

AN ANALYSIS OF CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

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A THESIS

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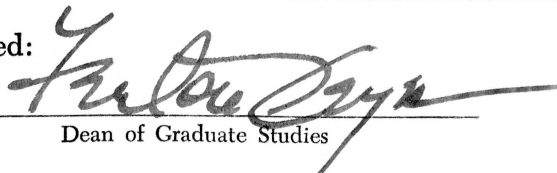
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## PREFACE

To gain a clear picture of the literary method of Oliver Goldsmith, his narrative art, the social customs of eighteenth-century England pictured through his work, and Goldsmith as a political thinker and philosopher, I have made a thorough study of Citizen of the World. I have limited my study to this particular work because I believe all facets of Goldsmith, the writer, are exemplified in the Chinese letters.

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Autrey Nell Wiley, who never doubted my ability to develop my study and write a thesis on my conclusions even when I had almost despaired of ever being able to do so. Also, to Dr. Constance Beach and Dr. Gladys Maddocks, for their kindness and patience in advising and assisting me in my work, I express my thanks. Finally, I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. James W. Guynes, and my daughter Wendalyn Wear, for their love and patience and their sheer determination to see me through.

August 15, 1959

*Anne Guynes Wear*

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## CHAPTER I

### LITERARY METHOD IN CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

The Citizen of the World is a series of one hundred and twenty-three letters purporting to be written between Lien Chi Altangi, an imaginary philosopher living in London, his former teacher, his son, and a Dutch merchant friend in Amsterdam. His former teacher is Fum Hoam, first President of the Ceremonial Academy at Peking; his son is Hingpo, who is trying to make his way from China to his father in London, and the Dutch merchant's name is never given. The work first appeared as "Chinese Letters" in John Newbery's Public Ledger, most of the letters appearing in the periodical in 1760. They were published in 1762 under the title, Citizen of the World. They are a series of capricious, satirical comments on English customs, literary subjects, moral and ethical characteristics, and governmental institutions. The incidents of London life which he discusses prove Goldsmith to have been an astute observer of human nature. He, a citizen of the world, was unable, however, to limit himself to discussing only things English; he branched out and included in his essays comments on European and Asiatic customs and institutions, especially those concerning the mechanics of government.

In my analysis of Citizen of the World I begin with a discussion of literary method used in the work. Goldsmith proved himself versatile in many types of literary composition, especially in the published letter, the genre of his Citizen of the World. In writing on the English social and political scene of his day, Goldsmith used the dramatic method of speaking, not as Goldsmith but as the Chinese philosopher, Lien Chi Altangi. His use of this dramatic device of the imaginary character, through whom he speaks, was prudent, for he could hardly be successful writing as an Irishman. An Irishman was nothing new in England, and the English were certain that one from Ireland had nothing to say that would be of any interest to them. On the other hand, the Oriental race was very much admired and considered a novelty in eighteenth-century England.

The use of two genres is apparent in Citizen of the World, the essay in the form of letters and within these the narrative. The essay is personal, imaginative, and humorous. It is closely connected with the writer's personality, and it does not treat any topic exhaustively, but suggests certain lines of thought, usually introducing a moral, for the reader to follow. The narrative, which is fully treated in Chapter III, consists of five types: authentic stories, parables, fables, fairy tales, and allegories.

Satire, a component of literary method, appears in

almost every letter of Citizen of the World. Goldsmith's satire is good in that he successfully blends criticism with humor, sometimes with the aim of improving human institutions, at other times merely in good humor. He never reaches the point of invective, for he was not of the nature to abuse his fellow man. Only once does he resort to sarcasm, in ridiculing the contemporary quack doctors Rock, Franks, and Walker; for he seems to have been a writer who would not allow himself to become personal. The satire which he employs in Citizen of the World is more often in the form of irony.

The satirical treatment of subjects in Citizen of the World can be classified into four broad categories; politics, social institutions, social customs, and the fourth group, which does not fit into any of the first three and which can only be termed social behavior. To prove my statement and to exemplify Goldsmith's mastery of the difficult technique of satire, I relate examples of each category.

In the category of politics Goldsmith satirizes the French and English in their efforts to colonize Canada. A subject which he believed firmly and which is discussed fully in Chapter IV is that extensive colonization weakens a country. Therefore in an effort to curb his country's zealous endeavors he attacks the two countries. His use of irony is superb as he gives a reason for the race between the two:

" . . . of one side's desiring to wear greater quantities of

furs than the other."<sup>1</sup> He relates a brief history of Canada; then gives a ridiculous account of their gaining the furs:

The savages of Canada . . . had reigned for ages without rivals in dominion; and knew no enemies but the prowling bear or insidious tyger; their native forests produced all the necessaries of life, and they found ample luxury in the enjoyment. In this manner they might have continued to live to eternity, had not the English been informed that those countries produced furs in great abundance. From that moment the country became an object of desire; it was found that furs were things very much wanted in England; the ladies edged some of their clothes with furs, and muffs were worn both by gentlemen and ladies. In short, furs were found indispensably necessary for the happiness of the state: and the king was consequently petitioned to grant not only the country of Canada, but all the savages belonging to it to the subjects of England, in order to have the people supplied with proper quantities of this necessary commodity.

. . . The French who were equally in want of furs . . . made the very same request to their monarch, and met with the same gracious reception from their king, who generously granted what was not his to give. Wherever the French landed, they called the country their own; and the English took possession wherever they came upon the same equitable pretensions. The harmless savages made no opposition; and could the intruders have agreed together, they might peaceably have shared this desolate country between them.<sup>2</sup>

Another example of Goldsmith's use of satire in the category of politics is to be found in Letter V, which ridicules, among other things, propagandism of countries and their national partiality. Lien Chi sends to Fum Hoam a newspaper containing accounts from different countries which show the faults of each conspicuously. The satire is humorous

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<sup>1</sup>Oliver Goldsmith, Citizen of the World, ed. Austin Dobson (London: J. M. Dent and Co., 1891), I, 62.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 62-63.

and witty with no real intent to reform. The letter was probably written simply to amuse the readers. The report from Vienna reads thus: "We have received certain advices that a party of twenty thousand Austrians, having attacked a much superior body of Prussians, put them all to flight, and took the rest prisoners of war,"<sup>3</sup> while the report from Berlin sounds strangely like mimicry: "We have received certain advices that a party of twenty thousand Prussians, having attacked a much superior body of Austrians, put them to flight, and took a great number of prisoners with their military chest, cannon, and baggage,"<sup>4</sup> and finally the report from Edinburgh: "We are positive when we say that Saunders M'Gregor, who was lately executed for horse-stealing, is not a Scotchman, but born in Carrickfergus."<sup>5</sup>

A third example of satire in the category of politics is found in Letter CI. In the story of Takupi, Prime Minister of Tipartala, satire is directed against the belief that the people of a country should be content with those whom they have elected to govern. Takupi had long been Prime Minister of Tipartala, and he had worked hard to provide the country with security and to improve it in every way possible. Possessed of every necessity, however, the people began to imagine grievances against the Prime Minister

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-19.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

and drew up a petition against him. The queen, wanting to appease and satisfy her people, ordered that he should stand trial. The excellence of Goldsmith's satire is manifested in the account of Takupi's trial:

The day being arrived, and the Minister brought before the tribunal, a carrier, who supplied the city with fish, appeared among the number of his accusers. He exclaimed, that it was the custom, time immemorial, for carriers to bring their fish upon a horse in a hamper; which being placed on one side, and balanced by a stone on the other, was thus conveyed with ease and safety; but that the prisoner, moved either by a spirit of innovation, or perhaps bribed by the hamper-makers, had obliged all carriers to use the stone no longer, but balance one hamper with another; an order entirely repugnant to the customs of all antiquity, and those of the kingdom of Tipartala in particular.

The carrier finished; and the whole court shook their heads at the innovating Minister; when a second witness appeared. He was inspector of the city buildings, and accused the disgraced favourite of having given order for the demolition of an ancient ruin, which obstructed the passage through one of the principal streets. He observed that such buildings were noble monuments of barbarous antiquity; contributed finely to shew how little their ancestors understood of architecture: and for that reason such monuments should be held sacred, and suffered gradually to decay.

The last witness now appeared. This was a widow, who had laudably attempted to burn herself upon her husband's funeral pile. But the innovating Minister had prevented the execution of her design, and was insensible to her tears, protestations, and entreaties.<sup>6</sup>

As his punishment Takupi shrewdly asked to be banished to some desolate village which he had governed. The request being granted, a courtier was dispatched to find the appropriate spot. After months of fruitless searching, he returned with the information that there was not a desolate spot in

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., II, 193-194.

the whole kingdom; so, realizing their dissatisfaction with their Prime Minister had no basis, the queen and her people reinstated him. In presenting the parable, Goldsmith satirically parallels the moral that people should let those whom they have elected to govern do so.

In the category of social institutions Goldsmith satirizes the professions of the stage, the literati, the law, the medical profession, the clergy, and trade. In his satirical attack on the stage, Lien Chi relates a visit which he and the man in black, an Englishman whom he met while visiting Westminster Abbey and with whom he became very good friends, made to the theatre. The plot is quite confusing to him; the queen has lost a child some fifteen years before; the king is in a violent passion because the queen has rejected his tenderness; the queen finds her son and then attempts to put him on the throne in her husband's place. Lien Chi finally remarks, "But whether the king was killed or the queen was drowned, or the son was poisoned, I have absolutely forgotten."<sup>7</sup> Then he continues, telling of the entertainment between acts. A man came in balancing a straw on his nose, and the reader sees how by exaggerating the trivial into a position of extreme importance, Goldsmith accomplishes his satire:

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., I, 85.

. . . a man came in balancing a straw on his nose, and the audience were clapping their hands in all the raptures of applause. To what purpose, cried I, does this unmeaning figure make his appearance; is he a part of the plot? Unmeaning do you call him, replied my friend in black; this is one of the most important characters of the whole play; nothing pleases the people more than the seeing a straw balanced; there is a great deal of meaning in the straw; there is something suited to every apprehension in the sight; and a fellow possessed of talents like these is sure of making his fortune.<sup>8</sup>

Letter LXXIX is another satirical attack on the stage, this time dealing with the rivalry of the two theatres, Drury Lane and Covent Garden. In describing the opening of the winter season, Lien Chi remarks, "Both houses have already commenced hostilities. War, open war! and no quarter received or given! Two singing women, like heralds, have begun the contest."<sup>9</sup> The whole town is divided in opinion as to the more worthy of the two, and in their rivalry to gain merit over the other, each struggles to outdo the other:

. . . the Generals of either army, have, . . . several reinforcements to lend occasional assistance. If they produce a pair of diamond buckles at one house, we have a pair of eye-brows that can match them at the other. If we outdo them in our attitude, they overcome us by a shrug; if we bring more children on the stage, they can bring more guards in red clothes, who strut and shoulder their swords to the astonishment of every spectator.<sup>10</sup>

Eight of the letters in Citizen of the World satirize the literati. Letter XX attacks the republic of letters in

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., II, 105.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 106.



Europe; Letter XXX, a club of authors; Letter XXXII, writers of eastern tales; Letter LIII, bawdy, obscene novels; Letter XCIII, critics who admire writings of lords; Letter LVII, critics who do not recognize literary greatness unless the author be rich or a member of the nobility; Letter LXXXIX, writers who pretend to be authorities on antiquity; and XCVII, literature in that all its subjects have been exhausted. In Letter XX Lien remarks that it is absurd to apply the name "republic of letters" to the learned of Europe, since that society is very unlike a republic. In the letter, which is to his teacher, Fum Hoam, he says:

. . . every member of this fancied republic is desirous of governing, and none willing to obey; each looks upon his fellow as a rival, not an assistant in the same pursuit. They calumniate, they injure, they despise, they ridicule each other: if one man writes a book that pleases, others shall write books to shew that he might have given still greater pleasure, or should not have pleased.<sup>11</sup>

He continues, admitting that there are some with superior abilities who recognize the same qualities in others, but ". . . their mutual admiration is not sufficient to shield off the contempt of the crowd."<sup>12</sup> Not content with ridiculing authors, he turns to literary critics. In his opinion a critic has the vanity of a scholar but none of his genius, and incapable of elevating himself to heights, ". . . pretends

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., I, 75.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

to take our feelings under his care, teaches where to condemn, where to lay the emphasis of praise, and may with as much justice be called a man of taste, as the Chinese who measures his wisdom by the length of his nails."<sup>13</sup> Another excellent example of Goldsmith's satirical attacks on the literati is Letter XXX. Upon visiting a literary club, he witnesses the efforts of a poet to read to the group a heroic poem which he has written. Finally, after being forced to pay six-pence for the privilege of having an audience, the poet begins to read. As he reads, it is quite evident to Lien Chi that the company holds his work in great contempt, and when the poet pauses to ask the president his opinion of the poem, he is stopped thus: ". . . I think it is equal to anything I have seen; and I fancy (continued he doubling up the poem, and forcing it into the author's pocket), that you will get great honour when it comes out; so I shall beg leave to put it in. We will not intrude upon your good nature, in desiring to hear more of it at present."<sup>14</sup>

The next profession to receive the ironical treatment of Goldsmith's pen is the law. With his simplex nature it is only logical to assume that he would become impatient with the complexity of the law, and with this impatience, the next step for him would be to take pen in hand and ridicule the

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

profession, perhaps realizing that only one writer could not bring about complete reform, yet with the end in mind to do what he could.

