1736), Britannia (1729),
and parts of *The Seasons* (1726-1744) are important examples of this tradition; and *The Traveller* bears many resemblances to them. In fact, the following statement, which appeared as an advertisement to parts of *Liberty*, could be validly applied, with little or no alteration, to Goldsmith's own poem:

> The Design of this Poem, is to Trace the Rise, Progress, and Fall of Liberty, thro' the several States where she has flourished, to her Establishment in Britain, with the melancholy Prospect Attending the Loss of it, and advice to Britons how to preserve and compleat theirs.\(^6\)

One of the major concerns of Goldsmith in *The Traveller* is the liberty of England and the importance of her retaining this vital characteristic. Those nations and ethnic characteristics which are included in the poem were all chosen by Goldsmith because of their traditional associations with liberty or the loss of liberty. The account of these countries and their inhabitants, therefore, is very selective, for Goldsmith chose only those characteristics or historical occurrences which would in some way be of assistance in conveying his message for England. The poem, both in method and purpose, is in line with earlier eighteenth century tradition and reflects not only the use of the ancients so common during the period but also Goldsmith's borrowings and imitations of more modern writers as well as his characteristic repetition of his own ideas and sentiments. But what is perhaps more important for our purposes is that this work is another example of Goldsmith's serious interest in ideas and of his continuing awareness of certain political and social problems in contemporary England.

Although there are numerous other similarities between *The Citizen of the World* and *The Traveller* in addition to those mentioned previously,
one of the basic differences lies in the poem's more singly directed purpose and the fact that every passage or aspect of the work contributes in some way to this goal. The Citizen of the World, on the other hand, is neither so unified nor so concentrated in purpose. Its characters and subject matter fulfill many different functions and do not always have a bearing upon ideas or problems with which the work may be principally concerned. Even Fum Hoam is used primarily as a means of throwing light upon the personality of Lien Chi and as a natural recipient for the latter's ideas on almost any topic. The Chinese philosopher's home and family serve a similar purpose. All of these—friends, family, and home—rather than themselves functioning as part of a moral, political, or social lesson, are used to reveal the background, humanity, and feeling of Lien Chi and thus to increase the acceptability of his satirical and critical comments. Such is not the case in The Traveller, for here the brother and the home have begun to operate as objective correlatives for the qualities which Goldsmith believed to form the strength and backbone of the nation and which he pictures as being in direct opposition to the forces threatening England with ruin and destruction. Early in the Dedication—which, should be regarded as important for the meaning and purpose of the poem itself—the characteristics of his brother which Goldsmith singles out for mention and praise foreshadow the poem's denunciation of avarice and excessive wealth. "Nature's ties"—"duty, love, and honor"—are attributes identified with Henry while, at the same time, he is shown to be free from the "fictitious bonds" of wealth and law. He desires wealth only in so far as it is necessary to satisfy his basic needs while his main concern is the careful fulfillment of his duties both as a
clergyman and as a human being. He is distinguished not only as a "labourer" in a "sacred office" but as a man who affords generous hospitality to strangers, who offers cheerful moments of rest from toil, and who provides a brief respite from "want and pain." It is not a luxury of wealth which he gives to others. From him one may only "learn the luxury of doing good." 

The simple virtues which are depicted in Henry and his family at the very beginning of the poem serve as the background for every description which follows. These values form the ideal standard in the work, and it is this way of life which later in the poem is shown as being destroyed by the inroads of selfish ambition and avarice.

As was true of The Citizen of the World, all of the material presented in the poem is made to appear the natural outcome of the character and interests of the central figure. It seems quite appropriate that the wandering son should reflect upon the life he has left behind—on the security and warmth of the family and on the joys he once shared with them. But due to his basically different nature, he is unable to return to these former relationships in any manner except in thought and expression. He recognizes that his destiny is filled with care and loneliness, but it is a journey which he cannot control—

Impell'd, with steps unceasing, to pursue
Some fleeting good, that mocks me with the view.

But though his quest will bring him neither material reward nor any ultimate solution to the question he seeks to answer, it offers him many compensations for the hardships he has to endure. It is not a single piece of ground which he desires to call his own, for the whole world exists for him and awaits his inspection. He is "creation's heir" and all the world is his.
Thus once again through the vehicle of the traveller Goldsmith has carefully and skillfully prepared the way for an exposition of many of his ideas. As the cosmopolitan narrator of the poem sits among the Alps, contemplating the countries which surround him, he reflects upon their different characteristics, on the effects of luxury, and on various contemporary problems. Here, in the attempts to identify what constitutes the principle of happiness in each nation, is a further development of Goldsmith's theory of compensation and a continuation of his advocacy of moderation and temperance as ruling principles in every area and phase of life.

National Partiality and Natural and Ethnic Characteristics

Although the treatment in The Traveller of national partiality and prejudice is not satirical as it was in The Citizen of the World, the ideas set forth concerning this matter are basically the same in both works. In the "traveller's" account of his search for a truly happy spot on earth, he points out that the inhabitants of every nation cry up their own country as being the ideal place in the world.

Such is the patriot's boast where'er we roam,
His first, best country, ever is at home.¹³

And by a traditional contrast between the two extremities of climate, the Negro baking in the sun next to a tepid ocean and the Laplander dwelling in freezing temperatures by a stormy and tempestuous sea are presented as being equally proud of and devoted to their own nations.¹⁴

Somewhat naturally related to the idea of national partiality is the concept of man's adjustment to his environment, and in a series of essays written in 1760, Goldsmith gives extensive consideration to this
aspect of human nature. "Let us then here pause," says the author, "to consider the wisdom of man in suiting himself to the climate, the soil, the society in which he has been born. Those peculiarities, which we are too apt to call barbarous, because they differ from our own, are often the effect of fine contrivance and well-guided sagacity." And with specific reference to the inhabitants of those countries lying in the extreme north he states,

Heaven seems to adapt the inhabitants to the miserable region in which they are placed: nature is there frozen up in almost endless winter, all the vegetable productions are stunted in their growth, and nothing appears to an European eye but endless horror and desolation. Yet these poor people, happy in their native stupidity, are perfectly satisfied, enjoy the uncertain meal with a voracious pleasure, and desire no more; for they know no better.

Here, as in The Citizen of the World, Goldsmith indicates that an important part of man's ability to adjust is the knowledge which he possesses; and in terms very similar to those used by Lien Chi in Letters XI and LXXXII Goldsmith thus reflects on the way of life of these northern primitives, who, like other unrefined peoples, are fortunate in their want of an exalted understanding.

This is a picture of nature, conforming to the hard rules of necessity. Knowledge would only serve to make them miserable, only shew them the horrors of their situation, without lending them a clue to escape. They seem made for the climate they inhabit; a climate which they love, and they only can love. Here, amidst rocks, in winter covered with snow, and in summer with moss, they lead a life of contented solitude, each couple living by themselves, and seeking a separate sustenance.

The very fact of man's adjustment to his environment and his almost natural partiality for his homeland are actually representative of the
operation of the principle of compensation—a doctrine as important in *The Traveller* as in *The Citizen of the World* and also an outgrowth of tradition. That this concept was not original with Goldsmith may be seen both by the fact that compensation as, for example, "a balancing of advantages between the astringent North and the genial South" has been shown to be an important feature of Thomson's descriptions of primitive virtue and also by the following comment of Johnson written in 1735 in relation to the *Voyage to Abyssinia* by Jerome Lobo:

The Reader . . . will discover, what will always be discover'd by a diligent and impartial Enquirer, that wherever Human Nature is to be found, there is a mixture of Vice and Virtue, a contest of Passion and Reason, and that the Creator doth not appear Partial in his Distributions, but has balanced in most Countries their particular Inconveniencies by particular Favours.19

Similarly, the narrator of *The Traveller* views each country as possessing a balance of good and evil and believes that what a nation lacks in one area is generally compensated for by something else. He does not contend that each nation is equally gifted with natural resources nor that the degree of civilization and refinement is everywhere the same; but he does assert that all countries possess an equal share of good—

And yet, perhaps, if countries we compare,
And estimate the blessings which they share,
Though patriots flatter, still shall wisdom find
An equal portion dealt to all mankind;
As different good, by art or nature given,
To different nations makes their blessing even.20

Whether or not the poem actually depicts the blessings as even is very questionable, but there is little doubt that the narrator, in spite of his apparent impartiality as a citizen of the world, does not regard every situation as admirable nor every nationality as worthy of emulation. Nevertheless, the conditions which do exist in each nation are depicted
as peculiarly well suited to the natural situation and to the character of the inhabitants, and the particular principle of happiness possessed by a country is presented, at least for purposes of the poem, as the natural outgrowth of these circumstances.

The detailed prospect of society includes only Italy, Switzerland, France, Holland, and Britain—all traditionally connected in some way with the ideal of freedom and with the corruption of luxury. These accounts are connected within the poem not only by presenting the "principle of happiness" characteristic of the nation concerned but also by contributing to the poem's progression towards its climactic account of England and the British Empire. They likewise are in agreement with The Citizen of the World's characterization and description of these nations and with its discussions concerning luxury and the differences and relative virtues of refined and unrefined countries.

In preparation for these accounts Goldsmith, in the Dedication, sets forth what he has attempted to show in the poem—"that every state has a particular principle of happiness, and that this principle in each state, and in our own in particular, may be carried to a mischievous excess." The same concept appears in the poem itself in the passage directly preceding the beginning of the "traveller's" survey of the nations. Here he not only makes a general statement relating to the over-indulgence and over-development of the particular asset, but he places special emphasis on the excessive development of wealth and commerce.

Where wealth and freedom reign, contentment fails,
And honour sinks where commerce long prevails.
Hence every state, to one loved blessing prone,
Conforms and models life to that alone.
Each to the favorite happiness attends,
And spurns the plan that aims at other ends;
'Til carried to excess in each domain,
This favorite good begets peculiar pain. 22

This early mention of both freedom and commerce is very significant.
It foreshadows both Goldsmith's prophecy in regard to England and is in
accord with his emphases in the other descriptions which now follow.

Italy, 23 the first country within the prospect to be considered, is
immediately given its traditional connection with Rome and the ruins of
the Roman Empire. 24 Allusion to the fall of Rome had already been made
in the "traveller's" early account of his journey through the waste where
"Campania's plain forsaken lies," 25 an observation very similar to Addison's
reflection in his Remarks on Several Parts of Italy concerning "the
Campania of Rome, which lies . . . almost destitute of Inhabitants." 26

References to the great wealth and strength as well as to the degeneration
and decay which characterized both this ancient historical period and
the epoch of great commercial empire and cultural development of the
Italian Renaissance serve as a natural basis for the poem's description
of contemporary Italy. This is a nation characterized by luxury—a
luxury of natural growth and a departed luxury of wealth. Perhaps no
country in the world may boast of similar fertility of earth or of
such a variety and bountiful supply of flowers and fruits. But these
benefits conferred by nature do not provide the Italians with complete
happiness; for they only contribute to the sensual pleasure of the people,
and, as was pointed out previously in the letters from the Chinese
philosopher, "small the bliss that sense alone bestows." 27 Neither sensual
nor intellectual pleasure can provide satisfaction if existing alone.
These endowments which the Italians receive from their soil and climate only contribute to an increase of the vices inherited from an opulent past. It was not too long ago, points out the "traveller," that commerce and wealth were the most outstanding and vital features of the nation. That was the time when magnificent palaces and temples were constructed—when the power and rule of the nation was extended beyond its own bounds to encompass other lands and thus to increase still more the riches and commercial activity. But this stretching of power and indulgence in luxury eventually caused both the loss of these external dominions as well as the destruction of inner strength and wealth. Commerce, "unsteady" like the wind and as unstable as the sea upon which it rides, turned elsewhere for trade and Italy was left bloated and degenerate. In his discussion, written in 1760, of the background of the Seven Years' War, Goldsmith, with specific reference to one of Italy's most magnificent commercial centers and with the implications of this historical lesson directed at the current situation of England, describes this process in more detail. Here he states:

The nations to whom a trade is at present beneficial, may, in the end, be prevailed upon to carry on that traffic themselves: revolutions may happen in their governments, and several other accidents may intervene, either to obstruct commerce or to turn its current another way. Upon such a failure, the nation which has no other support, no intrinsic strength, nor well regulated alliances, must necessarily be a prey to every invader: elated with all the pride of former wealth, yet enfeebled by all the misery of present distress; fancying itself strong, but actually weak—such a nation may and will engage in wars which will at length turn to its own ruin. Venice and Antwerp may serve as instances of the truth of an assertion which seems self-evident, without the assistance of history to confirm it.
During Italy's period of great wealth and cultured refinement, there had been extensive development of the arts— one antidote to the ills of luxury. In these "splendid wrecks of former pride" the people still seem to find "an easy compensation." But the "traveller's" description of these arts is actually neither one of praise nor even of approval, and it is implied that these remnants of the once great Italian civilization are now of little worth. Such an interpretation is given support by this earlier comment of Goldsmith regarding the growth of venality and effeminacy among the Italians: "... when no arts are encouraged but the arts of luxury, every mind will be set upon trifles, the inhabitants must necessarily degenerate, till all at last, like the modern Italians, they seem castrated at a single blow." In the poem these "arts" are characterized by "the pasteboard triumph and the cavalcade;" and, by means of a "Rape of the Lock" type of comparison—"a mistress or a saint in every grove"—the religion of the Italians is reduced to the same level as promiscuous love. What remains to the people of either meaningful art or religion is now on the level of a child's game. Interested only in frivolous activities and themselves portraying "all the evils" left behind by opulence without enjoying any of wealth's benefits, these people have long been deficient in noble ideals and ambitious goals. Yet by not entertaining high standards or aspiring to any type of excellence or perfection, the people do enjoy a type of compensation: pursuing very little, they will not often experience failure and disappointment. Thus the peasant may be able to build his cottage in the very presence of the ruins which were once the scene of the noble endeavors of great Roman senators without feeling any envy or
experiencing any loss of contentment himself. Happy with what he possesses, this simple man cannot imagine why anyone would want more. Ignorance, as Lien Chi said, is a compensation of the poor. But as the "traveller" here indicates, this is, after all, a rather "mean" condition of the mind and hardly a satisfactory answer to his quest.

There are, then, several important lessons contained in this historical and contemporary description of the Italians and their nation. Obviously, Italy's principle of happiness has been over-cultivated. Content with the luxuriant growth and equally beneficent climate, her inhabitants have failed to cultivate their minds. But the evil effects of their natural assets have been greatly abetted by luxury—a luxury which once was prevalent but which grew to the point of excess and thus led to its own destruction and to national decay as well. Goldsmith, however, does not imply that luxury was innately evil. In fact, he carefully alludes to the sciences and the arts, as well as to the evils, which luxury produced in the land. Some of these advantageous elements still remain as testimony to its past existence, but offsetting them are the much more numerous vices which remain. Luxury is necessary for a nation's development toward greater refinement, for the possession of noble aims, and for the accomplishment of major, civilized achievements—as Goldsmith's discussions of the less polite nations reveal—but, when continued beyond the golden mean, it can only lead to disaster.

Next our "traveller" turns his eyes towards Switzerland, where both the land and the inhabitants offer a sharp contrast to the softness and luxuriance of Italy and the Italians. This people, traditionally associated with the noble principles of independence and liberty, are
in temper as sturdy as their bleak mountains. Their land is not graced by soft breezes or plentiful harvests but neither has it been cursed with the evils of excessive opulence or commercial activity. And contentment, derived partially from their equal lot and, somewhat paradoxically, from the hardships they endure, does reign among the Swiss. Almost everyone is equally poor; each man "sees his little lot the lot of all." No palaces, wealthy lords, or opulent merchants exist to make the simple native despise his difficult subsistence; and the environmental hardships which the people endure only increase their appreciation of the few assets with which their country is endowed. At the same time, however, these people are denied the benefits of luxury which would help to make their lives more pleasant and refined.

Nevertheless, the Swiss are closely attached to their families, home, and land; and though unrefined, they are not savages. They closely resemble the virtuous "Sons of Lapland" who are thus described by Thomson in The Seasons:

They ask no more than simple Nature gives,  
They love their Mountains and enjoy their Storms,  
No false Desires, no Pride-created Wants,  
Disturb the peaceful Current of their Days;  
And thro' the restless ever-tortur'd Maze  
Of Pleasure, or Ambition, bid it rage.

Thrice happy Race! by Poverty secur'd  
From legal Plunder and rapacious Power:  
In whom fell Interest never yet has sown  
The Seeds of Vice; whose Spotless Swains ne'er knew  
Injurious Deed, nor, blasted by the Breath  
Of faithless Love, their blooming Daughters Woe.  

Unlike the "rude Carinthian boor" who "against the houseless stranger shuts the door," the Swiss welcome such visitors with warm hospitality. Largely due to the nature of their surroundings, these people are honest
and industrious in their habits and simple in character. They are proud of what few possessions they may claim and do entertain sincere and affectionate feeling for others. Because of, as well as in spite of, the external hardships imposed upon them and the difficulties involved in maintaining a livelihood, family and national connections are very close. Perhaps these ties which bind the people together and to their mountains help to explain why, in spite of the fact that they are possessed neither of luxury nor of the sciences or the arts and though they themselves are simple and comparatively primitive in character, they do not display evil and barbaric qualities. Though they are surrounded by a gloomy and sterile region and though they suffer from a stormy and often frightening climate, they are unlike the primitive Tartars whom we saw described in The Citizen of the World as more terrible than the wilderness in which they dwell. These two pictures are, perhaps, not contradictory but a reflection of the differences between two cultures which are basically different though they are both unrefined. The Swiss, as we have seen, occupy a more or less stable position; they are bound to the soil from which they derive their subsistence. The Tartars, on the other hand, are nomadic, and their struggle for survival is still so difficult that it may prevent any development of the social ties. This, of course, does not provide a completely satisfactory explanation for the basic differences in the habits and attitudes of these two primitive peoples, but Goldsmith's presentation is also supported by literary tradition. In the accounts of primitive nations which preceded him and on which he very probably drew, several features were characteristic. Liberty was often shown to be the compensation for simple people in barren
places; environment, especially in the case of the Swiss, was frequently depicted as imposing privations on a people who were thereby confirmed in simple virtue; hardy primitive peoples were described as developing soft and sentimental virtues; there was a customary "tendency to assume a pre-established harmony between man and nature"; the principles of adaptation and compensation almost always played important roles; and there was frequently this dualistic presentation of primitive peoples—what has been termed a "soft" and a "hard" primitivism.40

Yet one of the most important things to note concerning this dualistic presentation is that Goldsmith, while his attitude is definitely more favorable toward the type of primitive represented by the Swiss than toward the more barbarian type personified by the Tartars, actually neither admires nor defends either. His preference—as represented by his protagonists—always lies with the refined virtues and among the polite nations. The Swiss, like the inhabitants of other unrefined nations, have little curiosity. Their wants and their pleasures are equally confined; for it is, as we have seen before, a desire for something which motivates its satisfaction—

For every want that stimulates the breast,
Becomes a source of pleasure when redrest.41

In Switzerland, as in Italy, there is interest only in sensual satisfactions although for the Swiss this means little beyond the fulfillment of bare necessities. But the causes are different: Italy suffers from what was once an excess of luxury while the Swiss suffer from too little. When these strong mountain people occasionally are able to celebrate, they are characterized by a lack of control. The practice of temperance through necessity or because there exist no materials for a superfluity is not a
virtue. The inculcation of moderation must accompany the growth of luxury and refinement in a nation in order to prevent the indulgence and excess which, apparently, are more natural to man. The Swiss, given an opportunity, indulge themselves in "wild excess" until so immersed in debauch that they can no longer even experience pleasure. Coarse are their virtues, their joys, and their morals. They are unable to experience the refined sensations of friendship and of love. They miss, says the sensitive and cultured "traveller," the subtle joy of those gentle pleasures "such as play / Through life's more cultur'd walks, and charm the way." And though the warmth of the description of their close family circle is matched in the poem only by the early description of the wanderer's own youthful home, the Swiss still do not possess that spot of perfect happiness. They lack those "higher" virtues which enable man to experience refined pleasures and which drive him to accomplish great deeds. These qualities must be present before the "traveller" will be able to find an answer to his quest, but, if existing alone, even they cannot provide the solution.42

Those "gentler" manners which the Swiss lack may be found among the gay and mirthful inhabitants of France;43 and the "traveller" himself has experienced many pleasant moments among them. Yet these people--pleased with themselves, "whom all the world can please,"44 are far from being perfect. Although their land is endowed with a gentle climate and with many other natural advantages, the very fact that the French, on the whole, are free from the burdens of striving for a slim livelihood on a barren plain and of fighting for survival on a dreary and astringent mountainous expanse may contribute to their failure to develop the basic,
virtuous qualities—Independence, industry, frugality—which the Swiss and similarly admirable, unrefined peoples have had to cultivate due to their deprived conditions. But whether or not this may partially be the cause for their vices, or rather their lack of positive virtues, the poem places emphasis on a different factor—on the excessive development of their particular principle of happiness. For the French, though free from the ills of excessive luxury and not in possession of an opulence of wealth, nevertheless have their own avarice—"an avarice of praise."\(^4\) This quality, while it provides them with a certain type of pleasure derived from the bestowing and receiving of praise and similar effects, also gives rise to numerous follies. To this excessive desire for praise is attributed their failure to develop their own actual worth and their deficiencies in self-reliance and independence—qualities always praised by Goldsmith. Their eagerness to gain the approval of others frequently results in a concern for outward appearances at the expense of inner cultivation. It produces tawdry display, a strutting sort of vanity and pride, and ostentatious entertainments and exhibitions in public for which individuals deny themselves in private for a year. And, more important, there is a general failure to pursue meaningful, noble, and ambitious endeavors. The poem describes the French people as enfeebled both in thought and soul, unable to rely upon their own self-worth or integrity, and forced to look to others for approval. Due to this lack of self-development, self-esteem, and self-confidence, it seems likely that their professions of esteem for others are insincere and without foundation. Likewise, the close ties which appear to exist among the people—‘their endearment of "mind to mind"’—are probably more superficial
than genuine. Yet these qualities are more foolish than evil; but if not deserving of bitter condemnation, they do not merit, nor do they receive, actual approval. In general, however, the French present a picture of idleness—a life characterized neither by great virtues nor great vices.