Letter XCVIII is a letter to Fum Hoam, in which the Chinese philosopher tells of a visit to his friend, the man in black. Upon his arrival he finds his friend engaged in a lawsuit which has been in progress for seven years. Surprised that the man in black has not sufficient cunning to avoid becoming entangled in a lawsuit, he expresses himself on this point, only to be assured that from the very beginning the man in black was sure of his victory. The reason for his confidence in the outcome is that Salkred and Ventris, two lawyers that lived a hundred years before, gave opinions that were very similar to his case, and his lawyer is using these opinions. His antagonist's lawyer is using the opinions of the unidentified Coke and Hales, and which side presents the most opinions, will carry the cause. In great perplexity the Chinese philosopher demands why each side uses opinions of others when good sense and reason should be sufficient to determine the right, and besides, surely such a procedure will not take nearly so much time. The man in black's reply is proof of Goldsmith's satirical attitude toward the many intricacies of the law:

"I see," cries my friend, "that you are for a speedy administration of justice, but all the world will grant that the more time that is taken up in considering any

subject the better it will be understood. Besides, it is the boast of an Englishman, that his property is secure, and all the world will grant that a deliberate administration of justice is the best way to secure his property. Why have we so many lawyers, but to secure our property; why so many formalities, but to secure our property? Not less than one hundred thousand families live in opulence, elegance and ease, merely by securing our property."<sup>15</sup>

Another more specific example of satire in respect to law is found in Letter LXXII which is against the marriage laws drawn up by Lord Hardwicke in 1753. Austin Dobson, in his explanatory note, says "Lien Chi seems to agree with the opinion expressed by Horace Walpole, that the act was so drawn by the judges, 'as to clog all matrimony in general.'"<sup>16</sup> In his letter to Fum Hoam Lien Chi says that he is not at all surprised "at the discouragements given to propagation."<sup>17</sup> He tells his teacher that there are many laws; as, for example no man shall marry a woman without her consent, no man shall marry a woman without her parents' consent unless she has arrived at the age of maturity, a couple shall take a great deal of time to consider before they marry, all marriages shall be proclaimed before celebration, and a marriage "may be dissolved to all intents and purposes by the authority of any civil magistrate."<sup>18</sup> Goldsmith's scornful touch makes

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., II, 182.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 290.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

the whole set of marriage laws appear ridiculous in the following summing up statement:

"Thus you see, my friend, that matrimony here is hedged round with so many obstructions, that those who are willing to break through or surmount them must be contented, if at last they find it a bed of thorns."<sup>19</sup>

The only time that Goldsmith allows the personal note of sarcasm to enter his essays is in his ridicule of the medical profession and its members, the contemporary well-known quacks, Doctors Rock, Franks, and Walker. He begins his satire in a general manner, saying that though the Siamese boast of their botanical knowledge and the Chinese of their skill in pulses, the English alone are "the great restorers of health, the dispensers of youth, and the insurers of longevity."<sup>20</sup> In other countries, he says, there is one doctor for all maladies; one who treats gout in the toe also treats a pain in the head, but not the English:

The English are sensible of the force of this reasoning; they have therefore one doctor for the eyes, another for the toes; they have their sciatica doctors, and inoculating doctors; they have one doctor who is modestly content with securing them from bugbites, and five hundred who prescribe for the bite of mad dogs.<sup>21</sup>

From this general note of satire, he progresses to the personal in his attack, with the remarkable caricatures of the three doctors:

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

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

The next in fame, though by some reckoned of equal pretensions, is doctor Timothy Franks, F. O. G. H., living in a place called the Old Bailey. As Rock is remarkably squab, his great rival Franks, is as remarkably tall. He was born in the year of the christian aera 1692, and is, while I now write, exactly sixty-eight years, three months, and four days old. Age, however, has no ways impaired his usual health and vivacity, I am told, he generally walks with his breast open. This gentleman, who is of a mixed reputation, is particularly for a becoming assurance, which carries him gently through life; for, except doctor Rock, none are more blessed with the advantages of face than doctor Franks.<sup>22</sup>

. . . Next to these is doctor Walker, preparator of his own medicines. This gentleman is remarkable for an aversion to quacks; frequently cautioning the public to be careful into what hands they commit their safety; by which he would insinuate, that if they did not employ him alone, they must be undone. His public spirit is equal to his success. Not for himself, but for his country, is the gally-pot prepared and the drops sealed up with proper directions for any part of the town or country. All this is for his country's good: so that he is now grown old in the practice of physic and virtue; and to use his own elegance of expression, "There is not such another medicine as his in the world again."<sup>23</sup>

Goldsmith's use of sarcasm is artful in that it hides criticism under apparent praise, yet none can overlook the

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 56-57.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

disapproval and contempt that is implied.

Of the professions which Goldsmith satirizes in Citizen of the World, that which receives the most amusing treatment is the clergy. In Letter LVIII, a letter from Lien Chi to Fum Hoam, he describes a visitation dinner and gives the reasons for the development of such a custom. He says priests had to stay at court in order to solicit preferment, and if they were in the country visiting, then they were quite "out of the road to promotion."<sup>24</sup> Also because of that common clerical disorder, the gout, and the bad wine and food they would receive in the country, they began the custom of visitation dinners, whereby all the priests gather in the city at the home of the principal priest, discuss all the business of the past year, but mostly eat. He continues his harangue against the clergy, constantly bringing in the clergy's favorite pastime, that of eating, and at one time mentions the name of one of the priests as Doctor Marrowfat. Of the clergy's attitude toward abstinence in regard to the temporal pleasures, he has this to say:

It is very natural for men who are abridged in one excess, to break into some other. The clergy here, particularly those who are advanced in years, think if they are abstemious with regard to women and wine, they may indulge their other appetites without censure. Thus some are found to rise in the morning only to a consultation with their cook about dinner, and when that has been swallowed, make no other use of their faculties (if they have any) but to ruminate on the succeeding meal.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

Of the six occupations in the category of social institutions which Goldsmith satirizes, the last I discuss is that of trade. Letter LXXVII is an account of Lien Chi's visit to a shop to buy silk for a nightcap. The highly persuasive shopkeeper sold him, besides the silk, a waistcoat and a morning gown, and as Lien Chi says, "would probably have persuaded me to have bought half the goods in his shop, if I had stayed long enough, or was furnished with sufficient money."<sup>26</sup> The shopkeeper, out of avarice and ambition to get ahead in his profession, is perfectly willing, even desirous, to sell his customer something that is of no use to him, simply to further his own ends. The reader gets a graphic description of the shopkeeper and, as Goldsmith intends, dislikes him.

Progressing from the category of social institutions to the category of social customs which Goldsmith satirizes in Citizen of the World, I classify them into four groups: funeral customs, customs of dress, amusements, and social phenomena. In Letter XII he first ridicules the Europeans in their passion for magnificent interments. Lien Chi says, "When a tradesman dies, his frightful face is painted up by an undertaker, and placed in a proper situation to receive company; this is called lying in state."<sup>27</sup> Next in his

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., I, 41.



attack is the writing of epitaphs for the deceased, and he very methodically ridicules this custom, saying that those epitaphs which flatter the most are the ones which are considered to be the best. "When we read those monumental histories of the dead, it may be justly said, that all men are equal in the dust; for they all appear equally remarkable for being the most sincere Christians, the most benevolent neighbours, and the honestest men of their time."<sup>28</sup> Even Westminster Abbey is not spared in his attack. He tells his friend and former teacher that there are ". . . no intruders by the influence of friends or fortune,"<sup>29</sup> who "presume to mix their unhallowed ashes with philosophers, heroes, and poets. Nothing but true merit has a place in that awful sanctuary."<sup>30</sup> He says the guardianship of the tombs is in the care of priests who would never take down the names of good men to make room for others of doubtful character, just for hope of a reward. The tone of the statement, however, makes it quite clear that there are just such priests. Letter XCVI is another satire in connection with funerals, this time in connection with the death of the English king. Lien Chi ridicules the habit of "weepers" or armbands; "Weeping muslin; alas, alas, very sorrowful truly! These weepers then it seems are to bear the whole burden of the

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

distress."<sup>31</sup> He continues, ridiculing the grey undress frock that government officials are required to wear upon the monarch's death, and the black dress coat minus pockets or buttons, plain muslin cravats, shamoy shoes and gloves, crape hat-bands, black swords and buckles, and of course, weepers.

The last funeral custom which Goldsmith ridicules is the writing of elegies for the great. He remarks that poets and undertakers are always assured of employment. One provides the mourning coach, and one provides the elegy. "The nobility need be under no apprehensions, but die as fast as they think proper, the poet and undertaker are ready to supply them."<sup>32</sup>

Customs that could not escape the observant eye of Goldsmith are customs of dress, which he ridicules in Letter LXXXI. In the letter to Fum Hoam Lien Chi tells him of the way women dress in England and of the frequency with which style changes:

To-day they are lifted upon stilts, to-morrow they lower their heels and raise their heads; their clothes at one time are bloated out with whalebone; at present they have laid their hoops aside and are become as slim as mermaids. All, all is in a state of continual fluctuation, from the Mandarin's wife, who rattles through the streets in her chariot, to the humble seamstress, who clatters over the payment of iron-shod patterns.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., II, 174.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

Then he becomes specific in his ridicule, telling Fum Hoam about women's trains: "What chiefly distinguishes the sex at present is the train. As a Lady's quality or fashion was once determined here by the circumference of her hoop, both are now measured by the length of her tail."<sup>34</sup> His ridicule of the fashions of dress ends with a humorous note, wherein he remarks about the fact that many English writers have berated the absurdity of the train, but never has it been ridiculed in the way it has in the Italian theatre, "where Pasquarielo being engaged to attend on the countess of Fernambroco, having one of his hands employed in carrying her muff, and the other her lap dog, he bears her train majestically along by sticking it in the waistband of his breeches."<sup>35</sup>

The third group of customs which Goldsmith satirizes is that of amusements, ridiculing specifically the English passion for gaming. According to Lien Chi, when a Chinese matron gambles, her money goes first, then her trinkets, followed by her clothes, and even her teeth or an eye are gambled if necessary; but he says the Englishwoman is different:

It is true, they often stake their fortune, their beauty, health, and reputations at a gaming table. It even sometimes happens, that they play their husbands into

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

jail; yet still they preserve a decorum unknown to our wives and daughters of China. I have been present at a rout in this country, where a woman of fashion, after losing her money, has sat writhing in all the agonies of bad luck; and yet, after all, never once attempted to strip a single petticoat, or cover the board, as her last stake, with her head-clothes.<sup>36</sup>

Another amusement, which is satirized just as effectively in Letter LXXXVI, is that of horse racing. He admits that he, bred in philosophic seclusion, may be rather harsh in his disapproval, but he cannot understand the seriousness with which the English enter into such a trivial pastime, especially those of the nobility: ". . . several of the great here, I am told, understand as much of farriery as their grooms; and a horse, with any share of merit, can never want a patron among the nobility."<sup>37</sup>

Last in the category of customs is the group social phenomena, and specifically classified into this group are the custom of painted signs identifying houses, the custom of literary clubs, and the custom of orientalism which was so common in eighteenth-century England. In reference to the first custom mentioned, Lien Chi, in a letter to his Dutch merchant friend in Amsterdam, has this to say about them:

The houses borrow very few ornaments from architecture; their chief decoration seems to be a paltry piece of painting, hung out at their doors or windows, at once a proof of their indigence and vanity. Their vanity

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 196-197.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

in each having one of those pictures exposed to public view; and their indigence, in being unable to get them better painted. In this respect, the fancy of their painters is also deplorable. Could you believe it? I have seen five black lions and three blue boars in less than the circuit of half a mile; and yet you know that animals of these colours are no where to be found except in the wild imaginations of Europe.<sup>38</sup>

In connection with satirizing literary clubs, in Letter XXIX, he ridicules members of a club, especially in the names which he gives them. There is doctor Nonentity, a metaphysician who never says anything but is apparently very smart; Tim Syllabub, a poet, who is excellent at any type of poetry; Mr. Tibs, who writes receipts for mad dog bites and eastern tales to perfection, and lawyer Squint, who is the politician of the club. Last in this group is Goldsmith's attack on the cheap orientalism of the day. Lien Chi says to his teacher, in Letter XXXIII, "I am disgusted, O Fum Hoam, even to sickness disgusted. Is it possible to bear the presumption of those islanders, when they pretend to instruct me in the ceremonies of China! They lay it down as a maxim, that every person who comes from thence must express himself in metaphor; swear by Alla, rail against wine, and behave, and talk and write like a Turk or a Persian. They make no distinction between our elegant manners, and the voluptuous barbarities of our eastern neighbours."<sup>39</sup>

The final category of subjects which Goldsmith satirizes in Citizen of the World is that of social behavior, and

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., I, 4-5.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 138.

in this category four instances of social behavior stand out as the best representatives of Goldsmith's great ability as a satirist; epidemic terror caused by mad dog scares, the granting of unmerited literary reputation to the nobility, behavior of people at a church service, and the empty pride of man. In Letter LXIX Lien Chi says to Fum Hoam that there is never a season which passes that epidemic terror does not afflict the people in one form or another, and this season it is caused by mad dog scares. He tells how the fear grows until it reaches ridiculous proportions, and people become almost idiotic in their behavior. An example of satire is his account of their method of determining if a dog be mad or not:

Their manner of knowing whether a dog be mad or not, somewhat resembles the ancient European custom of trying witches. The old woman suspected was tied hand and foot and thrown into the water. If she swam, then she was instantly carried off to be burnt for a witch, if she sunk, then indeed she was acquitted of the charge, but drowned in the experiment. In the same manner a crowd gather round a dog suspected of madness, and they begin by teasing the devoted animal on every side; if he attempts to stand upon the defensive and bite, then is he unanimously found guilty, for a mad dog always snaps at every thing; if, on the contrary, he strives to escape by running away, then he can expect no compassion, for mad dogs always run straight forward before them.<sup>40</sup>

Just as ridiculous as giving way to epidemic terror is the granting of unmerited literary reputation to members of the nobility. Evident of Goldsmith's opinion of such

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., II, 62.

behavior is Letter LVII. Such fawning behavior on the part of the English seems strange to Lien Chi, and he writes to his former teacher that "A nobleman has but to take a pen, ink, and paper, write away through three large volumes, and then sign his name to the title page, though the whole might have been before more disgusting than his own rent-roll, yet signing his name and title gives imagination, and genius."<sup>41</sup> A more humorous method is used in Letter XLI, in the author's ridicule of the behavior of the congregation in St. Paul's Church. In another letter to Fum Hoam, Lien Chi tells of visiting the Church with the man in black. After the musical part of the service, several people left. Lien Chi mistakenly thought the service was over, but the man in black assured him it was not. At Lien Chi's astonishment because of the seeming irreverence of these people, the man in black told him to observe those about him who stayed, and he would see examples of true devotion, and Lien Chi, doing as he was directed, grew even more puzzled:

I now looked round me as he directed, but saw nothing of that fervent devotion which he had promised; one of the worshippers appeared to be ogling the company through a glass; another was fervent not in addresses to heaven but to his mistress; a third whispered, a fourth took snuff, and the priest himself, in a drowsy tone, read over the duties of the day.<sup>42</sup>

The last example of Goldsmith's ridicule of social behavior is his satire of the empty pride of man, and in

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-7.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., I, 177.

Letter LXIV the reader has no difficulty in discerning Goldsmith's ironical attitude toward such behavior in Lien Chi's account to Fum Hoam:

The princes of Europe have found out a manner of rewarding their subjects who have behaved well, by presenting them with about two yards of blue ribbon, which is worn about the shoulder. They who are honoured with this mark of distinction are called knights, and the King himself is always the head of the order. This is a very frugal method of recompensing the most important services; and it is very fortunate for kings that their subjects are satisfied with such trifling rewards. Should a nobleman happen to lose his leg in battle, the king presents him with two yards of ribbon, and he is paid for the loss of his limb. Should an ambassador spend all his paternal fortune in supporting the honour of his country abroad, the King presents him with two yards of ribbon, which is to be considered as an equivalent to his estate. In short, while an European king has a yard of blue or green ribbon left, he need be under no apprehensions of wanting statesmen, generals, and soldiers.<sup>43</sup>

Through classification of the subjects satirized, the reader gets a detailed account of Goldsmith's satire in Citizen of the World, and thus an idea of his versatility. He was humorous or serious as the occasion demanded; and in almost every use of satire, he had behind that use the serious intent to reform.

Another component of Goldsmith's literary method in Citizen of the World is didacticism, and the subjects he is didactic about may be divided into two channels: political thinking and moral behavior. Goldsmith as a political thinker is discussed in Chapter IV, and only the method he uses is discussed here. In the channel of moral behavior Goldsmith

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., II, 39.



uses the vehicle of the letter from a father to his son to instruct his readers. Serious didacticism is the tone he adopts in regard to both political thinking and moral behavior; he has definite ideas about both and wishes to impart his ideas to the public. Goldsmith's preceptive method is apparent in Letter LXXXVII. He saw what the best statesmen of the countries of western Europe and America have not been sufficiently guarded against, that the Russian Empire was their natural enemy. He feared the Russians, and regarded them as prejudiced and savage, warning his readers that European countries in hiring Russian mercenaries were inviting infiltration. Through Lien Chi he was instructing against the practice of using Russian mercenaries, and his serious purpose is evident; the tone of the following passage reveals his earnest attempt to turn his readers to his way of thinking:

You tell me the people of Europe are wise; but where lies their wisdom? You say they are valiant too; yet I have some reasons to doubt of their valour. They are engaged in war among each other, yet apply to the Russians, their neighbours and ours, for assistance. Cultivating such an alliance argues at once imprudence and timidity. All subsidies paid for such an aid is strengthening the Russians, already too powerful, and weakening the employers, already exhausted by intestine commotions.<sup>44</sup>

The strength of Goldsmith's didacticism is apparent, for in this short paragraph he puts across to his readers four pertinent points: (1) the people of Europe are behaving

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., pp. 139-140.

unwisely, (2) their courage is doubtful, (3) cultivating an alliance with Russia argues imprudence and timidity, and (4) subsidies paid to Russia for mercenaries strengthens them and weakens the employers.

Another example of the strength of his preceptive method is found in Letter XXXVIII, where in one paragraph he puts forth two lessons: an explanation of why the administration of justice is so difficult and then a definition of true justice:

What contributes to raise justice above all other kingly virtues is, that it is seldom attended with a due share of applause, and those who practise it must be influenced by greater motives than empty fame; the people are generally well pleased with a remission of punishment, and all that wears the appearance of humanity; it is the wise alone who are capable of discerning that impartial justice is the truest mercy: they know it to be very difficult, at once to compassionate, and yet condemn an object that pleads for tenderness.<sup>45</sup>

Didacticism in relation to moral behavior is found in Lien Chi's letters to Hingpo. Letter LXVI explains that there is a difference between love and gratitude; Letter LXXIII, that life grows dearer as one grows older; Letter XCV, that one must learn to bear misfortune; Letter LXX, that fortune is gained only by hard and patient industry; Letter LXI, that one should learn only one profession and that one should strive not to please the whole world, but be loyal only to oneself; and LXVII, that true wisdom is gained through experience as well as through books. Taken from

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., I, 164.

Letter LXVII, the following is an example of Goldsmith's serious intent to teach:

A youth, who has thus spent his life among books, new to the world, and unacquainted with man, but by philosophic information, may be considered as a being, whose mind is filled with the vulgar errors of the wise; utterly unqualified for a journey through life, yet confident of his own skill in that direction, he sets out with confidence, blunders on with vanity, and finds himself at last undone.<sup>46</sup>

Even though in a discussion of literary method in Citizen of the World satire is more apparent, the cursory presentation of didacticism proves seriousness in his attitude of reform, and while didacticism is not as common, nevertheless it is just as discernible.

An important element of literary method is the author's attitude toward his work, and Goldsmith's effective use of verisimilitude is the basic reason that Citizen of the World is interesting. The factors which contribute to verisimilitude are the dramatic character of the Chinese philosopher, his manners and his beliefs; use of contrast between the East and the West; and the narrative, that of the struggle of the son and his beloved, the beautiful Zelis, to reach England. The dramatic character of the letter writer is realistic in that he is Chinese, possessing wisdom such as his ancestors throughout the ages have, and he is a philosopher, seriously searching for the answers to the questions that life presents. Thus he is an effective vehicle

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., II, 52.

for the author's thoughts as a philosopher. Lien Chi is polite as only the Orientals are polite. In his letters to his former teacher this politeness shows itself:

Think not, O thou guide of my youth, that absence can impair my respect, or interposing trackless deserts blot your reverend figure from my memory. 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.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to politeness as a contributing factor to the reality of the philosopher's character is his manner of speaking. He always refers to high officials in English government as mandarines. In Letter IX, speaking of the Englishman's habit of keeping mistresses, he says, "A mandarine therefore here generally keeps four wives, a gentleman three, and a stage player two. . . . From such a picture you will be apt to conclude . . . that a mandarine is much cleverer than a gentleman, and a gentleman than a player . . ." <sup>48</sup> Also in his speech, the Chinese philosopher refers to Confucius often; as, for example, in Letter VII from Lien Chi to Fum Hoam upon his receiving the news that the emperor had seized his wife and daughter and was appropriating them to his use because of his displeasure at Lien Chi's leaving the country:

But I submit to the stroke of heaven, I hold the volume of Confucius in my hand, and as I read grow humble, and patient and wise. We should feel sorrow,

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., I, 6.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., pp. 30-31.

says he, but not sink under its oppression; the heart of a wise man should resemble a mirror, which reflects every object without being sullied by any. The wheel of fortune turns incessantly round, and who can say within himself I shall today be uppermost. We should hold the immutable mean that lies between insensibility and anguish; our attempts should be not to extinguish nature, but to repress it; not to stand unmoved at distress, but endeavour to turn away disaster to our own advantage. Our greatest glory is, not in never falling, but in rising every time we fall.<sup>49</sup>

The Christian belief in the transmigration of souls lends an appearance of truth to the character of the Chinese philosopher. Letter XV is a lecture on the cruelty of eating the flesh of animals. He considers such a custom by the Christians as barbaric and proof of surfeit.

Examples of Goldsmith's effective use of contrast are manifested in the contrast in behavior, manners, people, punishment, cities, and even the politics of the East and West. An amusing example of contrast in behavior is Lien Chi's remark about handclapping: "Clapping of hands is, it seems, the manner of applauding in England: the manner is absurd; but every country, you know has its peculiar absurdities."<sup>50</sup> Contrast in manners is expressively stated in Letter XXXIX:

How would a Chinese, bred up in the formalities of an eastern court, be regarded, should he carry all his good manners beyond the Great Wall? How would an Englishman, skilled in all the decorums of western good breeding, appear at an eastern entertainment: would he not be reckoned more fantastically savage than even his unbred footman!<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 167.

Lien Chi's first impression of English women is a brilliant and amusing piece of contrast between people of the East and the West:

I can hardly endure the sight of them; they no way resemble the beauties of China: the Europeans have a quite different idea of beauty from us; when I reflect on the small footed perfections of an Eastern beauty, how is it possible I should have eyes for a woman whose feet are ten inches long. I shall never forget the beauties of my native city of Nanfew. How very broad their faces; how very short their noses; how very little their eyes; how very thin their lips; how very black their teeth; the snow on the tops of Bao is not fairer than their cheeks; and their eye-brows are small as the line by the pencil of Quamsi. Here a lady with such perfections would be frightful; Dutch and Chinese beauties indeed have some resemblance, but English women are entirely different; red cheeks, big eyes, and teeth of a most odious whiteness, are not only seen here, but wished for; and then they have such masculine feet, as actually serve some for walking!<sup>52</sup>

On the contrast in the methods of punishment used by the East and West, Goldsmith grows more serious. In Letter XXXVIII from Lien Chi to Fum Hoam, he tells of justice recently administered by the English to a nobleman who had killed a servant. In other countries the great would not be in fear of punishment for committing murder of a menial servant:

Over all the east, even China not excepted, a person of the same quality guilty of such a crime, might, by giving up a share of his fortune to the judge, buy off his sentence; there are several countries, even in Europe, where the servant is entirely the property of his master; if a slave kills his lord, he dies by the most excruciating tortures; but if the circumstances are reversed, a small fine buys off the punishment of the

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

offender. Happy the country where all are equal, and where those who sit as judges have too much integrity to receive a bribe, and too much honour to pity from a similitude of the prisoner's title or circumstances with their own. Such is England.<sup>53</sup>

Very graphic is the contrast between the cities of the East and West:

Judge then my disappointment on entering London, to see no signs of that opulence so much talked of abroad; wherever I turn, I am presented with a gloomy solemnity in the houses, the streets and the inhabitants; none of that beautiful gilding which makes a principal ornament in Chinese architecture. The streets of Nankin are sometimes strewn with gold leaf; very different are those of London: in the midst of their pavements, a great lazy puddle moves muddily along; heavy laden machines with wheels of unwieldy thickness crowd up every passage; so that a stranger, instead of finding time for observation, is often happy if he has time to escape from being crushed to pieces.<sup>54</sup>

Finally the difference in politics is discussed in Letter IV, in which Lien Chi is telling Fum Hoam about English pride and beliefs in liberty: "This universal passion for politics is gratified by Daily Gazettes, as with us at China. But as in ours, the emperor endeavours to instruct his people, in theirs the people endeavour to instruct the administration."<sup>55</sup> Regarding the narrative of the son Hingpo and his beloved, the beautiful slave girl Zelis, Hingpo, after the capture of his mother and sister, fled the country. On his perilous journey to reach his father in

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

England, he was first captured by a Persian tyrant, and while a slave there, met Zelis. The two, escaping from there, continued to the city of Terki, where they resided for some time. Leaving Terki, they travelled by way of Russia until they at long last reached Lien Chi in London, where they were to be united in marriage.

I have not found any evidence to indicate any difficulty of an Oriental with the English language in idiom, grammar, or sentence structure. On the other hand, Goldsmith's rhetorical devices give an impression of Oriental style and character. "Usually Goldsmith begins a letter with an Oriental metaphor and soon drops into plain English."<sup>56</sup> Letter II begins thus: "Friend of My Heart, may the wings of peace rest upon thy dwelling."<sup>57</sup> "But Goldsmith's sense of humour and instinct of artistic restraint show him the absurdities of the pseudo-oriental style, and lead him to use such figures sparingly."<sup>58</sup> Antithesis, exclamation, personification, simile, metaphor, and apostrophe are the outstanding rhetorical devices. In the first eighteen letters of Citizen of the World there are only two examples of antithesis; so he does not overdo his use of this device. The two examples of antithesis are as follows:

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<sup>56</sup>Martha Pike Conant, The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1908), p. 193.

<sup>57</sup>Goldsmith, I, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup>Conant, p. 193.



You have been bred a merchant, and I a scholar; you consequently love money better than I. You can find pleasure in superfluity, I am perfectly content with what is sufficient; take therefore what is yours, it may give you some pleasure, even though you have no occasion to use it; my happiness it cannot improve, for I have already what I want.<sup>59</sup>

The English love their wives with much passion, the Hollanders with much prudence. The English when they give their hands, frequently give their hearts; the Dutch give the hand, but keep the heart wisely in their own possession. The English love with violence, and expect violent love in return; the Dutch are satisfied with the slightest acknowledgments, for they give little away. The English expend many of the matrimonial comforts in the first year; the Dutch frugally husband out their pleasures, and are always constant because they are always indifferent.<sup>60</sup>

Long sentences occur in both examples. In the first we find one compound sentence and one compound-complex sentence. In the second example Goldsmith again uses long sentences, the first compound, the other three compound-complex. In the latter example he uses the period in the correct places, the arrangement of subject matter being such that the only logical division would be as he makes it. Both examples contain compact sentences, even though they are long, for each beginning sentence contains a verb ellipsis.

Goldsmith's use of antithesis does not become artificial, and it is emphatic because, as I have stated, he uses it only twice in the first eighteen letters of Citizen of the World. He uses it for contrast, to show a difference between people. His contemporary, Samuel Johnson, who is considered

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<sup>59</sup>Goldsmith, I, 3.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 65.

a master of this manner, wrote more often a balanced sentence rather than the antithetical one. He seemed to be more interested in balanced structure than in contrasted ideas, in equal weight of subject and predicate; as for example in the following:

The ostentatious and haughty display of themselves has been the usual refuge of diurnal writers; in indication of whose practice it may be said that what it wants in prudence is supplied by sincerity; and who at least may plead that if their boasts deceive any into the perusal of their performances, they defraud them of but little time.<sup>61</sup>

In Goldsmith's work there is evidence of his interest in balanced structure as well as contrasted ideas. In the first sentence of each of the examples quoted he states his contrast of idea; then in each succeeding sentence repeats the idea of difference and thus strengthens the foundation that he laid in the first sentence. While he keeps before his reader the contrast of idea, he maintains balanced structure.

In Citizen of the World there are one hundred and seventy-six uses of exclamation. In Letter XXXVIII it is used for praise as Lien Chi commends the King of England in his administration of justice:

If still to a man's own natural bias for tenderness, we add the numerous solicitations made by a criminal's friends for mercy; if we survey a king not only opposing his own feelings, but reluctantly refusing those he regards, and this to satisfy the public,

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<sup>61</sup>Samuel Johnson, The Rambler, No. 1 in British Essayists, ed. A. Chalmers (4 vols.; London: Longman and Rees, 1817), XIX, 4.

whose cries he may never hear, whose gratitude he may never receive, this surely is true greatness!<sup>62</sup>

In Letter XXXV exclamation is used in complaint against the practice of slavery:

Is this just dealing heaven! to render millions wretched to swell up the happiness of a few; cannot the powerful of this earth be happy without our sighs and tears; must every luxury of the great be woven from the calamities of the poor!<sup>63</sup>

In Citizen of the World Goldsmith personifies fortune, nature, poverty, the desert, and England. In personification of fortune Lien Chi says to his friend, the Dutch merchant of Amsterdam, in Letter II, ". . . sure fortune is resolved to make me unhappy, when she gives others a power of testifying their friendship by actions, and leaves me only words to express the sincerity of mine."<sup>64</sup> In Letter LXIII on degeneracy of nations, Lien Chi says, "Nature, which shews herself so very different in her visible productions, must surely differ also from herself in the production of minds; and while she astonishes one age with the strength and stature of a Milo or a Maximin, may bless another with the wisdom of a Plato, or the goodness of an Antonine."<sup>65</sup> Then in Letter LXVII, on experience being as valuable a teacher as books, he says, "The goddess appears; for Poverty ever comes at the

<sup>62</sup>Goldsmith, I, 163.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., II, pp. 36-37.

call: but, alas! he finds her by no means the charming figure books and his warm imagination had painted."<sup>66</sup> Appearing in Letter LXIX is personification of the desert, as Lien Chi speaks of what happens in China when there is a season without rain: ". . . the winds that blow from the brown bosom of the western desert are impregnated with death in every gale."<sup>67</sup> Finally England is personified in Letter LXVIII on quack doctors: ". . . with what indulgence does she foster up those of her own growth, and kindly cherish those that come from abroad."<sup>68</sup>

In use of simile and metaphor Goldsmith compares people, ceremony, life, and fancy. On people Lien Chi says in metaphor: "That treasure which I still keep within my bosom, my child, my all that was left to me, is now a slave."<sup>69</sup> On ceremony he uses simile: "Ceremony resembles that base coin which circulates through a country by the royal mandate."<sup>70</sup> In comparison of life he uses a more poetical simile: "Life has been compared to a race, but the allusion still improves, by observing that the most swift are ever the least manageable."<sup>71</sup> Also poetical in strain is the simile on fancy: "Fancy restrained may be compared to a fountain which plays highest by diminishing the aperture."<sup>72</sup>

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 167.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., II, 25.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., I, 174.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., I, 87.