But the "traveller's" depiction of the French nation is somewhat contrary to opinions found elsewhere in Goldsmith's writings. For example, in his discussion of the Seven Years' War he had admiringly pointed out these entirely different features of the French national scene:

... I have in my eye the glorious but ineffectual struggles of their parliament for liberty: the country now seems to assert the privileges of human nature, to regard the pre-eminence of monarchs only as artificial compacts; their writers, in spite of power, inculcate those principles, and perhaps we may see this nation one day rival us in freedom, as they do now in the arts of peace. But hitherto we have seen only the dawning of that spirit; their court still goes on in the same tract [sic] of politics they have long pursued, and endeavor to work principles of absolute submission into the very spirit of all their laws. To propagate this, every measure of state is employed, treaties made, wars undertaken, and alliances agreed upon.46

This dichotomy seems especially curious in light of the fact that many features of this earlier representation of the French are of particular relevance to the situations in England which comprise one of the principal concerns of the poem. Yet there are several reasons why Goldsmith may have chosen to present a less serious and more generalized picture of the French than one illustrating his views in regard to their political and governmental conditions. Part of his purpose in The Traveller, as will be seen, was to advocate and to defend the strengthening of the king's authority in England in opposition to the increase of ministerial
authority and their usurpation of more governmental control. These opinions concerning the French government, as quoted above, are clearly in favor of diminishing the absolutism of the French monarch and of augmenting the political importance of the people through an extension of the power of their representatives—through an effectual and capable parliament. These opinions pertaining to the governments of France and of England are not contradictory nor do they reflect an inconsistency in Goldsmith's point of view. Throughout his works he consistently defends the type of constitutional monarchy which England possessed, and it is only natural that he should accordingly favor the destruction of French monarchical absolutism. But his interest in the poem was with what he considered to be a dangerous tendency in England to encroach upon the prerogative of the king. It would have been difficult, in a poem of this length, for him to have presented these views without their appearing contradictory and without the statements advocating a decrease of the powers of the French king lessening the force and meaning of his arguments concerning the increase of the authority of the king of England. But it should also be noted that what is said concerning the French in *The Traveller* is not without relevance for the description of the English which follows. For among the admirable qualities of the British are their independence, pride, and noble ideals and endeavors—all qualities associated with the possession and maintenance of a state of liberty and all of which are shown to be lacking in the French who are also without political freedom. It seems probable, therefore, that Goldsmith's primary objective in this delineation was to throw his subsequent account of the English into relief while indirectly praising the English—
man's serious nature and encouraging his continued adherence to and pursuit of the noble ideals upon which freedom depends.47

The "traveller" next turns his attention to a nation very similar in its basic economy to Great Britain and used, as in The Citizen of the World, in a direct comparison with that nation and its inhabitants. This description of Holland48 provides an interesting example of the author's views concerning the development of luxury with its resulting assets and liabilities and, when considered together with Goldsmith's statements about the Dutch in some of his other works, is especially important in its implications for his contemporary England.

The narrator of the poem visualizes Holland at a time when it was not yet carved out of the ocean's depths, when it impelled its people to strive against the ever-encroaching "amphibious world" in order that they might build a nation. To this struggle against the sea he attributes the qualities of patience and industry by which the people are generally characterized, and he praises these virtues and the beautiful results of their endeavors--their "new creation."49 This is the Holland which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led the Netherlands in the struggle for independence and self-government against the domination and oppression of Spain, a Holland traditionally associated with freedom. It is the liberated Dutch Republic, of which Holland was an important state, that is elsewhere praised by Goldsmith for the early commercial activities through which it had developed into a wealthy and powerful nation.50 His depiction of the Dutch Republic at the time of Charles I probably reflects what he considered to be the healthiest stage of commercial development--where wealth and luxury are not yet excessive
and in which the assets still outweigh the liabilities:

The Dutch had overcome the difficulties of their infant commonwealth, and, as they still retained their vigour and industry, every day increased in riches and power—the attendant of well regulated opulence. They extended their traffic, and had not yet admitted luxury; so that they had the means and the will to accumulate wealth, without any incitement to spend it.51

But such is no longer the case, and both in his poem and in his histories Goldsmith laments the changes which in this formerly freedom-loving land have been wrought by internal disorders and discord, indulgence in excessive luxury and opulence, and preoccupation with mercantile interests. "No longer," complains Goldsmith, "do we see there the industrious citizen planning schemes to defend his own liberty and the liberty of Europe, but the servile money-meditating miser, who desires riches to dissipate in luxury, and whose luxuries make him needy." The spirit of the nation "is lost, or directed into wrong channels; their councils are factious or direct wrong operations; they let individuals batten on the spoils of their constitution; with all the feebleness of luxury they indulge all the vanity of unperforming threats and inactive resentment."52 Much of what Goldsmith states concerning the Dutch and their degeneration from an earlier period agrees with twentieth century discussions of the problem and is apparently valid. By the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), the Dutch nation, which had entered the war as a major power, had lost a great deal of its political importance in Europe and was economically exhausted. Nevertheless, Dutch enterprises and trade still flourished with France, in the Baltic, and in the East and West Indies. At the same time, however, a growing accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few along with a change in attitude concerning
the use of these riches widened the divisions between the rich and the poor while the latter's plight was actually worsened. G. J. Renier describes the situation thus:

Meanwhile the accumulated capital, fruit of self-denial and economy as much as of ceaseless endeavor, which had so often been left unemployed in the previous century, was becoming increasingly utilisable. Foreign investment, to be sure, was not unknown in the seventeenth century, but now the habit of placing capital abroad became general. Both at home and abroad, it was lent to bankers and to brokers of commercial bills. Dividends from abroad found their way back in the shape of goods which brought profits to the traders who handled them. Amsterdam, the money market of the world, saw the rise of vast fortunes for which their owners had neither worked nor economised. The easier methods of high finance offered less inducement to save. The display of luxury was no longer looked upon as a sign of bad taste, and wealthy financiers built themselves sumptuous country residences to which they travelled in magnificent pleasure yachts. Their women dressed in velvets and silver brocades and wore pearls and precious stones. The contrast between wealth and poverty, toned down in the golden century as a matter of good form, now became visible to all. Moreover, while in the seventeenth century almost every member of the community participated in the collective prosperity, large portions of the population now failed to receive their share. 53

All of these factors—the real and psychological losses suffered in the war, the discontent of the majority of the people, the loss of the monopoly of the carrying trade, and the increasing commercial activity and competition of other European nations—seem to have deeply affected the moral fibre of the entire nation. Corruption and self-seeking infiltrated every area of life; and the regents, who formerly had been "competent and devoted to duty," lost their sense of responsibility. "Nepotism," says Renier, "became an institution, and venality was no
longer hidden from the public eye.\textsuperscript{54} The "craft" and "fraud" of the Dutch which Goldsmith decries in \textit{The Traveller} were realities.\textsuperscript{55}

At the same time there was in the Dutch Republic a growing divergence between the people and their government. The regents, who were become almost a class unto themselves, no longer represented the interests of the rest of the nation. From the time of the revolt against Spain and the formation of the Republic the government had been in the hands of the upper middle class and was exercised through the regents who, until the eighteenth century and these new developments, were the trustees of this class. Such had been the case even during the periods of the stadtholders. These princes of the house of Orange held the same outlook as that of the merchant princes and thus of the regents. They did not sympathize with democratic tendencies and actually approved of the social dictatorship of the upper middle class, while at the same time they attempted to aggrandize their own position and power in the Republic. The rule of the upper classes had been in accord with the social and economic order; but the regents, who were still the hereditary administrators, now stood apart even from the wealthy upper middle class and were themselves despised by the members of the bourgeoisie and of the lower-middle class. These conditions, together with a growing democratic sentiment, greatly aggravated the governmental problems caused by factions which had been in existence since the formation of the Dutch Republic\textsuperscript{56} and which are described and interpreted by Renier as follows:

A never-ending game of see-saw was played between the sovereignty of the States . . . and the shame-faced, fractional, sovereignty of the princes of Orange. . . . the States party and the orangists fought as bitter and as epic a struggle as any that ever split an independent country. Grievous, even heinous, mistakes were made by both sides.
Though historians of the Dutch Republic have nearly always been supporters of one or the other party, the true history of the Republic will never be understood till it is realised that, to a large extent, the fight lacked reality. Republicanism and semi-monarchism were accidental. On the one hand, there was an absolute and unbroken continuity in the social structure of the country; the dictatorship of the upper middle class was real from the birth of the Republic until its death. On the other hand, the States and the Princes needed each other, the country needed both, . . . It is true, nevertheless, that both parties took a biased view of their own historical mission and failed to conceive the possibility of a higher, national synthesis.57

During the stadtholderships of William IV (1747-1751) and William V (1751-1795) the situation was characterized by intellectual ferment and the growth of republican ideals; by opposition between the prince and the regents, between the regents and the middle classes, and between the middle classes and the prince; and by economic discontent and actual poverty among the lower classes. All of these factors contributed to party strife and thus to the paralysis of governmental action.

Goldsmith's interpretation of Dutch political history and of that nation's current situation reflects both his admiration and support of a monarchial system of government and his opposition to an oligarchy of aristocratic and mercantilistic interests as well as his fears concerning the evil effects of a nation's preoccupation with commerce.58 He does not regard the two parties--the orangist and the States parties--as representing the interests of the same social classes; but attributes to the DeWitts,59 who were in office during the first stadholderless period, the riveting of the aristocratical principle in the government of the Dutch Republic while he credits the Stadholders with protecting
public liberty. Similarly, he depicts the States party as always having inclined toward the interests of France and her protection and the princes of Orange as exerting "unabating zeal" against this dangerous neighbour. Goldsmith's views concerning the political parties of the Dutch, although probably affected by his Tory bias, are not contrary to the opinions expressed by historians of his own and later times. At any rate, it was a fact in the eighteenth century that the Dutch people had degenerated and that the Republic itself was weakened economically and politically and was being endangered by the political factions which prevented any type of concerted governmental action. But that a political party which favored France or one which was opposed to the leadership of the stadtholder were solely responsible for these conditions, as Goldsmith implies, is doubtful. That the situation was aggravated by the personal avarice and selfish ambition of those in power and that the degeneration of the rich and the demoralization of the general populace was to some extent due to the unequal distribution of wealth and the display and opulence of the upper middle classes are undoubtedly true. In The Citizen of the World, as previously noted, the craven behaviour of the Dutch at the Japanese Court was portrayed; and in The Traveller special emphasis is likewise placed on their loss of personal dignity, integrity, and even liberty due to their excessive desire for gold. In his histories Goldsmith indicates a belief that much of what has happened to the Dutch and their nation could have been prevented if a stadtholder had been continually in power and been invested with sufficient authority, and he regards the ills in the country as largely the result of the rule of the commercial aristocracy and of a condition of
excessive luxury. In the section on England in *The Traveller* it becomes clear that Goldsmith is concerned that what has occurred in the Dutch Republic may also be happening in this nation renowned, like the Low Countries, both for its tradition of liberty and strength as well as its extensive commercial activities; and, as will be seen, he warns the English against any encroachment upon the powers of the king and against the increase of ministerial authority. He also encourages an adherence to duty and a control of personal ambition and avarice in order to foster the good of all. The parallel between England and Holland, or the Dutch Republic, is clearly pointed out at the conclusion of the "traveller's" account of the Dutch when he states,

Heavens! how unlike their Belgic sires of old!
Rough, poor, content, ungovernably bold,
War in each breast, and freedom on each brow;
How much unlike the sons of Britain now!63

This passage, with its reference to the "Belgic sires of old," connotations the long tradition of freedom connected with the Netherlands—a tradition including both their ancient ancestors among the Gauls such as the Batavians as well as the struggle of the Dutch for freedom against Spain in the sixteenth century—and serves as a striking contrast to the picture of the weakened and luxurious nation and its enslaved inhabitants which has gone before.64 At the same time it associates the English with this tradition of liberty and independence and, while preparing for the "traveller's" analysis of the land where liberty yet reigns, serves as an important reminder that the freedom of England may likewise be destroyed.