Goldsmith uses apostrophe in Citizen of the World; as for example in Letter XV: "Hail, O ye simple bramins of the east, ye unoffensive friends of all that were born to happiness as well as you",<sup>73</sup> and in Letter LXVII, "Come, then, O Poverty! for what is there in thee dreadful to the wise."<sup>74</sup>

In an analysis of syntax in Citizen of the World, I call the reader's attention to the statement made by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "A close reasoner and a good writer in general may be known by his pertinent use of connectives."<sup>75</sup> Through the use of the following paragraph, I show that Goldsmith was a close reasoner:

He was proceeding in this strain earnestly, to dissuade me from an imprudence of which I am seldom guilty; when an old man who still had about him the remnants of tattered finery, implored our compassion. He assured us that he was no common beggar, but forced into the shameful profession, to support a dying wife and five hungry children. Being prepossessed against such falsehood, his story had not the least influence upon me, but it was quite otherwise with the man in black; I could see it visibly operate upon his countenance, and effectually interrupt his harangue. I could easily perceive that his heart burned to relieve the five starving children, but he seemed ashamed to discover his weakness to me. While he thus hesitated between compassion and pride, I pretended to look another way, and he seized this opportunity of giving the poor petitioner a piece of silver, bidding him at the same time, in order that I should not hear, go work for his bread, and not tease passengers with such impertinent falsehoods for the future.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., II, 53.

<sup>75</sup>Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Table Talk," in Table Talk by Writers from Ben Jonson to Leigh Hunt, ed. Ernest Rhys (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1934), p. 232.

<sup>76</sup>Goldsmith, I, 104.

There are eight important points that were brought out in this paragraph: (1) An old man implored our compassion. (2) He was no common beggar. (3) He was forced into his profession. (4) His story did not influence me. (5) The heart of the man in black burned to relieve the five starving children. (6) He seemed ashamed to discover his weakness to me. (7) I pretended to look the other way. (8) He gave money to a poor petitioner. There are six subordinate points to consider: (1) He was trying to dissuade me from an imprudence of which I am seldom guilty. (2) He had a dying wife and five hungry children. (3) I was prepossessed against such falsehoods. (4) The man in black's feelings showed on his face. (5) The man in black hesitated between compassion and pride. (6) He bid the beggar work for his bread and not tease for it in the future.

To connect these main and subordinate points there are two relative pronouns, two adverbial connectives, eight coordinate conjunctions, one subordinate conjunction, and two uses of that introducing noun clauses. To indicate manner or quality, nineteen prepositions are used to connect the modifier to its word. In all, there are thirty-four connective words, and since there are 179 words in the paragraph, one can see that nineteen per cent of the words in the paragraph are connectives. Also the fact that there is a syntactical thought connection in the use of five infinitive

modifier phrases and two participial phrases cannot be overlooked.

Therefore, through thought connection and connective words Goldsmith gets fourteen points into one 179-word paragraph, and the reader receives a graphic, logical, cohesive, and even smooth account of the man in black's shamefaced generosity.

In this study of literary method of Citizen of the World one recognizes Goldsmith's talent in the use of satire, his seriousness in his didacticism, his artistry in employing verisimilitude, his careful but effective use of rhetorical devices, and his ability as a close reasoner.

## CHAPTER II

### GOLDSMITH'S NARRATIVE ART

One facet of a writer's narrative art is his actual use of narratives, and in Citizen of the World Goldsmith uses twenty-nine narratives consisting of five different types: authentic stories, fables, parables, fairy tales, and allegories. In the narratives the underlying purpose is moral, and the narratives themselves are either instructional or observational in nature. The narratives which he uses in Lien Chi's letters to his son are instructional; those between Lien Chi and Fum Hoam, or from Lien Chi to the Dutch merchant of Amsterdam are observational.

There are six authentic stories. Letter XLII is a letter from Fum Hoam to Lien Chi, and it contains three stories as examples of his observation that the history of China is more replete with great actions than that of Europe.<sup>1</sup> Letter CIV from Lien Chi to Fum Hoam has an account of Mathew Ricci, an Italian Jesuit, who went to China in 1583.<sup>2</sup> After relating this account he makes the parallel observation that true students study with an earnest desire for knowledge, not merely to be thought students. The last two authentic

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. ix.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., II, 296.



stories are in letters from Lien Chi to Hingpo, and they are instructional in tone. One is an account of a visit which Mencuis the philosopher made to a hermit withdrawn from the world because of man's ingratitude,<sup>3</sup> and through the use of this story Lien Chi teaches his son the difference between love and gratitude. Letter LXII, which I relate as an example of Goldsmith's use of authentic stories, presents the maxim that woman should know her rightful sphere.

Lien Chi, in reply to his son's letter praising the beautiful slave Zelis, with whom he has fallen in love, says that many people practice virtue because of the applause which admiring it brings them, but that Zelis practices it for the internal pleasure it gives her. He condemns women who leave the duties of their own sex to invade the privileges of the male sex. He says the prudent wife, the one who makes her husband and children happy, is a much greater character than "petticoated philosophers and blustering heroines."<sup>4</sup> He believes that women should be confined within the narrow limits of domestic diligence, and he says that when they leave their domestic limits, they stray beyond their sphere and lose their grace.

To show a woman who knew her rightful sphere of activity, he tells the story of Catherina Alexowna, wife of Peter the Great. Catherina was born near the city of Derpat

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 46-51.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

in Livonia. She lived contentedly with her aged mother in their straw-covered cottage. Here, retired from the world, she supported her mother. She was a beautiful girl, but she paid more attention to her mind than to her body. From her mother she learned to read and to understand the maxims and duties of religion, and also training in thought and understanding. Earnest and virtuous in caring for her mother, she refused proposals of marriage out of devotion.

Catherina lost her mother when she was fifteen, and she went to live in the house of her Lutheran minister as governess to his children until he died. After his death, she knew she must find work again; so she decided to go to the city of Marienburgh. At the time Livonia was wasted by war, and on her journey to the city she was accosted by two soldiers who attempted to insult her. She was saved, however, by an officer who proved to be the son of her former Lutheran minister.

She continued to Marienburgh and became governess to the daughters of a superintendent, who, being a widower and recognizing her virtues, proposed marriage to her. She refused, saying that she would marry the young officer who saved her honor. Out of gratitude she married the young officer, but he had to leave her on their wedding night to return to battle. He was lost and was never heard from again. Her fortunes grew worse, but she never lost her virtue and her

kindhearted spirit even though eventually she was sold as a slave to Prince Menzikoff, the Russian general. She was treated with all the respect that she deserved in the Prince's house, however, for he recognized her goodness.

Catherina had been a slave for only a short time when Peter the Great came to the Prince's home. He saw the lovely, virtuous Catherina and in time made her his wife, because "virtue alone was the properest ladder to the throne."<sup>5</sup> Through her virtue Catherina became, "from a low mud-walled cottage, Empress of the greatest kingdom upon earth."<sup>6</sup> Her husband, through all their life together, labored for the improvement of the male subjects of his kingdom, and she in turn strove for "the improvement of her own sex."<sup>7</sup>

The story is equated to its parallel in the letter. Lien Chi, through the use of the authentic story of Catherina, wife of Peter the Great, gives stress to his belief that a woman should know her true place, be content to stay in it, and labor always to be the best person that she is able, within her sphere. Through this account he is trying to render his son wiser.

Goldsmith uses four fables in Citizen of the World: three in letters to Fum Hoam, and one in a letter to Hingpo. The first three are of the observational nature: Letter XV

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

on the cruelty of eating the flesh of animals, Letter LXXXII on the necessity for a knowledge of the arts and sciences for a polite society, but not a barbaric one, and Letter XCVIII on the dependence of members of the law profession on each other. In the fourth fable, Letter LXI, of the instructional nature, Lien Chi tells his son that pride and resentment can be the cause of a man's downfall, that the resentment of a poor man can only cause him to be crushed and can certainly do nothing toward defending him. And, he asks, "What good is anger if it does a man no good?" He then relates the fable of a goose and her foolish anger:

Once upon a time a goose fed its young by a pond side; and a goose in such circumstances is always extremely proud, and excessive [sic] punctilious. If any other animal without the least desire to offend, happened to pass that way, the goose was immediately at him. The pond, she said, was hers, and she would maintain a right in it, and support her honour, while she had a bill to hiss, or a wing to flutter. In this manner she drove away ducks, pigs, and chickens; nay, even the insidious cat was seen to scamper. A lounging mastiff, however, happened to pass by, and thought it no harm if he should lap a little of the water, as he was thirsty. The guardian goose flew at him like a fury, pecked at him with her beak, and flapped him with her feathers. The dog grew angry, had twenty times a good mind to give her a sly snap; but suppressing his indignation, because the master was nigh, 'A pox on thee,' cries he, 'for a fool, sure those who have neither strength nor weapons to fight, at least should be civil; that fluttering and hissing of thine may one day get thine head snapt off, but it can neither injure thine enemies, or even protect thee.' So saying, he went forward to the pond, quenched his thirst, in spite of the goose, and followed his master.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 26-27.

Thus Lien Chi explains to his son that the goose, in showing her pride and resentment, was foolish. A hiss and a fluttering wing were no weapons against a real enemy. The dog proved that her weapons were not effective.

In Citizen of the World there are twelve parables: the parable of the prisoner, the porter, and the soldier on the subject of liberty,<sup>9</sup> the parable of Choang and Hansi on true happiness in marriage,<sup>10</sup> the parable of Hamti on the value of making people happy,<sup>11</sup> the kingdom of Lao on extensive colonization by a country,<sup>12</sup> the conjurer and the tailor on the wisdom of pursuing only one profession, the painter on loyalty to oneself as against efforts to please the whole world,<sup>13</sup> the mandarine on empty pride,<sup>14</sup> the fiddler on mutual uneasiness caused when friends disagree,<sup>15</sup> Whang the miller on the true method of gaining fortune,<sup>16</sup> the old man on preference for the familiar,<sup>17</sup> Shingfu on striving always to be happy,<sup>18</sup> and Takupi of Tipartala on being content with persons elected to govern.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., I, 12-13.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 66-70

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 50-51.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 92-93.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 67-69.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 97-101.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 83-84.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., II, 25-26, 27, 28

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 171-172.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 193-195.

The parables in the letters to Fum Hoam, the prisoner, the porter, and the painter, Choang and Hansi, the kingdom of Lao, the mandarine and his empty pride, and Takupi of Tipartala are of an observational nature, as I have stated. The parables of the conjurer and the tailor, the painter, Whang the Miller, and the old man released from a life in prison are instructional. These parables are in letters to Hingpo from his father. I relate as an example of one of Goldsmith's parables that of the painter who learned that one cannot please the whole world.

A painter of eminence was once resolved to finish a piece which should please the whole world. When, therefore, he had drawn a picture, in which his utmost skill was exhausted, it was exposed in the public marketplace, with directions at the bottom for every spectator to mark with a brush, which lay by, every limb, and feature which seemed erroneous. The spectators came, and in general applauded; but each, willing to show his talent at criticism, marked whatever he thought proper. At evening, when the painter came, he was mortified to find the whole picture one universal blot; not a single stroke that was not stigmatized with marks of disapprobation: not satisfied with this trial, the next day he was resolved to try them in a different manner, and exposing his picture as before desired that every spectator would mark those beauties he approved or admired. The people complied, and the artist returning, found his picture replete with the marks of beauty; every stroke that had been yesterday condemned now received the character of approbation. 'Well' cries the painter, 'I now find that the best way to please one half of the world, is not to mind what the other half says; since what are faults in the eyes of these, shall be regarded by those as beauties.'<sup>20</sup>

The moral that the father is teaching his son is that it is impossible to please the world, and in trying to do so,

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp.27-28.

a person succeeds only in destroying his own will: "By thus attempting to give universal satisfaction, they at last find themselves miserably disappointed; to bring the generality of admirers on our side, it is sufficient to attempt pleasing a very few."<sup>21</sup>

Goldsmith uses two fairy tales in Citizen of the World, one in Letter LXXXVIII from Lien Chi to Fum Hoam in which he is advising women to get husbands, and one in Letters XLVIII and XLIX. Lien Chi tells in Letter XLVIII of visiting a painter's home and of finding there a young prince, whom he knew, painting a picture. Feeling unhappy that one who could be so useful to thousands would waste his time painting when he had no real talent, and being desirous of helping wherever he saw the need, he told the prince a fairy tale about another prince who was considered to be the fairest and smartest in all the world. Each of the neighboring kings was sure that the prince would be the perfect one for his daughter to marry. The prince, besides being young, intelligent, and handsome, was wealthy. After some time the prince did choose a daughter of a neighboring king to be his wife. However, the prince was fond of mice; and on his wedding night, seeing a beautiful white mouse with green eyes playing in the corner of his bedroom, he left the nuptial bed to catch the mouse. It fled, but the prince continued in pursuit. After many months he came to

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

the kingdom of the Emmets, and there a horrible old woman, who was actually a fairy in disguise, told him she would catch his mouse for him if he would marry her. He consented, for it was extremely important to him to own the white mouse. The two were married, and after the wedding the old woman told him that she was his white mouse and that she would be either a mouse by day and a woman by night or a woman by day and a mouse by night, according to his preference. The prince agreed to the latter condition. On the night of his wedding the prince entered the bedroom followed by a blue cat, which had followed him from his kingdom and which was his first wife in disguise. Soon the old woman in the form of a mouse entered the room. The blue cat pounced on it and devoured it. The cat then transformed herself into her real self, the prince's first wife. The prince then realized he had been bewitched, and "he now saw that his earnestness after mice was an illiberal amusement, and much more becoming a ratcatcher than a prince."<sup>22</sup> Lien Chi, in relating the fairy tale first to the real prince and then to his friend in Amsterdam, is observing that it is foolish to attach importance to unimportant things.

The final example of the narrative types Goldsmith used in Citizen of the World is the allegory, of which there are five: an allegorical account of Lien Chi's garden,<sup>23</sup> an

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., I, 217.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 130-133.



allegorical account proving that love is no longer the primary requisite for marriage,<sup>24</sup> an allegory which seems to prove that the ignorant are happier than the wise,<sup>25</sup> an allegory on the difference between grace and beauty,<sup>26</sup> and an allegorical vignette on accepting one's misfortunes.<sup>27</sup> The first four allegories are in the form of stories, and they are observational; the last one, the vignette, is instructional. I relate two examples: one from the observational category, and the other from the instructional category.