The account of England, which is the last as well as the longest description of those countries with which the work is concerned, is also
the most powerful section of the poem. Here the intensity of the language, the tone of approval and admiration, and the extent of the critical analysis of current problems all reveal Goldsmith's very special concern with, and for, this nation and its people. The excitement, the vitality, and the anxiety present in this part are unequaled by anything else in the poem. The process of defining the particular principle of happiness of Britain—the nation already indicated in the Dedication to be Goldsmith's own—and of showing how this characteristic is especially susceptible to being carried to a "mischievous excess" provides the author an opportunity to describe and to criticize certain contemporary conditions about which he is especially disturbed. The problems and evils which he perceives in the national scene evoke his most sincere and imaginative sentiments and result in his solemn and awesome prophecy—a prophetic warning which was to reach its culmination in The Deserted Village.

In the picture which the "traveller" now presents of an almost ideal people and land, his partiality becomes evident. The English, as described in the poem, seem to possess all the virtues which were lacking in the nationalities previously described, and the same is true for their nation. England, in accord with the traditional, eighteenth century literary portrayal, is depicted as the land where "Creation's mildest charms" combine—a land blessed with gentle breezes, gentle waters, fertile land, and moderate climate and thus in contrast both to Italy, with its extreme luxuriance of soil and climate which the "traveller" had connected with a narrowly sensual nature, and to Switzerland, with its extremely violent weather and its barren soil. Reason governs
throughout the land as if she were part of nature's endowment; and the English, regarded by the narrator as "the lords of human kind," are a "thoughtful" people intent on high endeavors and noble accomplishments. Unlike the French, they value independence and personal liberty; they rely on themselves for both support and praise, not on others. Their desire is to be truly worthy of their own esteem, and they strive to keep faithful to their convictions. Even the lowly peasant "learns to venerate himself as man"; and, as was pointed out in the Chinese Letters, thousands of the English are ready to offer up their lives in the defense of liberty, "though perhaps not one of all the number understands its meaning." These are the "blessings" which the English derive from their "principle of happiness." It is this characteristic of "Freedom" which sets England apart from and even above all other nations. It is this that inspires the people with courage, strength, and fortitude. But, like any other virtue, it may be carried to the extreme and may produce evils which affect every area of life--public and private. And in the discussion of England which follows, Goldsmith, by attributing the ills in the nation to the excessive cultivation of its principal virtue, renders his criticism more palatable. He shows that the same qualities which make a man self-reliant and virtuously proud may also result in a weakening of his ties to others and in a peculiarly selfish and vain point of view. Independence of mind, a quality concerning which the narrator has already expressed admiration, is pointed out as the possible cause for a failure to cooperate--a dissidence and competition with very serious ramifications when present among those who, for the good of the entire nation, should most agree. Goldsmith portrays this
lack of cooperation as directly contributing to what he considered to be one of the most destructive evils in the nation--faction.

Faction versus monarchy and political liberty play a large role in many of Goldsmith's writings. In our discussion of The Citizen of the World we noted his preference for monarchy and his concern lest the authority of the English king should be lessened or usurped by others; and in the preceding section of this paper an attempt was made to show that emphasis on these factors in Goldsmith's observations on the government, politics, and decline of the Dutch nation were closely connected with his interest in the history, government, and commercial activity of England. His concern with these problems--the decline of the king's prerogative, the increase of ministerial authority and influence, the obstructions to governmental action and other evil effects due to party or faction, the control of government by commercial interests, and the oppression of the poor--is again manifested in this last section of The Traveller; and the views which the narrator here expresses are clarified when analyzed in light of the contemporary political situation and when compared with relevant passages from the author's histories of England and from The Vicar of Wakefield.

The royal prerogative, defined by Blackstone as "that special pre-eminence which the King hath, over and above all other persons, and out of the ordinary course of the common law, in right of his royal dignity," is the oldest part of the English constitution and, in the eighteenth century, was the source of almost all the executive powers. Historical developments had produced the king's position as head and representative of a modern state and his prerogative as "the source of
that state's executive power" but at the same time, through the constitution
controversies of the seventeenth century, had shown that the prerogative
of the king "was not the sovereign power in the state, and that, though
the king was personally above the law, his prerogative was subject to it."73
The prerogative, around which there has evolved "a large and complex
body of law," entailed in the eighteenth century an even more complex
system of rights and privileges including certain areas of revenue and
court procedures as well as such important responsibilities as the decla-
ration of war, the effecting of peace treaties,74 and his position as
"first in military command within the kingdom."75 But through the decision
that all exercises of the prerogative involving direct or indirect taxation
required the consent of Parliament, Parliament had gained control of the
tariff which was the "principal means of controlling foreign trade"; and
in many other areas of both foreign and internal trade the king was losing,
or had lost, his prerogative powers.76 The king's prerogative to reject
bills passed by Parliament derived from his position as a "constituent
part of the Legislative"; and though this prerogative was actually almost
obsolete in the eighteenth century, it was not so regarded or realized
at the time.77 And throughout the period, in spite of the decrease of
the powers of prerogative or any control over their exercise, the king
possessed a great deal of power, at least potentially, over both the
Parliament and his cabinet through the extensive system of "influence"
which had evolved during the early years of the reign of George I.78
Nevertheless, "the powers of the central government in the eighteenth
century rested mainly upon the prerogative. They were exercised through
a number of councils, ministers, and departments of state, composed of
the king's servants, who, according to the legal theory of the constitution, advised the king as to the exercise of his prerogative. In fact they often exercised them according to their own discretion, but in legal theory they exercised them only as the agents of the king.\textsuperscript{79}

It is natural, therefore, that the prerogative, innately connected with the dignity of the king and embodying the executive power of the nation, was of major concern to statesmen and politicians; and there was, in the course of the age, both control and encroachment upon the royal authority. During the reigns of George I and George II, the Whigs were able to command the whole influence of the crown. Partly due to their fear of a Stuart Restoration and partly due to their foreign interests, these kings, though still in the position to exercise a very real power, were willing to use their influence in favour of this party; and the Whigs, through very careful strategy and management of these rulers, wielded great power in the government.\textsuperscript{80} Such was the case until the accession in 1760 of George III who struggled to restore the royal prerogative to its former position--who, following his mother's early exhortation, endeavored "to be a king."\textsuperscript{81}

Characteristic of all three reigns, however, were faction, jobbery, corruption, personal jealousy, personal ambition, and venality. The Whigs, even at the height of their power, were united only in their opposition to the Tories, and their differences were not of principle but of personal ambition. Even the opposition itself was frequently composed of conflicting factions.\textsuperscript{82} George III, instead of smoothing party differences, actually abetted them for purposes of increasing the authority and independence of the crown; and the Tories, upon their
return to power under Bute, rather than ending the political corruption against which they had declaimed during the preceding two reigns, "far surpassed the corruption of their predecessors."\(^{83}\) During the first six years of George III's reign the government passed through six different ministries; and, as Pitt stated, "'Faction was shaking and corruption sapping the country to its foundations.'" Both the crown, "steadily employed in dissolving connections and sowing dissensions," and party were threatening the ruin of parliamentary government, were contributing to the discontent of the people, and were endangering the safety of the nation.\(^{84}\)

Goldsmith, in spite of his many denials of party bias and his condemnation of those who wrote for party,\(^{85}\) on a great many issues seems clearly aligned with Tory policy and with the sentiments expressed by the Tory opposition during the period of the Whig supremacy. His criticism of Walpole, his numerous censures of faction, his admiration for and his belief in the necessity of "disinterested patriotism" and self-sacrifice in order to preserve the freedom of the nation, and his emphasis on liberty\(^{86}\) are all paralleled in the *Craftsman of Bolingbroke*,\(^{87}\) while his support of the authority of the monarch and the preservation of the prerogative is generally considered a basic Tory tenet. Undoubtedly Goldsmith strongly favored the attempts of George III to strengthen the authority of the crown. The evils to government caused by these efforts of the king were certainly little realized at the time, and, in any case, direct criticism of the monarch would have been rare. Party, the ministry, or faction were viewed and censured as the cause of governmental difficulties and discord; and there was during the 1760's
much justification for such criticism:

... the lines of political division in the first years of George III were strangely confused, and party had in a great degree degenerated into faction. There was little of the natural union of politicians through community of political principles and aims; but there were several distinct groups united through purely personal motives—through attachment to a particular nobleman, or a desire to secure for particular families a monopoly of power. As long as a very large proportion both of the county and borough votes were at the command of a few great noblemen, who were closely connected by relationship or friendship, it was inevitable that this form of influence should prevail in Parliament; and the evil lay not in the existence but in the great multiplication of these groups, and in the purely personal motives that usually actuated them. The first great object should have been to draw a distinct line of policy according to which these scattered fragments might be combined. The temptation of politicians in popular governments is to outrun, but in oligarchical governments to lag behind, genuine public opinion; and there were questions of the gravest and most pressing kind which had long been calling for the attention of the legislators. Such were the inadequacy of the popular element and the gross and notorious corruption in Parliament, and the appearance within its walls of an organised court party distinct from the party of administration. By pressing these questions, all statesmen would soon be obliged to take a side, and it was probable that the excessive subdivision of parties would speedily disappear.

But such was not the policy which was followed, and faction continued to dominate the era.

In the analysis of the English in The Traveller, Goldsmith very carefully connects his aims with a securing of the revered quality of Freedom, and he attempts to convince the reader that those features in the national scene which evoke his criticism are those endangering national liberty. Thus he attributes to the oligarchy, with their excessive concentration of wealth, and to the factions the neglect and oppression of
the poor as well as the weakening of the king's power. Superficially
the power and wealth of the country are increasing, but those riches
which continually flow into the nation are only contributing to in¬
crease the riches of a very small segment of the populace; and wealth
means power.

The wealth of climes, where savage nations roam,
Pillag'd from slaves to purchase slaves at home,$^9$

Men of wealth comprise "the contending chiefs" who "blockade the throne," and "rich men rule the law."$^90$ In Goldsmith's opinion there was only
one solution—the strengthening of the power of the king and the dis¬
solution of faction.