In the first example the characters are personified moral states. Letter LXXVI, from Hingpo to Lien Chi, is full of praise for the beautiful Zelis, the Christian slave whom he plans to make his wife. He speaks of the irresistible magic of her charms. He wonders at his love for her, for, he tells his father, there are many women in Terki who are more beautiful than she. Finally, he continues, reason demanded of him the reason for his preference for Zelis above all the beautiful young women of Terki. His imagination began to pursue the question, and he tells his father the result in the following story:

Hingpo fancied himself between two regions, the region of beauty and the valley of the graces; the first was all

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., II, 244-247.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., I, 156-162.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., II, 94-98.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 171.

symmetry and perfection; the second, all simplicity and nature. He was more intrigued with the region of beauty; so he entered it first. As he entered, he was puzzled to see many people leaving in haste. This seemed very strange, but he proceeded on his journey and at last came to a throne, around which stood many people. Beauty herself sat on the throne, and all gazed at her with wonder and anticipation. Such loveliness Hingpo had never seen before. She sat smiling at them, casting shy, amorously pensive looks about, but she did not speak or act. The company waited for her to speak, for surely such beauty would have a mind, equally estimable, but she merely continued smiling and basking in their stares. It soon became evident that her physical beauty was to be the only contribution to the scene. Since beauty without exhibitions of the mind is somewhat tiring, the company finally departed. As Hingpo was leaving the gate, Pride stopped him in anger and demanded his reason for leaving. He replied that he had seen Beauty, that he was pleased with her appearance, but that she seemed to have no mind. Pride grew angrier, announcing that Beauty, being so perfectly formed by nature, needed no mind. Hingpo was adamant in his decision to leave, however, and Pride at last permitted him to go.

The company then entered the valley of the Graces. Everything was "so natural, so domestic, and pleasing, that

our minds, which before were congealed in admiration, now relaxed into gaiety and good humour."<sup>28</sup> The group spent many agreeable hours in the valley, never growing tired. They did not see Grace herself, but they were so relaxed and happy that her absence did not seem to matter. At last a voice addressed them from nowhere, telling them not to seek Grace in one form, for she assumed many.

She is now contemplation with solemn look, again compassion with humid eyes; she now sparkles with joy, soon every feature speaks distress: her looks at times invite our reproach, at others repress our presumption; the goddess cannot be properly called beautiful under any one of these forms, but by combining them all, she becomes irresistibly pleasing.<sup>29</sup>

In the allegorical vignette in Letter XCV Lien Chi tells his son that no matter how unfortunate a situation may seem, it can be worse. He is teaching him to accept the misfortunes that life sends his way and to try to realize he is much better off than others. He says,

I am mounted upon a wretched ass. I see another man before me on a sprightly horse, at which I find some uneasiness. I look behind me, and see numbers on foot stooping under heavy burdens; let me learn to pity their estate, and thank heaven for my own.<sup>30</sup>

Through example I have attempted to show Goldsmith's use of narratives as related incidents for the purpose of pointing a moral lesson, both by observation and instruction.

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., II, 97.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 171.

In addition, through relating the various types of narratives used in Citizen of the World, I have attempted to prove his versatility in the art of narration. He was as adept at creating fantasy as in relating actual happenings. Through such variety Goldsmith has proved himself to be a master of the art of narration.

Also, the angle of narration which he used provided unity in Citizen of the World. All the letters in the work are either written by the Chinese philosopher or received by him.

An additional factor of interest to the reader is setting in Goldsmith's narratives. The authentic stories have eastern settings, five of which are probably in China, as the reader can tell by the use of Chinese names given to the characters, and one of which is in Russia. As for the fables, one has an eastern setting, two have indefinite settings, and one has a mythical setting of Wistnow. Of the twelve parables one has an English setting; one, a Korean setting; seven, eastern settings, again probably Chinese as we know by the use of Chinese names; and three, indefinite settings. The fairy tales have mythical settings, one in the kingdom of Bonbobbins and one on an island in the winding of the river Amidas. The allegories have a Chinese setting, a mythical setting of Abas, and three indefinite settings. In none of the stories is any definite time given, but the

reader, through knowledge of the people mentioned in the authentic stories, can set the time more or less definitely in his thinking.

It is interesting to note also Goldsmith's use of tense in his narratives. He relates his authentic stories, parables, fables, allegories, and fairy tales in the past tense. In his authentic stories he naturally would use the past tense, but it appears to me that the reason for his using the past tense in the other types of narrative is that the meaning on the second level, the moral, is the primary benefit to be gained by the story, and Goldsmith is telling the reader, "Let me tell you what happened in the past to prove a point that is true for all time. It is not so important that an experience happened, as its happening proves an ever-present truth."

He relates his fables, as I have said, using past tense. However, when he has his animals speak, he uses the historical present. I believe that he changes to the historical present to make it seem more logical that animals should speak.

In the parable of Mencius, the philosopher, and the hermit Goldsmith combines past and historical present tenses. The parable is related in the past, but the conversation between Mencius and the hermit assumes the historical present. The parable is as follows:

As Mencuis the philosopher was traveling in the pursuit of wisdom, night overtook him at the foot of a gloomy mountain, remote from the habitations of men. Here as he was straying, while rain and thunder conspired to make solitude still more hideous, he perceived the hermit's cell, and approaching, asked for shelter: Enter, cries the hermit, in a severe tone, men deserve to be obliged, but it would be imitating their ingratitude, to treat them as they deserve. Come in: examples of vice may sometimes strengthen us in the ways of virtue.

After a frugal meal, which consisted of roots and tea, Mencuis could not repress his curiosity to know why the hermit had retired from mankind, the actions of whom taught the truest lessons of wisdom. Mention not the name of man, cries the hermit, with indignation; here let me live retired from a base, ungrateful world; here among the beasts of the forests, I shall find no flatterers; the lion is a generous enemy, and the dog a faithful friend, but man, base man, can poison the bowl, and smile when he presents it. You have been used ill by mankind? interrupted the philosopher shrewdly. Yes, returned the hermit, on mankind I have exhausted my whole fortune, and this staff, and that cup, and those roots, are all I have in return. Did you bestow your fortune or did you merely lend it? returned Mencuis. I bestowed it undoubtedly, replied the other, for where were the hermit of being a money lender? Did they ever own they received it? still adds the philosopher. A thousand times, cries the hermit, they every day loaded me with professions of gratitude for obligations received, and solicitations for future favors. If then, says Mencius, smiling, you did not lend your fortune, in order to have it returned, it is unjust to accuse them of ingratitude; they owned themselves obliged, you expected no more, and they certainly each earned favour, by frequently acknowledging the obligation. The hermit was struck with the reply, and surveying his guest with emotion, I have heard of the great Mencius, and you certainly are the man. I am now fourscore years old; but still a child in wisdom, take me back to the school of man, and educate me as one of the most ignorant and the youngest of your disciples.<sup>31</sup>

I believe the historical present in the examples

"Enter, cries the hermit," "mention not the name of man, cries

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., pp. 48-49.

the hermit," "Did they ever own they received it, still adds the philosopher," "A thousand times, cries the hermit," and "If then, says Mencuis, smiling," was used to give a more realistic projection to the conversation between the philosopher and the hermit. The reader is able to enter into the experience of the conversation with the hermit and Mencuis. In support of my observations, Dr. Wiley called my attention to Longinus's theory, expressed in "On the Sublime," that introducing that which is past as if it were present lends actuality to a story, and direct quotation suddenly introduced affects the reader's emotions.

Through examination of the various types of narrative which Goldsmith used, and his use of setting and tense in the narratives, the reader recognizes his versatile nature as a narrator. In addition, another facet of his genius in narrative art presents itself, that of characterization, in which he proved himself to be expert. The two most vivid characters that he created are the man in black and Beau Tibbs.

In the autobiographical character of the man in black the reader gains a picture of Goldsmith himself by both description and exposition.

Lien Chi, upon going to see Westminster Abbey, meets the man in black, who begins to act as guide, explaining and answering questions. In the course of their conversation,

Lien Chi learns much about the man and resolves to see more of him. Later, in Letter XXVI, the man in black emerges as a humorist, generous to a fault, but one who affects to be a "prodigy of parsimony and prudence."<sup>32</sup> He speaks as if he were completely selfish, but "his heart is dilated with the most unbounded love."<sup>33</sup> He has love and compassion for his fellow man. He is, however, paradoxical, as Lien Chi observes. Hypocrites profess humanity, tenderness, and benevolent natures, then behave in the meanest fashion; the man in black, says Lien Chi, "is the only man I know who seemed ashamed of his natural benevolence."<sup>34</sup> On an excursion into the country with Lien Chi, he gave money to an old man, a sailor with a wooden leg, and a woman in rags. By the time he and Lien Chi were ready to return to town, the man in black had given away all his money.

In Letter XXVII the man in black tells Lien Chi some of his history; and he emerges as an autobiographical character, for, like his creator, he was the son of a clergyman who never turned a man away from his table, who had little fortune, but who spent all he had of it. His son remarks, "We were told that natural benevolence was what first cemented society,"<sup>35</sup> and "we were properly instructed in the art of

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., I, 102.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 107.



giving away thousands before we were taught the necessary qualifications of getting a farthing."<sup>36</sup> The man in black continues with his story, telling Lien Chi that he was sent to the university for seven years, that during the time he was receiving his education his father died and left him--his blessing. Soon after, the man in black's friends urged him to take orders and enter the ministry, but he did not want that kind of life. All through the narrative the description is one of Goldsmith, his father, and their life when Goldsmith was in Ireland.

Even more vivid than the man in black is Beau Tibbs. In the introduction to Citizen of the World Austin Dobson says, "Excellent as he is, however, the man in black, with his grudging generosity and his reluctant goodness, is surpassed in completeness of characterization by the more finished portrait of Beau Tibbs. The poor little pinched pretender to fashion, with his tarnished finery and his reed-voiced simpering helpmate, . . . approaches the dimensions of a masterpiece."<sup>37</sup> Goldsmith does much in the way of characterization by simply giving his character the name "Beau Tibbs." Mr. Tibbs is a man of fashion and a dandy. His pretensions are so evident to all save himself that people avoid him whenever possible. His physical appearance is quite

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. xix.

ludicrous. His face is sharp and very pale. When Lien Chi is introduced to him, he is wearing a hat "pinched with a peculiar smartness,"<sup>38</sup> a broad black ribbon around his neck, and a belt buckle studded with glass. His coat is fancily trimmed, but the trim is tarnished. He wears a sword at his wide, and he has silk stockings on. The stockings, however, are yellow with age. Mr. Tibbs pretends great familiarity with the rich, but the man in black assures Line Chi that "he has scarce a coffee-house acquaintance with them."<sup>39</sup> He boasts that he is quite well off financially, with ". . . five hundred a year to begin with,"<sup>40</sup> then immediately borrows half a crown from the man in black. The man in black sadly tells Lien Chi that one day Beau Tibbs will be condemned to "hang upon some rich family . . . to undergo all the ingenuity of studied contempt, to be employed only as a spy upon the servants, or a bugbear to fright the children into obedience."<sup>41</sup>

The object of the man in black's affection is the pawnbroker's widow, a rather coarse creature, but one who tries to be a lady of distinction. One night she, the man in black, Mr. and Mrs. Tibbs, and Lien Chi attended a garden concert not far from London. She was dressed with great care, as Lien Chi says, "in green damask, with three gold rings on every finger."<sup>42</sup> On this night she had a violent disagreement

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 238.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 240.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., II, 70.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

with Mrs. Tibbs over the most likely spot to view the concert. She wanted to find a good standing place in order to see the waterworks; Mrs. Tibbs insisted that it was much better to keep to the "genteel walk of the garden."<sup>43</sup> The widow finally acquiesced, thus granting Mrs. Tibbs the victory. She was quite convinced that Mrs. Tibbs was a lady, for Mrs. Tibbs had lost no opportunity to acquaint people with the fact. However, after missing the waterworks show, because of having to sit like a lady and listen to Mrs. Tibbs sing, she decided that being a lady is much too demanding and not in the least rewarding.

Mrs. Tibbs is as much a pretender after distinction and gentility as Beau Tibbs. At the garden concert she insisted that she sit in "none but a genteel box,"<sup>44</sup> and one that was in the public view. She managed to do so in spite of great difficulty, for even though she was perfectly convinced of the gentility of her own appearance, still it was strangely hard to convince the keeper of the boxes to be of the same opinion with her. She was disdainful of everything, even the food that was served, declaring that it was quite detestable.

Soon she artfully maneuvered the conversation toward the subject of music, and after Mr. Tibbs had convinced the

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

party that his wife was a fine musician and persuaded them to listen to her, she began to sing. She was so impressed with her talent that she continued singing through the complete waterworks show, much to the chagrin and disappointment of the pawnbroker's widow. During her performance, even though her husband sat "with rapture in his eye,"<sup>45</sup> Lien Chi discovered that the husband was apparently the only person to whom her singing gave any pleasure.

Mr. and Mrs. Tibbs, the man in black, and the pawnbroker's widow are characterized directly by description and obliquely by action, but in the character of the Chinese philosopher, the oblique method is used altogether. Only by indirection, by reading his thoughts, by being placed in his position as a stranger in England, does the reader become acquainted with the personality of Lien Chi. Goldsmith's masterful ability in character delineation is manifested in his portrait of Lien Chi, humanitarian and philosopher. "A man who leaves home to mend himself and others," Lien Chi says, "is a philosopher; but he who goes from country to country, guided by blind impulse of curiosity, is only a vagabond."<sup>46</sup>

Lien Chi is a man who can laugh at the foibles of the human race, yet he is full of compassion. In his compassion he tries to help where he sees the need, but if he is rejected,

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., I, 25.

he withdraws and keeps his peace. If he sees that a discussion is fast becoming an argument, he becomes silent. He does not concede if he believes himself to be right; he merely withdraws. He adjusts well in any situation in which he is placed; and even though always humble, he never grovels. He is interested in all things about him: customs, manners, frailties, and government institutions. He remembers his native land with love, but is at home in England, for the world is, he says to himself, "but one city to me."<sup>47</sup>

Two excellent examples of type characterization emerge in Citizen of the World. In Letter XIV there is description of the type which indulged in the cheap orientalism so common in the eighteenth-century. Upon being invited to a lady's home and being informed that she was polite, distinguished, and understanding, Lien Chi was surprised at her presumptuous manner and her appalling lack of taste. Upon his entrance into her apartment, she hailed him thus:

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, how bewitching the exotic breadth of his forehead. I would give the world to see him in his own country dress. Pray turn about, Sir, and let me see you behind. There! there's a travell'd air for you. You that attend there, bring a plate of beef cut into small pieces; I have a violent passion to see him eat. Pray, Sir, have you got your chop sticks about you? It will be so pretty to see the meat carried to the mouth with a jerk. Pray speak a little Chinese: I have learned some of the language myself. Lord, have you nothing pretty from China

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., II, 283.

about you; something that one does not know what to do with? I have got twenty things from from China that are of no use in the world. Look at those jars they are of the right pea-green!<sup>48</sup>

After this delivery, Lien Chi informed his hostess that the jars she spoke of do have a use in China; whereupon she blandly assured him that they could not possibly have a use. The woman then showed him the Chinese temple in her garden. When Lien informed her that the building might as well be an Egyptian pyramid, she angrily replied that the designer called it a Chinese temple and no one disputed his authority. His hostess then conducted him through cluttered rooms filled with such Oriental figures as dragons, pagods, and mandarines. Being completely overwhelmed by his audacious hostess, Lien Chi, upon the conclusion of the tour, hastily departed.

The second example of excellent type characterization is in Letter XXIX in which Goldsmith describes members of a literary club. The most important member of the club is Dr. Nonentity. He is a metaphysician who wears a long gray wig and a blue handkerchief around his neck. He sits before the fire, smokes his pipe, drinks, and has very little to say. People consider him good company. Lien Chi says, "Most people think him a profound scholar; but as he seldom speaks, I cannot be positive in that particular."<sup>49</sup> He continues with the

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., I, 51.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., pp. 120=121.

remark, "I'm told he writes indexes to perfection, he makes essays on the origin of evil, philosophical inquiries upon any subject, and draws up an answer to any book upon twenty-four hours warning."<sup>50</sup> Goldsmith's opinion of the type is evident in the name.