When I behold a factious band agree
To call it freedom when themselves are free;.
Each wanton judge new penal statutes draw
Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the law;
.................. ......................
Fear, pity, justice, indignation start,
Tear off reserve, and bare my swelling heart;
"Till, half a patriot, half a coward grown,
I fly from petty tyrants to the throne."$^91$

Once the king loses his authority and ambitious and self-seeking ministers
assume control, the nation will become overridden with corruption and
ruled by selfish interests, "wealth" will "sway the mind with double
force."$^92$

In *The Vicar of Wakefield* are what might be considered the prose
arguments for this section on England in *The Traveller*. In Chapter XIX,
entitled "The Description of a Person Discontented with the Present
Government, and Apprehensive of the Loss of our Liberties," Dr. Primrose,
who at this point is himself a traveller in quest of his daughter, is
engaged in a conversation by means of which the author is enabled to
give articulation to many of these same ideas concerning the nation's
problems. Although the Vicar's statements are sincere and definitely in accord with Goldsmith's views expressed in *The Traveller* and elsewhere, the presentation is both satirical and humorous and thus its tone and effect are different from those of the more imaginative, poetic portrayal. The fact that these ideas concerning the government of England appear in the novel and constitute one of the longest, as well as one of the very few, such discussions in the book is another proof of the seriousness of Goldsmith's concern.

"Liberty, Sir, liberty is the Briton's boast!" exclaims the masquerading servant, "and, by all my coal-mines in Cornwall, I reverence its guardians." "Then it is to be hoped," responds the Vicar, "you reverence the king?" Here again Liberty, or Freedom, is shown to be the characteristic peculiarly associated with the English at the same time that monarchy is revealed as liberty's ultimate defense. Emphasis is placed on the importance of the king's retaining his authority; and fear is expressed in relation to the weakening both of the prerogative and thus the strength of the constitution—"that sacred power that has for some years been every day declining and losing its due share of influence in the state."

Dangers to freedom are shown to stem from both the many and the few; and levellers and the mob are criticized by the Vicar. In defense of the rationality behind the current system of government, Dr. Primrose states that it is ordained by the natural order of things that "some are born to command, and others to obey"—a sentiment very closely resembling these lines from *The Traveller*:

For just experience tells, in every soil,
That those who think must govern those that toil...
Goldsmith's view of the English governmental organization as expressed in these works is not sentimental but based upon his conception of man's nature and on a realistic evaluation of the relative virtues and vices of various political systems. These comments of the Vicar reflect this unsentimental point of view:

... the question is, as there must be tyrants, whether it is better to have them in the same house with us, or in the same village, or still farther off, in the metropolis. Now, Sir, for my own part, as I naturally hate the face of a tyrant, the farther off he is removed from me, the better pleased am I. The generality of mankind also are of my way of thinking and have unanimously created one king, whose election at once diminishes the number of tyrants, and puts tyranny at the greatest distance from the greatest number of people.\textsuperscript{95}

If man must be governed by others, he should, that is, select the system which offers the greatest number of safeguards to his individual freedom --the greatest number of compensations; and it is evident that for Goldsmith this system was that of a constitutional monarchy. For though there exists a middle order of people, who remain outside of the influence of the excessively opulent and about whom the Vicar states,

\begin{quote}
In this middle order of mankind, are generally to be found all the arts, wisdom, and virtues of society. This order alone is known to be the true preserver of freedom, and may be called the People;\textsuperscript{96}
\end{quote}

this group may still be drowned out by the rabble, who, having no mind of their own, will always follow the lead of the "great." The only recourse, therefore, which the "people" have is carefully to preserve the "prerogative and privileges" of their king. Thus states the Vicar of Wakefield:
I am then for, and would die for, monarchy, sacred monarchy; for if there be anything sacred amongst men, it must be the anointed SOVEREIGN of his people, and every diminution of his power, in war or in peace, is an infringement upon the real liberties of the subject.97

In the presentation of this middle order of people the novel differs from the poem, and it is interesting to speculate on the possible cause for Goldsmith's having left out such an important group in the composition of his prospect of society. Is it perhaps possible that he merged the virtues of the "People" into the more simple qualities of the country peasant in order to increase the intensity and the appeal of his poetic drama?

The Vicar also discusses the fact that it is in the natural interest of the "great" to diminish the king's power as much as possible, and he indicates that there is a direct connection between this undermining of the authority of the monarch and the commercial interests--"the men of opulence." Here is expressly stated the concept that those profiting from the greater accumulation of wealth in the nation are those who are already wealthy; and it is suggested that this is especially due to the fact that external industry, i.e., commerce, is being developed even more than internal industry, and only the rich can reap the benefits and profits of both. Likewise, there appears the concept that wealth begets the desire for more wealth as well as the increasing desire for more power.

In both *The Vicar of Wakefield* and *The Traveller* stress is placed on the oppression of the poor which runs concurrent with the increase of opulence among the wealthy few. Wealth and law--those fictitious bonds--plague and oppress them. In the *Vicar* specific reference is made to
the marriage laws, discussed previously in relation to The Citizen of the World, which ordain "that the rich shall only marry with the rich." Such laws have contributed to the severance of the ties between the classes; man has forgotten his duty to man. In The Traveller the reference is primarily to the burden of the penal laws under which the people were being crushed. An immense number of crimes in the eighteenth century were punishable by death or transportation, and the age was one of such "savage intensification of the laws dealing with crimes against property" that by 1740, "for stealing a handkerchief worth one shilling, so long as it was removed privily from the person, children could be hanged by the neck until dead."

In addition to poverty and oppression by law, the plight of the poor is aggravated in many ways by the unconcern, selfishness, and display of the rich. Certainly these "underprivileged" people can derive little satisfaction from the thought that their lot is shared by all—an idea belied by the ostentatious display surrounding them. Even the less refined Swiss are better off in this respect! It is not enough, however, that they must be confronted with the luxury and opulence of which they cannot partake but must be made the victims of the commercial tyrant's insatiable avarice. Not only are they driven from their homes and hamlets to make room for his magnificent estate with its great expanse of grounds for purposes of the "hunt," but they are also forced to leave their beloved country. These are the people who constitute England's basic strength, who, in spite of factions and power struggles in the government or the avariciousness of those above them, continue to personify those virtues for which Britain is renowned. These are the
citizens of England who are necessary for a maintenance of her inner strength. But now, dispossessed of their homes and conveniently regarded by the opulent ministry as the "waste" of the nation, 

... the duteous son, the sire decay'd,  
The modest matron, and the blushing maid. ... 100

are shipped off to the colonies—to Britain's exterior possessions. There they suffer terrible hardships, but there, too, they persevere in the exercise of their industrious and virtuous habits. Thus, unintentionally and unconsciously, they contribute both to the development and strength of their new home and to the eventual collapse of the mother country. 101

The description of these colonists' sufferings—their terror in the wilds and in the dark forests, their danger from savage beasts and human savages—may seem exaggerated or extravagant. Yet, in terms of the great importance which Goldsmith attributed to the causes of this problem, the tone and language are actually very suitable. And, as Howard Bell pointed out in reference to certain passages of *The Deserted Village*, 102 this is an example of poetic magnification aimed at accentuating the significance of the message he was attempting to convey. Goldsmith wished to call England's attention to the dangers which existed in the policies of the nation and to show the folly of pursuing this same course of action. By using these simple and virtuous people—who recall, of course, the descriptions both of his brother and home and of the picturesque family circle of the Swiss—Goldsmith hoped to appeal to the feeling and sensitivity of his readers. He wished to awaken the English to an awareness of the problems which existed in their nation and to move them to action and not merely to tears. His emphasis on the simple, affectionate, and
innocent family was done with the full awareness of its probable charm for all civilized men and with the knowledge of the tenderness which even the most cosmopolitan and educated people retain for their home and loved ones. But this idyllic family have been imbued with even more meaning in the course of the poem. They have come to represent everything that the selfish and opulent power-monger was threatening to destroy. They symbolize the tradition of individuality and of personal and national liberty which was such an important part of England's history. They personify all those elements of freedom which are most admirable and which Goldsmith wanted England to guard and to retain. Clearly, then, it is not only the fate of a simple, country family that the poem is here describing but the destiny of England herself; for in the destruction of its most valuable resource, a nation, according to Goldsmith, is preparing its own grave.

And Goldsmith views with alarm the possibility of such a future for England when:

... talent sinks, and merit weeps unknown:
Till time may come, when, stript of all her charms,
The land of scholars, and the nurse of arms,
Where noble stems transmit the patriot flame,
Where kings have toil'd, and poets wrote for fame,
One sink of level avarice shall lie,
And scholars, soldiers, kings, unhonour'd die.103

And much of what he predicts in these lines as a possibility he has shown in the Dedication to be already a reality. There he implies that England is displaying the symptoms of a nation verging on the extremes of refinement. Merit is even now going unrewarded, especially poetical and literary worth. Poetry is being supplanted by the inferior arts (in Goldsmith's opinion) of painting and music because the luxurious and the lazy no longer
wish to exert their minds in order to understand and appreciate the poetical muse. Further signs of degeneracy may be seen in the large number of critics and criticism and in the influence of "party," all of which are contributing to the decay of literature. Party "distorts the judgment and destroys the taste" while hack writers, instead of fulfilling the obligations of authors and learned men to instruct and entertain the public in order to help them to live better and happier lives, merely pervert taste further both by their championing of absurdities and their own envy and pettiness. When "party" and "criticism" have worked their evil on the reader he is "like the tiger, that seldom desists from pursuing man after having once preyed upon human flesh" in that, having "once gratified his appetite with calumny, he makes ever after the most agreeable feast upon murdered reputation." Goldsmith, himself a hack writer, asserts that his aims in *The Traveller* are those of the true author and citizen of the world which were set forth in *The Citizen of the World*. His purpose is to "moderate the rage of all" rather than to incite and aggravate discordances.

**Conclusion**

In spite of Goldsmith's statement in the Dedication to *The Traveller* that no one form of government is necessary before a nation can achieve happiness, it is clear from what we have seen in *The Citizen of the World*, in the discussion of liberty in *The Vicar of Wakefield*, and in the poem itself that he himself had a definite preference. Although he did not insist in these works that other nations follow England's pattern, he did reveal both his approval of her form of constitutional monarchy as
well as his view concerning any modification of this system.

The poem's contention that each nation is endowed with a different principle of happiness and that the compensations supplied by art or nature make up for many of a country's deficiencies seems to be adequately proved. Yet the emphasis throughout the work is on the excesses to which this favored principle of happiness is prone. From beginning to end particular attention is paid to the evils of excessive commerce and luxury, and the classical antithesis of liberty versus luxury and corruption becomes especially evident in the sections on the Dutch and on the English. 105

The poem's "traveller" is very similar to the wanderer of The Citizen of the World. Both profess to be impartial, to have few, or no, preconceived notions, and to be happy anywhere yet nowhere. Both, however, are partial to England and are especially concerned with her problems and her people; both hold preconceptions concerning man, life and government—ideas which remain unchanged in the course of the works and which affect the characters' thinking; and both have local and natural attachments. But their views regarding social, political, and moral questions are at no time sentimental although they themselves are feeling and sensitive men who entertain affection for certain individuals as well as a sympathy for all mankind.