Another member of the club is Tim Syllabub, a poet, as one can tell by his name. Lien Chi says that he can be recognized by his "shabby finery, his powdered wig, dirty shirt, and broken silk stockings."<sup>51</sup> To the philosopher he appears to be a funny creature, but nevertheless Lien Chi has heard that there are times when he shines as one of the greatest stars of the age. Lien says, "he is reckoned equally excellent at a rebus, a riddle, a bawdy song, and a hymn for the tabernacle."<sup>52</sup> The description of Tim Syllabub's versatility, instead of proving his great worth as a poet, ironically makes him appear a mediocrity at best.

Another writer who can throw "off an eastern tale to perfection"<sup>53</sup> is Mr. Tibs. He also writes receipts for mad dog bites, and there is no "bookseller alive can cheat him."<sup>54</sup> He has a very clumsy figure and wears a coarse coat, but as he tells the members, "he has paid for it."<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

"Lawyer Squint is the politician of the society."<sup>56</sup>

He writes letters to the nobility, makes speeches in parliament, reviews plays, and can give "seasonable thoughts upon every occasion."<sup>57</sup> Like those of the other members of the club, his name is extremely appropriate and paints a graphic description of the man.

Notwithstanding the cursory presentation of the five characters, the man in black, Beau Tibbs, the pawnbroker's widow, Mrs. Tibbs, and Lien Chi; and the types, that of the woman indulging in Orientalism, Dr. Nonentity, Tim Syllabub, Mr. Tibs, and Lawyer Squint, the reader has no difficulty in perceiving the versatile genius of Goldsmith in character delineation. The paradoxically begrudgingly good man in black, the absurd fopper Beau Tibbs, the pawnbroker's widow, the simulating Mrs. Tibbs, and the types, the woman who indulged in Orientalism, and the club members, Dr. Nonentity, Tim Syllabub, Mr. Tibs, and Lawyer Squint, are vividly and humorously depicted. And the Chinese philosopher becomes dear to us as we read of his many earnest efforts to improve the people about him.

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.



### CHAPTER III

#### SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND PICTURED THROUGH CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

Reflected in Citizen of the World are many social customs peculiar to the eighteenth-century, through a study of which the reader gains graphic knowledge of the personality and temper of the time. These social customs may be classified under two major divisions: group activities and sports and amusements. In the division of group activities are the customs of coffee houses, clubs, patronage, book-sellers, orientalism, dress, sign-boards, marriage, and funerals; in that of sports and amusements are gaming, horse-racing, pleasure gardens, and the theatre.

Almost as numerous as the inns and taverns in London were the coffee houses, which Goldsmith speaks of in Letters CIX and CXIII. In Letter CIX, in his attempt to find out some famous men of the present age, Lien Chi writes, " [I] was resolved to mix in company, and try what I could learn among critics in coffee-houses."<sup>1</sup>

In Letter CXIII, in which he discusses a literary contest of great importance, he makes the following remark

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<sup>1</sup>Oliver Goldsmith, Citizen of the World, ed. Austin Dobson (London: J. M. Dent and Co., 1891), II, 223.

concerning the contestants: "It was a long dispute among the learned, which was in fact the greatest man, Jacob, Johnson, or Tibbald; they had all written for the stage with great success, their names were seen in almost every paper, and their works in every coffee-house."<sup>2</sup> From Lien Chi's observations the reader can see that the gathering-place of critics and literary men in the eighteenth-century was the coffee house. The greatest number of them were situated near Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Each was patronized by a clientele following mainly one profession; as for example Will's, where Dryden reigned; Button's Coffee House, the resort of Addison, Steele, and Swift; the Bedford, where Fielding and Dr. Johnson might be found; the Piazza, the resort of Sheridan; Old Slaughter's, where Gainsborough, Hogarth, Richard Wilson, Ramsay, Shipley, and Samuel Scott spent their time; and Turk's Head, the more frequent resort of Dr. Johnson. The clientele of these coffee houses were in the main literary men, but there were numerous other coffee houses frequented by men of other professions. Book-sellers met at the Chapter House; city people at Robbin's and Garraway's; and political groups at the St. James and the Cocoa Tree. The Whigs met at the St. James, and the Tories and Jacobites met at the Cocoa Tree. Army men met at Young Man's, and stock-jobbers at Old Man's.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 239.

Of interest to the reader are the characteristic transactions of the coffee houses. Talk, of course, was a characteristic pastime; then "men came to read newspapers in an age when newspapers were dear to buy."<sup>3</sup> Also, being furnished with writing paper, men wrote letters. Aside from the general attractions were those particular to certain coffee houses. At Don Saltero's there was a museum, and at Garraway's there was an auction "where wines were sold by the candle."<sup>4</sup> The auctioneer would light an inch of candle, then begin the auction. When the light flickered out, the man who was bidding was the buyer. Other coffee houses had glee clubs and "meetings for instrumental playing."<sup>5</sup> Finally the main attraction of a coffee house was its use as a place of call. A man could meet a customer, or a group could hold an assembly there.

As the eighteenth-century advanced, the place of the coffee house was taken up by the club. Goldsmith devotes two letters to a description of a literary club. In Letter XXIX the man in black tells Lien Chi, "If you desire . . . to see a collection of authors, I fancy I can introduce you this evening to a club, which assembles every Saturday at seven, at the sign of the Broom near Islington, to talk over

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<sup>3</sup>Rosamund Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1938), p. 142.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

the business of the last, and the entertainment of the week ensuing."<sup>6</sup> Then in Letter XXX to Fum Hoam he tells his former teacher that he and the man in black "repeated our visit to a club of authors; where, upon our entrance, we found the members all assembled and engaged in a loud debate."<sup>7</sup> There were different kinds of clubs, but most of them were either political or literary. "In the year 1700 the Kit Kat was founded."<sup>8</sup> It was political and among its members were Walpole, Addison, Vanbrugh, Garth, Grenville, and Congreve. More numerous than the political clubs were the literary clubs, the most famous of which was "The Club" founded by Dr. Johnson. It met at the Turk's Head; and the nine charter members were Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke, Reynolds, Hawkins, Beauclerk, Bennett, Langton, and Chamier. Later the membership was increased and included "some of the most distinguished men of the eighteenth century."<sup>9</sup>

In Letters XXX, C, and CX Lien Chi speaks of patronage. He records the conversation of one of the club members in Letter XXX. The man is telling the rest of the club members of an unfortunate experience he had in his struggle to find a patron:

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<sup>6</sup>Goldsmith, I, 120.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 122-123.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 144.

To the devil I pitch all the nobility, . . . I am sure they have of late used me most scurvily. You must know, gentlemen, some time ago, upon the arrival of a certain noble duke from his travels, I set myself down, and vamped up a fine flaunting, poetical panegyric, which I had written in such a strain that I fancied it would have even wheedled milk from a mouse. In this I represented the whole kingdom welcoming his grace to his native soil, not forgetting the loss France and Italy would sustain in their arts by his departure. I expected to touch for a bank note at least; so folding up my verses in gilt paper, I gave my last half crown to a genteel servant to be the bearer. My letter was safely conveyed to his grace, and the servant after four hours absence, during which time I led the life of a fiend, returned with a letter four times as big as mind. Guess my extasy at the prospect of so fine a return, I eagerly took the packet into my hands, that trembled to receive it. I kept it some time unopened before me, brooding over the expected treasure it contained; when opening it, as I hope to be saved, gentlemen, his grace had sent me in payment for my poem no bank bills, but six copies of verse, each longer than mine, addressed to him upon the same occasion.<sup>10</sup>

In the earlier part of the century, men who followed the profession of letters still were dependent upon patrons. Pope was the first man to stand without the need of a patron, and after 1780 writers scarcely gave patronage a thought. "It had outgrown its use, which had been an honourable use when a writer could not well maintain himself without a patron. When he could not get a public to support him, because the reading public was too small, it was no shame to be dependent on a patron."<sup>11</sup> Goldsmith, notwithstanding his extravagance, which left him continually in debt, did

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>11</sup>A. S. Collins, The Profession of Letters (London: George Rutledge and Sons, Ltd., 1928), p. 115.

not need a patron, for his reading public was large. The reading public continued to grow as the century advanced.

Letter LI is an account of a bookseller's visit to the Chinese philosopher. The man in black brought a bookseller, Mr. Fudge, to Lien Chi's quarters and the three discussed the qualifications of a good book; then again in Letter CIX, telling of his search to find some famous men of his time, Lien Chi resolved to prosecute his "enquiry into that usual residence of fame, a bookseller's shop."<sup>12</sup> As the population of London increased, there was a greater reading public, and consequently there were more publishers, or as they were called in the eighteenth-century, booksellers. "The names of Jacob Tonson, Bernard Lintot at the Cross Keys and Cushion, Robert Dodsley of Pall Mall, and Cadell and Davis in Fleet Street were famous."<sup>13</sup> There was also the Minerva Press, which published many books written by women, "and consequently quite worthless. The desire to write seemed to have afflicted quite a number of the female sex, whose education had not always fitted them for the task."<sup>14</sup>

Letter XXXIII is a satire on the custom of writing Oriental tales, and Lien Chi is quite surprised to hear an

<sup>12</sup>Goldsmith, II, 221.

<sup>13</sup>Bayne-Powell, p. 347.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

English author who had written several say that "eastern tales should always be sonorous, lofty, musical, and unmeaning."<sup>15</sup> Goldsmith's feeling about the Orientalism that was so common in the eighteenth-century is clear to the reader. Austin Dobson, in his explanatory notes to Citizen of the World, speaks of Orientalism and its invasion even into the architecture of the day.<sup>16</sup> According to Robert Lovett and Helen Hughes in The History of the Novel in England, William and Mary were in great part responsible for the custom, for when they came to the throne in 1688, they "brought to England a mania for Oriental furniture and ornaments, which increased under Queen Anne."<sup>17</sup> Lovett and Hughes continue, saying that the "Oriental mania continued for nearly a century, with the unfortunate effect, . . . that ancestral treasures were flung into the garrets of country houses to make room for great-bellied Chinese pagodas, red dragons, and the representation of the ugliest monsters, that ever, or rather never, existed."<sup>18</sup>

In a discussion of Oriental literature during the eighteenth century, "the highlights fall upon the Arabian Nights, Dr. Johnson's Rassalas, Goldsmith's Citizen of the

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<sup>15</sup>Goldsmith, I, 41.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 252.

<sup>17</sup>(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932), p. 123.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

World, and Beckford's Vathek"<sup>19</sup> Martha Pike Conant, in The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century, says the Oriental tales written in the eighteenth century can be placed in four groups: the imaginative, the moralistic, the philosophic, and the satiric. The best representative of the imaginative group is Vathek; of the moralistic and philosophic groups are the periodical essays from Addison to Johnson; of the philosophic group, Johnson's Rasselas and translations from Voltaire's Contes philosophiques; and of the satiric group "the pseudo-letters, culminating in English, in Goldsmith's Citizen of the World."<sup>20</sup>

A picture of the Orientalism that was so prevalent in the eighteenth century is best gained through a knowledge of its popularity in literature; and Goldsmith himself was as much a victim of the custom as his contemporaries.

Goldsmith was quite conscious of the English customs of dress and fashion. In Letter XXVII the man in black explains why he rejected the ministry as a profession: "To be obliged to wear a long wig, when I liked a short one, . . . I thought was such a restraint upon my liberty, that I rejected the proposal."<sup>21</sup> During Goldsmith's lifetime it was fashion to wear wigs, men being just as much interested in

<sup>19</sup>(New York: The Columbia University Press, 1908), p. xv.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. xxvi.

<sup>21</sup>Goldsmith, I, 109.



fashion as women. It seems strange that such a practice was fashionable, for certainly wigs were uncomfortable, hot, and expensive. A wig kept gray hair or a bald head from showing, however, and an effort to conceal age might have been one reason for wearing one. But Rosamund Bayne-Powell says, "It is scarcely likely that grave and learned judges and sound, elderly business men were trying to appear youthful."<sup>22</sup>

In Letter LXXXI Lien Chi has much to say about ladies' hoops and trains: "At present they have laid their hoops aside and are become as slim as mermaids. . . . What distinguishes the sex at present is the train."<sup>23</sup> During the eighteenth century the hoop went in and out of fashion. At first it was made of willow or cane, but later it was made of the more practical whalebone. It was very practical in the summer, for it was cool, keeping the heavy clothing away from the body. As to the popularity of the train, Lien Chi says of the women of England, they "would have a tail, though they wanted a petticoat, who, without any other pretensions, fancied they became ladies merely from the addition of three superfluous yards of ragged silk."<sup>24</sup>

In reference to snuff taking Lien Chi in Letter XLVI speaks of a woman of learning and records her conversation with him in his letter to Fum Hoam: "'Sir,' cried the lady,

<sup>22</sup>Eighteenth-Century London Life (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1938), p. 176.

<sup>23</sup>Goldsmith, II, 113.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

flourishing her hand which held a pinch of snuff, 'I shall be enraptured by having presented to my view a mind with which I have so long studied to be acquainted.'"<sup>25</sup> Snuff taking was a universal habit in the eighteenth century, and "large dark handkerchiefs were sold for snuff-takers."<sup>26</sup>

Interesting to the reader is the common use of sign-boards in the eighteenth century. In Letter II Lien Chi writes to his friend, the Dutch merchant of Amsterdam, "The houses borrow very few ornaments from architecture; their chief decoration seems to be a paltry piece of painting, hung out at their doors or windows, . . . Could you believe it? I have seen five black lions, and three blue boars in less than the circuit of half a mile."<sup>27</sup> Before the use of numbers to indicate houses and places of business, sign-boards were used to call attention to the place to which they referred. The emblems that were employed by trades might be grouped according to various origins; as, for example, the sign of the cross was used to attract Christians. There was another type of sign, that which exhibited persons employed at various trades. This type was impractical in a city such as London, however, where many people practiced the same trade. Other devices, such as a trader using a rebus on his

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., I. 203.

<sup>26</sup>Bayne-Powell, p. 186.

<sup>27</sup>Goldsmith, I, 4-5.

own name, were used. A good example of a rebus would be two cocks painted on a sign-board to indicate the name "Cox." Finally the device of using two dissimilar objects, which probably arose from a misconception, was popular; as for example, the "Goat and Compasses" for "God Encompasses."<sup>28</sup> During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sign-boards were quite common in the London streets, but in the eighteenth century laws were introduced to compel sign-boards to be removed or fastened flat against the wall. Sign-boards gradually disappeared from houses when numbering began to be introduced, and for the most part only inns retained them.

Another custom treated in Citizen of the World is marriage. Goldsmith attacks the recently enacted marriage laws in Letter LXXII; however he, through Lien Chi, grudgingly admits that there is need for reform in marriage practices: "It is indeed become a very serious affair in England."<sup>29</sup> Eighteenth-century customs of marriage were quite different on the whole from those practiced in the twentieth century. Parents were quite often more concerned with a marriage settlement than with the happiness of their children. The arranged marriage, even though it was not universal, was quite common. "The Tatler and the Spectator had inveighed against

<sup>28</sup>"Sign-boards," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., Vol. XXV.