Although in many respects the conclusion to The Traveller, most of which was written by Johnson, appears out of keeping with the warning and fears, as well as other attitudes, expressed during the poem, and though its ambiguity cannot be entirely explained away, perhaps its import can be clarified. It is, of course, natural for a man who has
spent much of his life in quest of something for which he can find no satisfactory answer to question the value and validity of his endeavors and to reflect upon what he has suffered with the knowledge that, instead of this way of life, he could have enjoyed the love and warmth of a home and family. These sentiments which the narrator here expresses, therefore, are not in conflict with his character and the point of view that have been unveiled throughout the poem. And though the last few passages of the work seem to dispel much of the seriousness of the warning which the author had so carefully issued, a closer look will show that even these lines may be interpreted as a reemphasis, rather than a contradiction, of what has gone before. The sentiments conveyed here, for example, have been implied in the poem itself:

... How small, of all that human hearts endure,  
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!  
Still to ourselves in every place consign'd,  
Our own felicity we make or find:

To men remote from power but rarely known,  
Leave reason, faith, and conscience all our own.106

The importance of cultivating one's own worth and of developing self-integrity and self-esteem has been referred to at several points. And this conclusion cannot dispel the narrator's previous revelations of his preference and admiration for a refined cultivation of the mind and of manners. Likewise, there is no contradiction to the theory of the natural growth of luxury of a nation in the ideas here expressed concerning an individual's contentment in and adjustment to life. The "people" were never shown as having control over the development of commerce and opulence. But though man will always find some form of compensation no matter what his lot may be, he is, nevertheless, bound to be affected,
in some way, by those policies of the government which may be leading the nation toward destruction. But, as Bolingbroke had previously declared, responsibility lies with the men of wealth and influence. These are the men who must curb their selfish avariciousness and personal ambitions in order to preserve England and the welfare of all the people. Theirs is the "reason, faith, and conscience" which must adhere to Justice before it is too late.
NOTES

I. Introduction: Background on Goldsmith


4 Richard Church, "Oliver Goldsmith," Criterion, VIII (1929), 437-444.


6 McAdam, 43-44.


9 Church, 440, 442.

10 Osgood, 241.

11 A. Norman Jeffares, "Oliver Goldsmith," Bibliographical Series of Supplements to 'British Book News': Writers and Their Work, #107 (1959), 1-44. Jeffares emphasizes Goldsmith's discomfort in the metropolitan city and his increasing difficulty in maintaining himself there.

12 McAdam, 47. McAdam, like Jeffares, argues that Goldsmith was "perfectly aware of his own failings" and of the fact that he was depicting himself in his characters. McAdam, in line with many other critics, lays a great deal of importance upon Goldsmith's extravagance and gambling.

13 Seitz, 410-411.
W. F. Gallaway, Jr., "The Sentimentalism of Goldsmith," *PMLA*, XLVIII (1933), 1167-1181. Gallaway, at the beginning of his article, mentions the two opposing popular conceptions of Goldsmith then in vogue: one in which Goldsmith is viewed as the "most charming of the sentimentalists" and another which "reveals Goldsmith as a classicist out of touch with the tendencies of the future--wit not dreamer, apostle of common sense rather than disciple of Rousseau."


Gallaway, 1168. Gallaway, however, makes it clear that the sentimentalism present in *The Traveller* and *The Deserted Village* "should be distinguished from the doctrinaire sentimentalism of Rousseau." Similarly, Osgood had contended that Goldsmith's sympathies were rather a "matter of heart" than part of the sentimental doctrine as set forth in Rousseau.


Wardle, 203.

Schulze, 206-207.


Reynolds, 157-160, 163-164, 167-170. Reynolds also points out other resemblances between Goldsmith and the Augustan critics.


Beers, 112.
II. The Citizen of the World


2 Oliver Goldsmith, Letters from a Citizen of the World to His Friends in the East, in The Works of Oliver Goldsmith, ed. with notes by J. W. M. Gibbs, III (London, 1908), Letter I, 13. This was the title given to the Chinese Letters when they were published in a collected edition in May, 1762. All of the references to The Citizen of the World are taken from this edition. Hereafter reference will be by Letter and page.

3 Hamilton Jewett Smith, Oliver Goldsmith's 'The Citizen of the World,' (New Haven, 1926), 34.

4 Martha Pike Conant, The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1908). The works of Mr. Smith and Miss Conant served as the sources for the following discussion.

5 Smith, 35.

6 Smith, 35.

7 Both Mr. Smith and Miss Conant give rather complete bibliographies for such works. Mr. Smith discusses in detail those works which influenced Goldsmith or which were used as sources by him; see especially pp. 39-148 of his study.

8 Smith, 8. Many of Voltaire's works are believed to have influenced Goldsmith's writings.


11 For a discussion of the history of these tales see Miss Conant's study and the "Chronological Table" which she presents, pp. 267-306.

12 Smith, 33.

13 For a discussion of the classical and contemporary uses of the phrase "citizen of the world" see Smith, 29-31. Mr. Smith also points out the use of the phrase by Goldsmith in works other than these Letters. The fact that Citizen of the World (see n. 2) was not part of the original title does not invalidate my argument.

14 Letter III, p. 18. See Chapter III of this paper for a discussion of the narrator of The Traveller who closely resembles Lien Chi in many characteristics and functions, including that of detached spectator.
15 Letter III, p. 17
18 See Letter III.
19 Letters VIII-IX.
20 Cf. Thomas R. Preston, *The Good-Natured Misanthrope: A Study in the Satire and Sentiment of the Eighteenth Century*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Rice University, 1962). In discussing *The Citizen of the World* Preston describes Lien Chi as essentially the "persona of the naif" whose "satiric power comes from his strong reactions to events contradictory to his sense of reason." Preston states that the "very nature of his Lien Chi's case as a foreigner supposes him to be naive about customs of England. He approaches men and events from a rational viewpoint and is confounded to find them irrational."

21 Letter VII, p. 32.
22 Letter VII, pp. 32-33. See New Essays by Oliver Goldsmith, ed. Ronald S. Crane (Chicago, 1927), 17, for another essay (*Royal Magazine*, June, 1760) containing views on the purposes of travellers similar to those expressed in *The Citizen of the World*.

23 Letter XXXIX, p. 147. For other remarks relating to travellers—their duties and writings—see Letters III, XXX, LVI, CVIII, CXXII. It is interesting to note that in Letter LVI Goldsmith portrays Fum Hoam as being in agreement with Lien Chi as to the proper function of travellers. Thus Fum Hoam writes to Lien Chi: "You have left it to geographers to determine the size of their mountains and extent of their lakes, seeming only employed in discovering the genius, the government, and disposition of the people. In those letters I perceive a journal of the operations of your mind upon whatever occurs, rather than a detail of your travels from one building to another. . ." (p. 211).

25 Letter XX, p. 74.
26 For similar ideas see Letters XLIII and CIX. Cf. the Dedication to *The Traveller*, *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, II, 4-5.
28 Letters telling the story of Hingpo and Zelis are XXXV, XXXVI, LIX, LX, LXXVI, XCIV, CIII, CXXIII.

Letter CXVIII, p. 425. These sentiments of Fum Hoam reflect the typical view of the English traveller, who generally found other nations and people inferior to England and the English and who was always anxious to return home. It is a view expressed by Goldsmith himself when visiting France with the Hornecks. In a letter to Sir Joshua Reynolds, written from Paris, July 29, 1770, Goldsmith states, "... I find that travelling at twenty and at forty are very different things. I set out with all my confirmed habits about me; and can find nothing on the Continent as good as when I formerly left it. One of our chief amusements here is scolding at everything we meet with and praising everything and every person we left at home." *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, I, 459. Then, too, there is the well-known comment of Johnson to the Reverend John Ogilvie, "But, Sir, let me tell you, the noblest prospect which a Scotchman ever sees, is the high road that leads him to England!" James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, Oxford Standard Authors Edition (New York, 1960), 302.

Letter LXXVI, pp. 286-289.

Letter LXVI, pp. 246-250. See also Letters C and CXVI.

Morris Golden, "The Family-Wanderer Theme in Goldsmith," *ELH*, XXV (1958), 183: Golden says of *The Citizen of the World* that "it is a perfect channel for Goldsmith's chief preoccupation, since it provides him with a lonely, wandering alien as a fictional double. In his tenuous and desultory plot, the characters are significant: Lien Chi Altangi, the traveling Citizen; Lien's son, who is a slave in a foreign country; the son's beloved, an Englishwoman also enslaved in Persia; and the Man in Black, Lien's friend and the girl's uncle, who is, or was, an outcast among his own people in England."

Editor's Preface, pp. 9-10. See the discussion of *The Traveller* in Chapter III of this paper.

Letter LXXVIII, p. 292.

Letters LXXVIII, XXIII, V.

Letter LX, p. 227; Letter V, p. 25.


Letter XC, p. 337.

Letter XC, pp. 337-340. Supposedly the flute is an autobiographical reference. See also Letter CVII for a discussion of the Englishman and the spleen.

42 Letter XLV, p. 170.

43 Letter XCI; Letter IV, p. 23: "... their gayest conversations have something too wise for innocent relaxation ..." Much has been written by critics concerning Goldsmith's own discomfort in the midst of the serious, English conversationalists and his noisy fun when in the company of his Irish friends.

44 Letter IV, p. 21.


46 Letter XXIII, pp. 86-87. For another description of the English see Letter LX, p. 224.

47 Letter XLIII, p. 164.

48 Letter V, p. 25.

49 Letter XIV.

50 Letter XXXIII, pp. 124-129.

51 Editor's Preface, pp. 10-11; see also Letter XXXI for comments on the fashion of oriental gardens.


53 See Letters X and LXIX.

54 Letter X, p. 38. For other references to Tartars see Letter XI, p. 41. For a discussion of the dualistic presentation of primitive nations which occurs in Goldsmith's works see Chapter III of this paper.


56 Letter LVI, p. 211.

57 See the account of the Wolga Pirates, Letter XCIV, pp. 349-350.


59 Letter CVIII, p. 388.

60 Letter XI, p. 41.

61 Letter CIII, p. 374.


63 Letter CIX, p. 395.

65 Letter XCI, pp. 340-342; cf. Letter XXXIII.

66 The fact that the countries characterized are primarily European rather than Asian should be explained by the fact that Lien Chi is supposedly writing to Fum Hoam about his own observations; Fum Hoam would already be familiar with such facts concerning the nations of his part of the world.


69 Letter LXV, p. 244. In this story of the philosophic cobbler is an interesting example of Goldsmith's realistic conception that what may contribute to a person's happiness in life is his ability to adjust to his situation and that the difficulty of one's doing so is greatly increased when he is idle or when he is exposed to conditions much better than his own. Hence the cobbler states, "'... now while I stick to my good friends [i.e., his last and hammer—his work] here, I am very contented; but when I ever so little run after sights and fine things, I begin to hate my work; I grow sad, and have no heart to mend shoes any longer.'"

70 Letter XXVII, p. 103.

71 Letter LXVI, pp. 246-249; Letter C, pp. 365-368.

72 See the story of "Mencius and the Hermit," Letter LXVI, pp. 248-249; the History of the Man in Black, Letter XXVI, pp. 95-98, Letter XXVII, pp. 99-105; and Letter LXVII, "The Folly of Attempting to Learn Wisdom by Being Recluse," pp. 250-253, where Goldsmith satirizes the reputed "beauties" of poverty. Related to this whole idea of trying to establish a realistic conception of the nature of man are the statements decrying the display of effusive affection and other declarations of undying love. To emphasize and exemplify these ideas Goldsmith presents the story of Choang and Hansi (Letter XVIII, pp. 65-69) which concludes: "As they both were apprised of the foibles of each other beforehand, they knew how to excuse them after marriage. They lived together for many years in great tranquility, and not expecting rapture, made a shift to find contentment."