<sup>29</sup>Goldsmith, II, 77-78.

it, and other moralists condemned it."<sup>30</sup> Some parents coerced their children into marriage, but there were others who allowed them freedom of choice. If there was parental opposition to a marriage, very often the young people ran away to be married, and it was quite easy to be married in England in the eighteenth century. "Many clergymen would perform marriages without license. They were ready to marry anyone for a guinea, or even for the price of a bottle of wine."<sup>31</sup>

Even more different from our own modern marriage customs were the funeral customs of the people. Among the nobility and upper classes, a funeral was "enormously costly, and the whole paraphernalia of grief was overwhelming."<sup>32</sup> In Letter XCVI Lien Chi refers to the costly costumes which court officials must wear upon the death of a king: "the grey undress frock, or the black coat without pocket holes,"<sup>33</sup> and in Letter XII he remarks: "The passion of the Europeans for magnificent interments, is especially strong with that of the Chinese."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Bayne-Powell, p. 52.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>33</sup>Goldsmith, II, 176.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., I, 40.

In England a hatchment bearing the coat of arms of the deceased was hung outside the house, the door knocker was covered with black crepe, and a sentry clothed in black garments stood at the door. The corpse was laid in a darkened room, the only light being candles burning in sconces against the wall. The body lay in state for some time. The hearse had ostrich plumes attached to it, and it was followed by black coaches. Funerals for members of the upper classes were often held at night, and then a large retinue carrying torches and flambreaux attended the procession. Presents of gloves, mourning rings, and scarves were given to the mourners; and despite the miasma of death that hovered over everything, a great funeral feast was always provided for those who attended the funeral. Among the middle classes, lying in state was also practiced, and bodies had to be wrapped in woolen, to encourage the wool trade. Although many families abhorred the idea of a woolen shroud and thus had the deceased wrapped in linen, the outer wrapping had to be woolen. "When the body reached the church, the lid of the coffin was lifted, so that the officiating minister might see the corpse and give a certificate that it was wrapped in woolen."<sup>35</sup> The church was draped in black, and even distant relatives dressed in mourning. Like the upper classes, the middle classes also provided the mourners with a great funeral feast, and in both

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<sup>35</sup>Bayne-Powell, p. 75.

classes a period of mourning was often observed; the house was hung with crepe, and the windows were shuttered, the family living by candlelight during the time.

In the division of sports and amusements, the English indulged in a variety of activities. Goldsmith speaks of gaming in Letters L, CII, AND CXI. In Letter CII Lien Chi writes to Fum Hoam that "the sex here are naturally fond of games of chance, and are taught to manage games of skill from their infancy."<sup>36</sup> A. S. Turberville says, "From the reign of Queen Anne till the beginning of the nineteenth century gambling was a national disease among the leisured classes of both sexes."<sup>37</sup> The men spent all day and sometimes the night gambling at clubs, and the women did the same in their own drawing rooms. Charles James Fox was supposed to have gambled for twenty-four hours at a time, losing as much as five hundred pounds an hour. "Before he was twenty-five he had squandered 140,000 pounds, mostly at cards."<sup>38</sup> Men would gamble at anything: cards, lotteries, horseracing, even whether a certain party who was ill would be surviving the following month.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup>Goldsmith, II, 196.

<sup>37</sup>English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century (2nd ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), p. 88.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

Goldsmith speaks of horseracing in Letter V, and again in Letter LXXXVI, when he describes the races at Newmarket, saying that it is a very fashionable amusement among the nobility. The English were very fond of horseracing and indulged in heavy betting at the races. The horses usually ran three times around a mile track, thus making a three-mile race. They were rested for an hour; then they ran again in a second race. After the races, the people usually adjourned to an inn, changed clothes, and ended the day with dancing, first the minuet, then the "country dances which fire the blood of men and women alike."<sup>40</sup>

Goldsmith devotes Letter LXXI to a discussion of pleasure gardens: "One of the principal entertainments of the citizens here in summer is to repair about nightfall to a garden not far from town, where they walk about, shew their best clothes and best faces, and listen to a concert provided for the occasion."<sup>41</sup> There were numerous pleasure gardens in the eighteenth century, but Vauxhall and Ranelagh were the most popular. Vauxhall was the oldest of the gardens. It was situated across the Thames River from London and was approached usually by water. Lien Chi, the man in black, the pawnbroker's widow, and Mr. and Mrs. Tibbs went to Vauxhall by coach, for "Mrs. Tibbs had a natural aversion to the water, and the widow being a little in flesh, as

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<sup>40</sup>Rosamund Bayne-Powell, Travellers in Eighteenth-Century England (London: John Murray, Ltd., 1951), pp. 90-91.

<sup>41</sup>Goldsmith, II, 70.

warmly protested against walking."<sup>42</sup> Lien Chi says in Letter LXXI to his former teacher, Fum Hoam, ". . . upon entering the gardens, I found every sense overpaid with more than expected pleasure; the lights every where glimmering through the scarcely moving trees; the full-bodied concert bursting on the stillness of the night, the natural concert of the birds in the more retired part of the grove, vying with that which was formed by art; the company gaily dressed, looking satisfaction, and the tables spread with various delicacies,"<sup>43</sup> Vauxhall was open all day, and it was considered the people's garden. The pretentious Beau Tibbs proves that the common people frequented Vauxhall when he says he "did not see a single creature . . . above the degree of a cheesemonger."<sup>44</sup>

Ranelagh Gardens were newer than Vauxhall, but they were considered more select and genteel. There was a rotunda in the Gardens where concerts and ridottos were held, the price of admission being a guinea; however one could enter the Gardens for only a shilling. Ranelagh, like Vauxhall, was open all day. The pleasure gardens were a great source of entertainment to the pleasure-loving people of the eighteenth century.

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 70-71.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.



Goldsmith, being a playwright himself, was quite fond of the theatre, and Letters XXI and LXXIX are devoted to that subject. The Chinese philosopher, with his friend, the man in black, attended the theatre often, and in Letter XXI Lien Chi writes to Fum Hoam that "the English are as fond of seeing plays acted as the Chinese."<sup>45</sup> The theatre was immensely popular during the eighteenth century. The leading actor of the day was David Garrick, and the only two theatres in the city of London were Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Shakespeare was considered gross during the eighteenth century until Garrick began to produce his plays. "Garrick was the player who brought Shakespeare into favour."<sup>46</sup> He produced seventeen of Shakespeare's plays. He was very much interested in and careful with setting, and he introduced footlights. "They consisted of about sixteen candles, and had to be constantly snuffed by an attendant who was retained for that purpose."<sup>47</sup> In addition, he was careful about costuming, and had much to choose from since the nobility, even the kings, gave their cast-off robes to the actors.

Producers of plays spent very little money on advertising. For two hundred pounds a year editors gained the privilege of inserting Garrick's notices in their papers. Also playbills were attached to posts by the river; and

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., I, 79.

<sup>46</sup>Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life, p. 161.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

sometimes criers, accompanied by drums and a trumpet, would go through the city announcing a play. By the end of the century prices ran from three to seven shillings,<sup>48</sup> and the playwright received the third night's profit. Because of the fact that there were only two theatres in London the run of a play was very short. "Goldsmith's Good-natured Man, quite a popular play, only ran for ten nights."<sup>49</sup> If the play lasted longer than three nights, the playwright received "the takings on the sixth and ninth evenings as well."<sup>50</sup> Since the house was full every night that his play ran, Goldsmith received four hundred pounds for his work, that being a very good price for a play in the eighteenth century.

Thus, through a discussion of the social customs recorded in Citizen of the World, the reader views a picture of the life of the people of the eighteenth century, and sees Goldsmith as a social historian, for truly he wrote of the activities he enjoyed and entered into.

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER IV

### GOLDSMITH THE MAN AS REFLECTED THROUGH

#### CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

In a study of Citizen of the World the reader gets a picture of Goldsmith as a political thinker and philosopher. As a political thinker, Goldsmith was a patriotic man. John Drinkwater, author of Patriotism in Literature, says there are two kinds of patriotism, public and private. The statesmen are the public patriots, those who make "public service to the State part of their professed occupation in life."<sup>1</sup> But the private citizens comprise the latter, larger group, those who "serve the state not in any public office or employment, but in the faithful conduct of their own private affairs."<sup>2</sup> Such is the category to which Goldsmith belongs. In pursuing his most successful occupation, that of writing, he served his country in the truly patriotic sense. He wrote for reform where he thought it was needed, satirized England's faults gently but effectively, yet praised his country often. He once called England "happiest of countries."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>(New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1924), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ralph M. Wardle, Oliver Goldsmith (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1957), p. 116.

As a patriot Goldsmith was first a monarchist. According to him, a monarchy such as in England "is the most perfect state of civil liberty, of which we can form any idea,"<sup>4</sup> and every step toward democracy is a step toward the diminution of the subjects' freedom. Lien Chi says, "The constitution of England is at present possessed of the strength of the native oak and the flexibility of the bending tamerisk,"<sup>5</sup> but if the people should strive for an imaginary freedom and think an abridgement of monarchy would be better, in his opinion they would be committing a grave error. Another example of Goldsmith's strong monarchial sympathies is evident in Letter XXXVIII, in which there is praise of the king of England in his practice of the difficult art of administering justice. Lien Chi tells the story of a member of the nobility who was executed for murdering one of his servants. In praising the king for administering justice, he states that one who administers true justice must do it with no hope of applause, and for some other reason than for hope of fame. Lien Chi goes on to say that if a person of any other country should commit such a crime, he would merely have to pay a small fine and he would immediately be pardoned, but Lien Chi continues, "Happy the country where all are equal, and where those who sit as judges have too much integrity to

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<sup>4</sup>Oliver Goldsmith, Citizen of the World, ed. Austin Dobson (London: J. M. Dent and Co., 1891), I, 219.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 221.

receive a bribe, and too much honour to pity from a similitude of the prisoner's title or circumstances with their own. Such is England."<sup>6</sup> In Letter CI once more does Goldsmith's monarchical thinking become evident. In a letter to Fum Hoam, Lien Chi remarks that in every government some men are born to govern, others to obey, and no matter how free a people may be, still they must relinquish part of their freedom and judgment in return for security. Goldsmith's opinion that men are "generally best governed by a few"<sup>7</sup> is quite evident. Lien Chi upbraids the people for criticizing the government as if they wanted something more than happiness and security; then he emphasizes his monarchical viewpoint by saying: "A serpent, which, as the fable observes, is furnished with one head and many tails, is much more capable of subsistence and expedition, than another, which is furnished with but one tail and many heads."<sup>8</sup>

Another view which Goldsmith, the political thinker, held was that extensive colonization weakens a country. In Letter XVII he makes his patriotism apparent in his attack upon the folly of war and extensive colonization. At the outset of the letter the author discusses the ease with which treaties are broken, when Lien Chi tells Fum Hoam:

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., II, 192.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

There is nothing more easy than to break a treaty ratified in all the usual forms, and yet neither party be the aggressor. One side, for instance, breaks a trifling article by mistake; the opposite party upon this makes a small but premeditated reprisal; this brings on a return of greater from the other; both sides complain of injuries and infractions; war is declared; they beat, are beaten; some two or three hundred thousand men are killed, they grow tired, leave off just where they begin; and so sit coolly down to make new treaties.<sup>9</sup>

Next Lien Chi condemns warmongers, saying, "there are many in England, who, encouraged by success, are for still protracting the war."<sup>10</sup> And then he states his opinion that when an empire grows too large, if the outermost parts are extended too far, the center becomes weakened:

It is in the politic as in the human constitution; if the limbs grow too large for the body, their size, instead of improving, will diminish the vigour of the whole. The colonies should always bear an exact proportion to the mother country; when they grow populous, they grow powerful, they become independent also; thus subordination is destroyed, and a country swallowed up in the extent of its own dominions.<sup>11</sup>

There is an attack on the English and French colonization of Canada which is Lien Chi's opinion neither England nor France had the right to do.

But they quarreled about the boundaries of their settlements, about grounds and rivers to which neither side could shew any other right than that of power, and which neither could occupy but by usurpation. Such is

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., I, 61.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

the contest, that no honest man can heartily wish success to either party.<sup>12</sup>

Goldsmith, through Lien Chi, is reproaching his country because he earnestly believed that extensive colonization was weakening England. Modern historians would think him to be right; witness the American colonies in the eighteenth century and India in the twentieth century. Goldsmith continues, berating England for sending the enterprising men who should be the backbone of their motherland to populate the colonies. He says such men should be kept home, regarded as the "sinews of the people, and cherished with every degree of political indulgence."<sup>13</sup>

Another example of his belief that extensive colonization weakens a country is found in Letter XXV. In a letter to Fum Hoam, Lien Chi elaborates on the causes that bring about a nation's downfall, telling the story of the kingdom of Lao, which fell when it became greedy. The opulence of the country invited the invader, but the inhabitants were still "inspired with a love of their country,"<sup>14</sup> and they managed to repel the invading Tartar forces. However, as the people of Lao grew wealthier, they grew greedier, their greed finally outweighing their patriotism. The leaders began

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

sending people to the outermost parts of the kingdom to populate them and glean all the wealth from them that was possible, until the country was so weakened at the core that it was unable to repel the next invasion, and the country fell. Lien Chi remarks, "They had risen in strength by a love of their country and fell by indulging ambition."<sup>15</sup> Lien Chi concludes with this sagacious remark:

Happy, very happy might they have been, had they known when to bound their riches and their glory. Had they known that extending an empire is often diminishing power, that countries are ever strongest which are internally powerful.<sup>16</sup>

In picturing Goldsmith as a political thinker it is important to know his feelings about liberty. In Letter L Lien Chi defines liberty. He remarks that the English enjoy more freedom than people would under any other government whatever. He says:

Their freedom consists in their enjoying 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.<sup>17</sup>

Goldsmith, in Letter L, expresses the opinion that the laws of a monarchical state may be relaxed without danger because even if the people should unanimously commit a breach of any law, there is still an effective power which is superior to

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 218.



the people. But in a government in which laws derive their sanction from the people alone, if breaches of the law are overlooked, the constitution itself is endangered, and the laws in a republic must be strong because the constitution is feeble.