73 Letter CXV, pp. 415-418.

74 Letter CXV, pp. 416-418.


76 For a discussion of primitivism in the Eighteenth Century see Lois Whitney, Primitivism and the Idea of Progress (Baltimore, 1934).
Letters XI, pp. 41-43; Letter LXXXII, pp. 305-309.

Letter LXXXII, p. 307. For another expression of the necessity of sensual desires see Letter VI, p. 30, where Fum Hoam writes to Lien Chi: "... all our pleasures, though seemingly never so remote from sense, derive their origin from some one of the senses." Here, too, is another related comment on the usefulness of learning: "The most exquisite demonstration in mathematics, or the most pleasing disquisition in metaphysics, if it does not ultimately tend to increase some sensual satisfaction, is delightful only to fools, or to men who have by long habit contracted a false idea of pleasure; and he who separates sensual and sentimental enjoyment, seeking happiness from mind alone, is in fact as wretched as the naked inhabitant of the forest, who places all happiness in the first, regardless of the latter." See Chapter III of this paper.


Letter LXXXII, p. 309; Letter XI, pp. 42-43. This discussion of luxury in relation to The Citizen of the World is closely related to Goldsmith's views as expressed in The Traveller and others of his works as will be seen in Chapter III of this study.

Letter XI, p. 43.


Letter XLII, pp. 157-161.


Letter XXV, pp. 90-91.

Letter II, p. 15.

Letter XXV, pp. 91-94. Cf. Letters XI and LXXXII.

Letter XXV, p. 94.

Letter CXVII, pp. 422-424. For other references to the treatment of the poor and their hardships in comparison to that of the rich see Letter CXIX and Letter LXVII. The "City Night Piece" is closely echoed in The Deserted Village (Works, II, 42) 11. 325-336.

Letter L, p. 188. Cf. The Traveller (Works, II, 18) 11. 385-386.

Letter LXXX, pp. 298-301; see also Letter CXIX.

Letter IX, p. 36.

Bell, pg. 761.


98 Goldsmith, *The History of England*, pp. 339-340. Cf. *The Citizen of the World*, Letter LXXII, p. 74: "In order, therefore, to prevent the great from being thus contaminated by vulgar alliances, the obstacles to matrimony have been so contrived, that the rich only can marry amongst the rich; and the poor, who would leave celibacy, must be content to increase their poverty with a wife. Thus have their laws fairly inverted the inducements to matrimony. Nature tells us, that beauty is the proper allurement of those who are rich, and money of those who are poor; but things here are so contrived, that the rich are invited to marry by that fortune which they do not want, and the poor have no inducement but that beauty which they do not feel.

An equal diffusion of riches through any country ever constitutes its happiness. Great wealth in the possession of one stagnates, and extreme poverty with another keeps him in unambitious indigence . . . how impolitic, therefore, are those laws which promote the accumulation of wealth among the rich; more impolitic still, in attempting to increase the depression on poverty."

99 Goldsmith, *The History of England*, p. 340: "... and it is believed that the numbers of the people are upon the decline." Cf. Letter LXXII, p. 275: "I can conceive no other reason for thus loading matrimony with so many prohibitions, unless it be that the country was thought already too populous, and this was found to be the most effectual means of thinning it."

100 Letter CXIV, p. 411. For other statements relating to the marriage laws see *The Citizen of the World*, Letters IX, XXVIII, and CXVI and *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Chapter XIX. Goldsmith, in the *History*, comments on the unpopularity of the act. In spite of this and his own disapproval, however, this act apparently had a great influence on modern marriage laws. See Holdsworth, Vol. XI, p. 610.

101 See the discussion of R.W. Seitz's ideas on Goldsmith in the first chapter of this paper.

102 Letter XXXVIII, p. 143.

103 Letter LXV, p. 243. See also Letters IV and L.
104 In relation to colonies see Letters XVII and XXV; Wars: Letters XVII, XXXVIII, XLI, XLII, LXI, LXXV, LXXXVII.

105 Letter L, pp. 187-190. As examples of republics where people are slaves to laws of their own enacting, he cites Holland, Switzerland, and Genoa.

106 Letter L, p. 189.

107 Letter L, p. 190. For other comments on "liberty" and "democracy" see: Letter IV, pp. 21-22 and Letter CXIX, pp. 430-431. In the latter entitled "On the Distresses of the Poor; Exemplified in the Life of a Private Sentinel," the old soldier tells how he was arrested for killing a hare and then transported to the plantations upon being "found guilty of being poor." Upon his return to England these, however, were his sentiments: "... and glad I was to see Old England again, because I loved my country. O liberty! liberty! that is the property of every Englishman, and I will die in its defence! I was afraid, however, that I should be indicted for a vagabond once more, so..." Cf. his comments on these topics in The Traveller and other works as presented in Chapter III of this paper.


109 For satire and criticism related to the clergy and various types of abuses in religion see Letters X, XIII, XLI, CX, CXI; on useless learning, antiquarianism, etc. see: Letters XXXIV, LXXXIX (entitled "The Folly of Remote or Useless Disquisitions among the Learned"), CIV, CVIII; on contemporary situation of books, writers, critics, newspapers, etc., see: Letters IV, V, XIII, XX, XXIX, XXX, XLV, LI, LXXV, LXXXIV, XCI, XCIII, XCVII.

110 Related to frivolous pursuits and activities of nobility see: Letter XXXII, "On the Degeneracy of Some of the English Nobility--a Mushroom Feast Among the Tartars"; Letter XXXV, "Of the Present Ridiculous Passion of the Nobility for Painting"; Letter XLVIII, "The Absurdity of Persons in High Station Pursuing Employments Beneath Them, Exemplified in a Fairy Tale" and continued in Letter XLIX; see also Letter XXXVI. Related to purposes of literature and to trends criticized see: Editor's Preface, XL, XLVIII, LI, LIII, LXXV, LXXXII, LXXXIII, XCVII, CVI, CX.

111 Letter VII, pp. 31-33. See also Letters XXII and CXIX.


113 Goldsmith studied in Edinburgh from 1752 to 1754 and in Leyden from 1754 to 1755; he travelled on the Continent from Spring, 1755 to February, 1756.

114 Letter VIII, p. 33.

115 Letter LVI, pp. 210-211.
Letter VI, pp. 29-30; cf. Letter XLII from Fum Hoam to "the Discontented Wanderer": here Fum Hoam writes, "Must I ever continue to condemn thy perseverance, and blame that curiosity which destroys thy happiness? What yet untasted banquet, what luxury yet unknown, has rewarded thy painful adventures? Name a pleasure which thy native country could not amply procure: form a wish that might not have been satisfied in China! Why then such toil, and such danger, in pursuit of raptures within your reach at home?" (p. 157)

Letter VII, pp. 31-33.
Letter CIII, p. 375.
Letter LXXIII, p. 277.
Letter CII, p. 374.
Letter XXXI, p. 118.
Letter III, p. 17.
Letter C'II, p. 375.
Letter CXXIII, p. 446. In Letter CXXII, p. 439, Lien Chi prepares for his departure. He comments that he is tiring of his stay in London and, "As every object ceases to be new, it no longer continues to be pleasing: some minds are so fond of variety, that pleasure itself, if permanent, would be insupportable, and we are thus obliged to solicit new happiness even by courting distress. . . A life, I own, thus spent in wandering from place to place, is at best but empty dissipation. But to pursue trifles is the lot of humanity; and whether we shout at a bonfire, or harangue in a senate-house, whatever object we follow, it will at last surely conduct us to futility and disappointment." Cf. Letter XLIV, "Wisdom and Precept May Lessen our Miseries; But Can Never Increase our Positive Satisfaction," pp. 165-169; Letter XLVII, "Misery Best Relieved by Dissipation," pp. 178-179; Letter XCV, "On Bearing Misfortune," pp. 351-352.

III. The Traveller

1 Oliver Goldsmith, The Traveller; or a Prospect of Society in The Works of Oliver Goldsmith, ed. with notes by J. W. M. Gibbs, II (London, 1908), 1-19, (11. 7-10). First published in December, 1764, The Traveller was Goldsmith's first work to bear his name.

2 See The Citizen of the World, Letter III, p. 17, and Chapter II of this paper.

3 The Traveller, line 63.


The Traveller, 11. 349-352: "... As Nature's ties decay
As duty, love, and honour fail to sway,
Fictitious bonds, the bonds of wealth and law,
Still gather strength, and force unwilling awe." These lines occur in the description of Britain.

Dedication "To the Rev. Henry Goldsmith," p. 3: "It will also throw a light upon many parts of it, when the reader understands, that it is addressed to a man who, despising fame and fortune, has retired early to happiness and obscurity, with an income of forty pounds a-year."

Dedication, p. 3: "You have entered upon a sacred office, where the harvest is great, and the labourers are but few. ..." Cf. The criticisms of The Traveller, 11. 13-22.

The Traveller, line 17, describes the "feasts" of Henry as "crown'd" with "simple plenty."
The Traveller, line 20: "And learn the luxury of doing good!" This early and unusual use of "luxury" in The Traveller was surely intended by Goldsmith as a striking contrast to the excessive luxury of wealth which he mentions later in the poem.


The Traveller, 11. 30, 45-50.

The Traveller, 11. 74-75.

See Alan Dugald McKillop, The Background of Thomson's "Seasons," (Connecticut, 1961), 111-122, for a discussion of Thomson's presentation of the Lapps and their nation and an account of some of his probable sources. All of the features attributed to the inhabitants of the "frigid zone" in The Traveller (11. 65-68) find a parallel in the works of Thomson, and that Goldsmith may have been indebted to Thomson seems more likely in light of the similarities between the description of the Swiss in The Traveller and the account of the Lapps in The Seasons.

New Essays by Oliver Goldsmith, ed. Ronald S. Crane (Chicago, 1927), 42.

New Essays, 20.
17 New Essays, 43: "If their language be defective and barren, they have but few ideas, and consequently do not want a language more copious. They want an exalted understanding; and happy it is for them that they labour under this defect. The greatest understanding of an individual, doomed to procure food and clothing for himself, can but barely supply him with expedients to prolong his existence from day to day."

18 New Essays, 22. Part of this description bears a striking resemblance to Goldsmith's picture of the Swiss in The Traveller and to Thomson's account of the Lapps referred to in n.14.


20 The Traveller, 11. 75-80.

21 Dedication, p. 5. Gibbs points out that the passage "state, and in our own in particular" appears only in the first five editions of the work.

22 The Traveller, 11. 91-98.

23 See The Traveller, 11. 105-164, for the description of Italy.

24 The Traveller, 11. 109-110: "While oft some temple's mould'ring tops between/ With venerable grandeur mark the scene."

25 The Traveller, line 5.

26 From Joseph Addison's Remarks on Several Parts of Italy (2nd ed., 1718) cited by Alan Dugald McKillop in The Background of Thomson's "Seasons," 122.


28 The Traveller, line 139; The Citizen of the World, Letter II, p. 15.

29 The Traveller, 11. 140-144:
"Commerce on other shores display'd her sail; While nought remain'd, of all that riches gave, But towns unmann'd, and lords without a slave: And late the nation found, with fruitless skill, Its former strength was but plethoric ill."

Compare with The Citizen of the World, Letter XXV, p. 94, where Lao is described in similar terms: "... the state resembled one of those bodies bloated with disease, whose bulk is only a symptom of its wretchedness."