Discussing liberty, Goldsmith implies that the English shout liberty without ever knowing its meaning. In Letter IV from Lien Chi to Fum Hoam, Lien Chi tells of passing a prison where he overheard a conversation. Three were speaking: a debtor in the prison, a porter who had stopped by the prison gate to rest his heavy burden, and a soldier standing guard outside the prison gate. Their topic of conversation was a threatened invasion from France, and each man was eager to rescue his country from danger. Only a shrewdly discerning, patriotic student of government such as Goldsmith could have imagined the ridiculous, humorous dialogue of the three:

"For my part," cries the prisoner, "the greatest of my apprehensions is for our freedom; if the French should conquer, what would become of English liberty. My dear friends, liberty is the Englishman's prerogative; we must preserve that at the expense of our lives, of that the French shall never deprive us; it is not to be expected that men who are slaves themselves would preserve our freedom should they happen to conquer."  
 "Ay slaves," cries the porter, "... fit only to carry burdens every one of them." To which the soldier with a tremendous oath replies, "It is not so much our liberty as our religion that would suffer by such a change. . . . may the Devil sink me into flames if the French should come over, but our religion would be utterly undone."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

Another view in his political thinking which Goldsmith held was that filial obedience is the greatest requisite for a state. Lien Chi, in Letter XLII, speaks of this as he says:

. . . by this we become good subjects to our emperors, capable of behaving with just subordination to our superiors, . . . by this we become good magistrates; for early submission is the truest lesson to those who would learn to rule. By this the whole state may be said to resemble one family, of which the emperor is the father, protector, and friend.<sup>19</sup>

As he continues, he pictures the European scene as a theatre of intrigue, avarice, and ambition: ". . . behold it shaded with wars, rebellions, treasons, plots, politics, and poison."<sup>20</sup> He asks what advantages the countries of Europe have obtained from such calamities and concludes that nothing but unhappiness has resulted:

All the great nations still nearly preserve their ancient limits; none have been able to subdue the other, and so terminate the dispute. . . . what effect has the blood of so many thousands, the destruction of so many cities produced? Nothing neither great or considerable.<sup>21</sup>

According to Goldsmith, filial obedience taught in youth will make wise, unselfish rulers in the future.

Goldsmith's international viewpoint is apparent when he exhibits political thinking on such subjects as

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

triviality of behavior, propagandism, national partiality, filtration, and greed. The modern world, with the advent of steamships and airplanes, is better able to understand Goldsmith's viewpoint as a citizen of the world than were people of his own time. He probably seemed strange to them in his interest in world politics, but in our own times, with isolationism a thing of the past, we understand and appreciate his international outlook. Letter V ridicules the manners of several countries. Great Britain is not spared. Lien Chi sends to Fum Hoam newspaper accounts from different countries, which conspicuously show the faults of each. In reference to the queen of Spain there is a glowing account of her wit and beauty. The article states that she had had opportunity to exhibit her skill in repartee recently at court. The Duke of Lerman, upon presenting her with a nosegay set in diamonds, cried, "'Madam, I am your most obedient humble servant.' 'Oh, Sir,' replies the queen, without any prompter or the least hesitation, 'I'm very proud of the great honour you do me.'"<sup>22</sup> The account went on to say that the whole court was pleased at the smartness of her reply. The reports from Vienna and Prussia were alike in that each claimed to have attacked twenty thousand soldiers belonging to the other side and put them all to flight. The report from Edinburgh declared that the man,

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., I, 18.

Saunders M'Gregor, who had been executed for horse stealing was definitely not a Scotsman, but "born in Carrickfergus."<sup>23</sup> Thus in one letter Goldsmith has given his disapproval of trivial behavior, propagandism, and national partiality.

In his concern about Russian filtration into Europe, he warned against European countries hiring Russian mercenaries, in Letter LXXXVII. The seriousness of his political thought cannot be overlooked in the following passage:

I cannot sufficiently condemn the politics of Europe, who thus make this powerful people arbitrators in their quarrel. The Russians are now at the period between refinement and barbarity, which seems most adapted to military achievements; and if once they happen to get footing in the western parts of Europe, it is not the feeble efforts of the sons of effeminacy and dissention, that can serve to remove them. The fertile valley and soft climate, will ever be sufficient inducements to draw whole myriads from their native deserts, the trackless wild, or snowy mountain.<sup>24</sup>

The final facet of the international viewpoint in his political thinking is found in Letter CXVIII in which Lien Chi elaborates on the greed of the Dutch, who because of their avarice are groveling at the court of the Emperor of Japan. They are presenting gifts to the emperor and being very self-effacing so that they may gain permission to buy trinkets and porcelain. He is amazed at the indignities that a Hollander will suffer simply for gain. "What a glorious exchange, to forfeit their national honour, and even their title to humanity,

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., II, 141.

for a snuff-box!"<sup>25</sup>

Even though his fear of the Russians made him anachronistic in his international attitude, Goldsmith was first an Englishman. He shows his national pride, his devotion to his countrymen in Letter IV, in which Lien Chi seemingly attacks English pride. The irony is superb as Lien Chi ridicules the English for bearing "hunger, cold, fatigue, and all the miseries of life without shrinking."<sup>26</sup> He continues boasting about his countrymen:

Pride seems the source not only of their vices, but of their national virtues also. An Englishman is taught to love his king as his friend, but to acknowledge no other master than the laws which himself has contributed to enact. He despises those nations, who, that one may be free, are all content to be slaves; who first lift a tyrant into terror, and then shrink under his power as if delegated from heaven.<sup>27</sup>

Further evidence of Goldsmith's national pride is to be found in the praise of his countrymen's benevolence in Letter XXIII. Lien Chi commends English subscription in his discussion of the French prisoners of war. He praises the charity of the English, pointing out that the English are charitable, not through pity, but through reason. In speaking of their charity he says, "It once more makes me the universal friend of man."<sup>28</sup> He speaks of the fact that the French

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 260-261.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., I, 11.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

prisoners of war were not helped by their countrymen. He continues with profuse praise of the English: "National benevolence prevailed over national animosity: Their prisoners were indeed enemies, but they were enemies in distress; they ceased to be hateful, when they no longer continued to be formidable: forgetting therefore their national hatred, the men who were brave enough to conquer were generous enough to forgive."<sup>29</sup>

Letter LXXX reflects Goldsmith as a political thinker. Lien Chi writes to Fum Hoam on the evil tendency of increasing penal laws or enforcing those already in being with too much rigour. The following quotation reveals the power and seriousness of his political thought:

Penal laws, it must be allowed, secure property in a state, but they also diminish personal security in the same proportion: There is no positive law how equitable soever, that may not be sometimes capable of injustice. When a law enacted to make theft punishable with death, happens to be equitably executed, it can at best only guard our possessions; but when by favour or ignorance justice pronounces a wrong verdict, it then attacks our lives, since in such a case the whole community suffers with the innocent victims; if therefore in order to secure the effects of one man, I should make a law which may take away the life of another, in such a case to attain a smaller good, I am guilty of a greater evil, to secure society in the possession of a bauble, I render a real and valuable possession precarious.<sup>30</sup>

Goldsmith, through Lien Chi, warns against numerous punishments and mercenary magistrates, suggesting that the

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., II, 110.

administration of justice should be trusted "to those who know how to reward as well as to punish."<sup>31</sup>

Goldsmith was a true product of his time in his monarchical views, a product of all time in his national pride, and ahead of his contemporaries as an internationalist. But whatever facets his political thinking may have had, none can deny its earnestness, and like so many of the literati, he used his art to make known his love for his country and for the world.

Goldsmith proves himself to be also a philosopher, one who investigates the facts and principles of reality, in the following passage from Letter XXII:

Surely all men are blind and ignorant of truth. Mankind wanders unknowing his way from morning till evening. Where shall we turn after happiness; or is it wisest to desist from the pursuit? Like reptiles in a corner of some stupendous palace, we peep from our holes; look about us, wonder at all we see but are ignorant of the great architect's design: O for a revelation of himself, for a plan of his universal system: O for the reasons of our creation: or why we are created thus unhappy. If we are to experience no other felicity but what this life affords, then are we miserable indeed. If we are born only to look about us, repine and die; then has heaven been guilty of injustice. If this life terminates my existence, I despise the blessings of providence, and the wisdom of the giver. If this life be my all, let the following epitaph be written on the tomb of Altangi. "By my father's crimes I received this. By my own crimes I bequeath it to posterity."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., I, 88-89.



In this passage he reveals his own search for the answers to life. Also in using the Chinese, Lien Chi Altangi, he has the perfect vehicle for a display of his philosophical ability. "Goldsmith endowed him with extensive travels, a philosophical turn of mind, and friends that would lead him into all fields of activity."<sup>33</sup> Lien Chi tells his teacher in Letter VII, "I find myself at present, . . . more than a match for all that can happen; the chief business of my life has been to procure wisdom, and the chief object of that wisdom was to be happy."<sup>34</sup> He further informs Fum Hoam that "A man who leaves home to mend himself and others is a philosopher."<sup>35</sup> In Letter CVIII Goldsmith tells his readers exactly what a philosopher is and what his duties should be. He believes that countries should send out philosophers to other countries to "repair the breaches made by ambition,"<sup>36</sup> and "shew that there were still some who boasted a greater name than that of patriots, who professed themselves lovers of men."<sup>37</sup> He then describes a philosopher:

<sup>33</sup>Levette Jay Davidson, "Forerunners of Goldsmith in The Citizen of the World," Modern Language Notes, Ed. James Wilson Bright, XXXVI (January-December, 1921), p. 220.

<sup>34</sup>Goldsmith, I, 24.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., II, 219.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.



He should be a man of philosophical turn, one apt to deduce consequences of general utility from particular occurrences, neither swollen with pride, nor hardened by prejudice, neither wedded to one particular system, nor instructed only in one particular science; neither wholly a botanist, nor quite an antiquarian; his mind should be tinctured with miscellaneous knowledge, and his manners humanized by an intercourse with men. He should be, in some measure, an enthusiast to the design; fond of travelling, from a rapid imagination, and an innate love of change; furnished with a body capable of sustaining every fatigue, and a heart not easily terrified of danger.<sup>38</sup>

In Citizen of the World Goldsmith studies such topics as pleasure, virtue and a life of independence, love and gratitude, fear in relation to duty, and wisdom. Like many of the great philosophers of the past, the question of pleasure interested him, and the following passage reveals his belief that happiness is derived from both sensual pleasures and pleasures of the mind:

I know you reply, that the refined pleasure of growing every day wiser, is a sufficient recompense for every inconvenience. I know you will talk of the vulgar satisfaction of soliciting happiness from sensual enjoyment only, and probably enlarge upon the exquisite raptures of sentimental bliss. Yet, believe me, friend, you are deceived; all our pleasures, though seemingly never so remote from sense, derive their origin from some one of the senses. 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 enjoyments; 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. There are two extremes in

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

this respect; 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 convenience of drinking.<sup>39</sup>

Aristippus, one of the ancient Greek philosophers who lived about 400 B. C., seemed to have the same belief that Goldsmith held, that pleasure is derived from the senses as well as the mind. He taught that "sensuous pleasures are the most significant,"<sup>40</sup> but that "the wise man lives in such a way as to secure the maximum of pleasure, which is gentle experience."<sup>41</sup> Aristotle taught that sensual pleasures must be governed by the mind, that people must have "a rational attitude toward pleasures, choosing the best and keeping them in their proper place."<sup>42</sup>

On virtue and a life of independence Goldsmith says that a life of independence is the virtuous life:

It is that which fits the soul for every generous flight of humanity, freedom, and friendship. To give should be our pleasure, but to receive our shame; serenity, health, and affluence attend the desire of rising by labour; misery, repentance, and disrespect that of succeeding by extorted benevolence; the man who can thank himself alone for the happiness he enjoys, is truly blest; and lovely, far more lovely, the sturdy gloom of laborious indigence than the fawning simper of adulation.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., I, 21.

<sup>40</sup>Albert E. Avey, Handbook in the History of Philosophy (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1954), p. 23.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>43</sup>Goldsmith, II, 191.

Another Greek philosopher, Antisthenes, spoke a doctrine in agreement with that of Goldsmith on virtue and a life of independence: "Virtue is attained by means of intelligent living and is expressed in independence of external circumstances and mastery of desires--limiting them to those that are indispensable for life."<sup>44</sup> Antisthenes believed that the wise man's riches lay in his freedom.

On love and gratitude Goldsmith is very definite in his views, devoting Letter LXVI to the subject. Lien Chi, in a letter to his son, says that gratitude is voluntary and has a sense of duty behind it, that liberality will buy gratitude and when we are placed in a position of having to give gratitude, we give up some of our freedom, but that love is more spontaneous and cannot be bought. Love is involuntary, more willing, and more lasting. Love is harder to gain than gratitude, and one must really be deserving to be loved. He continues, "Indeed, my son, it is better to have friends in our passage through life than grateful dependents; and as love is a more willing, so it is a more lasting tribute than extorted obligation."<sup>45</sup>

Goldsmith's philosophy of fear in relation to duty is quite interesting. Lien Chi, in Letter X, tells his former teacher, Fum Hoam, if it were not for philosophers

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<sup>44</sup>Avey, p. 23.

<sup>45</sup>Goldsmith, II, 49.

who seem different from the rest of mankind, the "worship of a wicked divinity would surely be established over every part of the earth."<sup>46</sup> Then he speaks of fear in relation to duty: "Fear guides more to their duty than gratitude; for one man who is virtuous from the love of virtue; from the obligation which he thinks he lies under to the giver of all; there are ten thousand who are good only from their apprehensions of punishment."<sup>47</sup> He continues, saying that if there were assurance of no punishment after death people would no longer continue to acknowledge subordination or to thank the Being that gave them life, and then the world would be completely wicked.

On wisdom and its importance in society, Letter LVII treats the difficulty of rising in literary circles by wisdom alone without the benefit of riches or influence. Lien Chi's opinion is definite: "That man, though in rags, who is capable of deceiving even indolence into wisdom, and who professes amusement while he aims at reformation, is more useful in a refined society than twenty cardinals with all their scarlet, and tricked out in all the fopperies of scholastic finery."<sup>48</sup> In this letter he is saying that wisdom alone should be the requisite of an author, not money

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., I, 35.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., II, 8.

or influence. Another example of Goldsmith's beliefs concerning wisdom is found in Letter LXVII in which Lien Chi tells his son that true wisdom is gained through experience as well as through books. Then he makes the following comparison:

A youth, who has thus spent his life among books, new to the world, and unacquainted with man, but by philosophic information, may be considered as a being, whose mind is filled with the vulgar errors of the wise; utterly unqualified for a journey through life, yet confident of his own skill in the direction, he sets out with confidence, blunders on with vanity, and finds himself at last undone.<sup>49</sup>

A fitting conclusion to our observations of Goldsmith as a philosopher is found in Letter CVIII. It is his opinion of the best way for a philosopher to live and spend his time:

There is probably no country so barbarous, that it would not disclose all it knew, if it received from the traveller equivalent information; and I am apt to think, that a person, who was ready to give more knowledge than he received, would be welcome wherever he came. All his care in travelling should only be to suit his intellectual banquet to the people with whom he conversed; he should not attempt to teach the unlettered Tartar astronomy, nor yet instruct the polite Chinese in the ruder arts of subsistence. He should endeavour to improve the barbarian in the secrets of living comfortably; and the inhabitant of a more refined country in the speculative pleasures of science. How much more nobly would a philosopher thus employed spend his time, than by sitting at home earnestly intent upon adding one more star to his catalogue, or one monster more to his collection.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., pp. 216-217.

In Citizen of the World Goldsmith proves himself to be an easy satirist, at times a serious didactic writer, and always a good narrator. Through a study of this work, the reader gains a comprehensive picture of eighteenth century social customs and also a picture of the government during the author's lifetime. Finally Goldsmith proves himself to be a serious, patriotic political thinker, a philosopher, and truly a citizen of the world.

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