30 Oliver Goldsmith, "Preface and Introduction to The History of the Seven Years' War," in The Works of Oliver Goldsmith, V, 20. The actual title of this fragment, written by Goldsmith in 1760 or 1761 (see Crane, New Essays, 91n.) should be the Political View of the Result of the Present War with America.
For a very similar account of the Italians see Oliver Goldsmith, An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning, Works, III, 481-82; and cf. the following description from New Essays, 122: "When I turn my eyes to modern Italy, that country of cavalcade, pageant, and frippery, their excesses in this respect, in some measure excite my pity [sic] and contempt. Their passion for finery is in general in a reciprocal proportion to the beggary of the state. To think of cities laying out immense sums in adorning a temple of pasteboard, while their very walls are actually falling to ruin . . ."


See The Traveller, 11. 165-238, for the description of Switzerland.


The Traveller, 11. 3-4.


McKillop, The Background of Thomson's "Seasons." See especially pp. 122-126. I am indebted to Professor McKillop for bringing to my attention this dualistic presentation of primitive peoples in these works of Goldsmith. See Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity (Baltimore, 1935). Cf. New Essays, 52, where Goldsmith attributes the frugality of the Scots to the barrenness of their country.


It should, perhaps, be emphasized here that this account of the Swiss, while following literary tradition, was neither a completely valid picture of that nation in the eighteenth century nor was it entirely representative of Goldsmith's own opinions. This last point may be seen by his essay which appeared in the Public Ledger, August 27, 1761, and was entitled "The Progress of the Arts in Switzerland: The New Agricultural Society at Berne." Here he praises Switzerland for its progress in liberty, agriculture, commerce, and the "arts of population." (New Essays, 69-73). Those features of the Swiss and their nation which Goldsmith described in the poem were selected both because of their traditional associations and because they would best contribute to his purposes in the poem. This is true also for his account of France which follows, for he certainly did not regard all Frenchmen as idle and enfeebled in thought. There are many instances
in his works where Goldsmith praises the culture and learning—-the arts and sciences--of the French and the particular excellence of many individual artists and writers such as Voltaire.

43 See *The Traveller*, li. 239-280, for the description of France.

44 *The Traveller*, line 242.

45 The use of the term "avarice," like Goldsmith's use of "luxuriance" and "luxurious" in the description of Italy and of terms such as "sumptuous" in the account of Switzerland, is an interesting reflection of his almost constant concern with the excessive luxury of wealth and its evils.

46 Works, V, 27.

47 See Arthur Friedman, "Goldsmith and Steele's *Englishman*," MLN, LV (1940), 294-296. Friedman shows that the *Englishman*, no. 40, January 5, 1713/14, was used by Goldsmith for his account of the French in *The Citizen of the World*, Letter LXXVIII. It is possible that this source may also have influenced his comments regarding the French people in *The Traveller* although not as specifically.

48 See *The Traveller*, li. 281-316, for the description of Holland.

49 *The Traveller*, li. 281-299. The qualities of patience and industry are part of the traditional presentation of the Dutch people. L. J. Cheney, *A History of the Western World* (New York, 1959), 153, states: "The Lowlands, or Netherlands, about the mouths of the mighty river Rhine and its companion river, the Maas, were settled during the Middle Ages by the Dutch, who, as one historian put it, 'plucked up' their land from the sea."

50 "Preface and Introduction to *The History of the Seven Years' War*," 11.

51 "Preface and Introduction to *The History of the Seven Years' War*," 13.

52 "Preface and Introduction to *The History of the Seven Years' War*," Works, V, 52.


54 Renier, 226-227. Renier points out that corruption had always been present but as exceptions rather than as the general situation.

55 *The Traveller*, line 305.

56 Renier, 229-230, 70, 31. Concerning the composition of the orangist party Renier states, p. 24, "For the party that opposed the political dictatorship of the Holland regents acted, and governed when it could, through men who came from the same social class from which the regents of the States party were drawn. In other words, it approved of their social dictatorship."
John DeWitt was made grand pensionary in 1653 during the first stadtholderless period (1651-1672). He and his brother Cornelis were murdered during the turmoil connected with the restoration of the stadtholder in 1672.

See Renier, 227.

"Preface and Introduction to The History of the Seven Years' War," 55-56: "... now the French party have got a complete victory, and seem to dictate every measure which is pretended to be enacted for public safety. This unfortunate commonwealth has already tamely submitted to the indignities of France, it has remonstrated against the encroachments of England; and has shown its weakness by its incapacity of redress. What, then, will be its fate when France has time to breathe from her present wars? Every slight pretence will be caught in order to pick a quarrel; for it is natural for mankind to desire fighting when they are sure to be conquerors ... In short, they must be left to themselves to feel all the miseries of present slavery, with the painful aggravation of a consciousness of former freedom."

See also The History of England, 1771, 326-327 (IV).

The Traveller, 11. 313-316. In Goldsmith's discussion of the invasion of England by the Danes in Letter VII of The History of England in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to His Son, Works, V, 269, occurs an interesting similarity of language: "Thus the Saxons were become as unable to make opposition against the Danes, as the Britons were to oppose the Saxons heretofore: they therefore bought off their invaders with money; a remarkable instance how much they had degenerated from their warlike ancestors."

The Traveller, 11. 306-312:
"Even liberty itself is barter'd here:
At gold's superior charms all freedom flies,
The needy sell it, and the rich man buys.
A land of tyrants, and a den of slaves,
Here wretches seek dishonourable graves,
And, calmly bent, to servitude conform,
Dull as their lakes that slumber in the storm."

It has been suggested (see English Poetry of the Mid and Late Eighteenth Century, ed. Ricardo Quintana and Alvin Whitley [New York, 1963], 202) that the lines concerning the bartering of liberty have reference to the law of Holland which permitted parents to sell their children for a certain number of years. But it is probable that in this passage Goldsmith also had in mind what he considered to be their enslavement to avarice and their political enslavement both in the present due to the factions and to the control of government by a small minority legislating in their own interests and in the future due to their conquest by France which he foresaw. (see n.61)
Cf. The Citizen of the World, Letter XXXV, 134, where Hingpo describes the degeneration of the Persians in the following manner: "Into what a state of misery are the modern Persians fallen! A nation famous for setting the world an example of freedom, is now become a land of tyrants, and a den of slaves."

See also New Essays, 121-122: "Wherever we turn we shall find those governments that have pursued foreign commerce with too much assiduity at length becoming Aristocratical; and the immense property, thus necessarily acquired by some, has swallowed up the liberties of all. Venice, Genoa, and Holland, are little better at present than retreats for tyrants and prisons for slaves. The Great, indeed, boast of their liberties there, and they have liberty. The poor boast of liberty too; but, alas, they groan under the most rigorous oppression."

Closely resembling the "Belgic sires of old" passage of The Traveller are these statements from Goldsmith's "Preface and Introduction to The History of the Seven Years' War, 8-9: "But to what purpose is it to cite ancient history, when we have so recent and so near an instance in the Dutch? That people, once brave, enthusiasts in the cause of freedom, and able to make their state formidable to their neighbours, are, by a long continuance of peace, divided into faction, set upon private interest, and neither able nor willing to usurp its rights or revenge oppression. This may serve as a memorable instance of what may be the result of a total inattention to war, and an utter extirpation of martial ardour. Insulted by the French, threatened by the English, and almost universally despised by the rest of Europe--how unlike the brave peasants their ancestors, who spread terror into either India, and always declared themselves the allies of those who drew the sword in defence of freedom!"

65 See The Traveller, 11. 315-422, for the account of the English.

66 Dedication, 6.

67 See also "A Comparative View of Races and Nations" (from Royal Magazine, June, 1760), New Essays, 15-16. Here the moderate climate of England is praised when compared directly with that of Italy.

68 Cf. New Essays, 53-54, where the English are described as "distinguished from the rest of Europe by their superior accuracy in reasoning."


70 See Chapter II, pp. 50-53 and Notes 100-107 for that chapter.

71 See Chapter III.

taken from Holdsworth's detailed account, Vol. X, 339-425. In the Preface to the 1770 edition of The History of England in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to His Son, (see Works, V, 254) Blackstone's work is cited as having supported many "of the tenets in these Letters" and Blackstone is praised as "one of the most elegant commentators upon our constitution."

73 Holdsworth, X, 340-341. For an elaboration of how the prerogative was shown to be subject to the law see Holdsworth, X, 358-364.

74 Holdsworth, X, 342-359. For a discussion of the prerogative powers in relation to foreign affairs see Holdsworth, X, 368-376; domestic affairs, 376-425.

75 Holdsworth, X, 377. The king was the head of the militia, the army, and the navy.

76 Holdsworth, X, 401-402 ff.

77 Holdsworth, X, 411-412.

78 Holdsworth, X, 58, 577-584, 630, 636-638.

79 Holdsworth, X, 455.

80 Holdsworth, X, 58-61. Holdsworth, X, 87, points out that the Whig monopoly began to break down in 1745.


82 Holdsworth, X, 62, 77.

83 Lecky, III, 82.

84 Lecky, III, 98-99.

85 See Dedication to The Traveller, 5; The History of England in a Series of Letters, Works, III, 167, 316; The History of England from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II, IV (1771), 291.

86 For criticism of Walpole see New Essays, 61, and History of 1771, IV, 255 ff; for Faction and Party: History of 1771, IV; History in Letters; History of the Seven Years' War; for personal sacrifice as opposed to personal ambitions and selfishness: History of the Seven Years' War, Works, V, 22, 59; and History of 1771, IV, 304; History in Letters, V, 323-351; advocacy of liberty and defense of monarchy occur throughout these histories.

Proof of what I consider to be Goldsmith's basically Tory point of view seems to be present in the remarks concerning the abridgment of his History of England,(which statements were made in a letter from Goldsmith to Bennet Langton in 1771), Works, I, 462: "I have been a good deal
abused in the newspapers for betraying the liberties of the people. God knows, I had no thought for or against liberty in my head . . . However, they set me down as an arrant Tory, and consequently an honest man. When you come to look at any part of it you'll say that I am a sour Whig."


88 Lecky, III, 110-111.

89 The Traveller, 388-389. In The History of England of 1771, IV, 381, concerning the English involved in the conquest of India, Goldsmith states, "They were gratified in their avarice to its extremest wish; and that wealth which they had plundered from slaves in India, they were resolved to employ in making slaves at home."

90 The Traveller, 381, 386.

91 The Traveller, 383-386; 389-392.

92 The Traveller, 396.


94 The Traveller, 11. 371-372.

95 The Vicar of Wakefield, 149-150.

96 The Vicar of Wakefield, 151.

97 The Vicar of Wakefield, 152. Here, as in The Citizen of the World, Goldsmith points to Holland, Genoa, and Venice as examples for what might happen to England if she continues to permit the rich to gain control: "What they may then expect may be seen by turning our eyes to Holland, Genoa, or Venice, where the laws govern the poor, and the rich govern the law."

98 See Chapter II.


100 The Traveller, 11. 407-408.

101 See The History of England, 1771, IV, 341-342, where there occurs another reference to the "waste of an exuberant nation"; and The History of the Seven Years' War, 32-33.

102 Howard J. Bell, Jr., "The Deserted Village and Goldsmith's Social Doctrines," PMLA, LIX (1944), 747-772.

103 The Traveller, 11. 354-360.
Dedication, 4.

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