

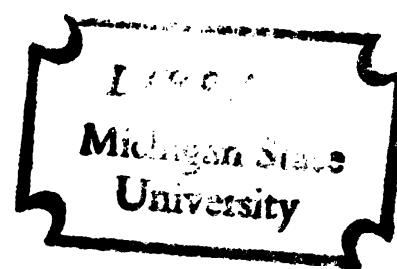
SMOLLETT AND THE
CRITICAL REVIEW: CRITICISM OF THE NOVEL

Philip J. Klukoff

THESIS



3 1293 10102 4853



This is to certify that the
thesis entitled
Smollett and the Critical Review:
Criticism of the Novel

presented by
Philip J. Klukoff

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for
PhD degree in English

Arthur Sherbo
Major professor

Date 4 November, 1965

I 352

ABSTRACT

SMOLLETT AND THE CRITICAL REVIEW: CRITICISM OF THE NOVEL

By Philip J. Klukoff

The purpose of this study is in part to determine the extent of Smollett's influence on the criticism of the novel in the Critical Review, but more importantly to determine the critical foundations upon which both the Critical and Smollett formulated their conception of the novel as a distinct literary genre capable of development along artistic principles. Because there is little evidence that Smollett personally directed critical policy, I have found it valuable to examine the similarities in critical tastes and preferences between Smollett and the Critical which suggest the possibility of his influence.

Such examination indeed uncovers more questions than answers, and yet it is precisely the questions which need to be uncovered. They are questions which have heretofore remained unasked by Smollett scholarship, the answers to which are vital to a more comprehensive understanding of the author who from the eight-year period 1756-1763 emerged as one of the most versatile men of letters in the century.

The
So
a s
he
Sp
el
cr
th
w
t
a
r

They are questions which originate in a study of Smollett's Scottish cultural heritage and literary associations, and in a study of the critical tastes of the Critical Review which he edited from 1756-1763. Where the former study defines Smollett's intellectual propensity toward the aesthetic of eighteenth-century psychological criticism, so uniformly accredited by the Scottish renaissance, the latter discovers that aesthetic as a unifying critical base for the Review.

Because he was personally and culturally involved with and aware of the movement toward a psychological aesthetic in Scotland, it would be difficult to imagine that his and the Critical's affirmative response to that aesthetic was coincidental, since Smollett's dominating personality was, in a sense, an organic part of the Review's. Certainly, the possible presence of Smollett's pen in reviews of important novels between 1759-1763, and the reflection of his own ethical preferences and critical point of view in other reviews between those years and in some earlier reviews, clearly suggest this stature in terms of the general response of the periodical. It is, again, a response which I feel cannot be divorced from Smollett's awareness of those attitudes prevailing north of the Tweed which received attention in England during the second half of the eighteenth-century. Where Smollett echoed Hutcheson's sentiments of universal benevolence based on a community of men whose nature was essentially good, though many times disguised by self-interest, the Critical

Philip J. Klukoff

also asked the novelist as a "painter" of society not to distort the nature of humanity by representing it in a "false light," but to evoke a sympathy for society and its representatives through the novel's organic presentation, which at once unified the novel as a work of art and directed the reader's sensibility toward moral awareness through imaginative response.

Both Smollett and the Critical accepted the Hutchesonian principle of sympathy as the foundation for a theory of morals, and agreed with Gerard's thesis of imaginative or intuitive response. Both viewed the sympathetic emotion as a source of judgment, and the comprehensiveness of the imagination as a source of perception and conception, thus affirming the psychological fusion of the innate "moral sense" and aesthetic sense as the source of ethical and epistemological awareness. Indeed, in the reviews of 1759 we can begin to discern the critical context into which the Critical Review placed the novel as an organic genre through which the principle of universal benevolence urged men to sympathize with the feelings of others regardless of self-interest, and taught the reader simple ethical principles without setting up any intellectual barrier to thwart the right kind of imaginative response.



SMOLLETT AND THE CRITICAL REVIEW:

CRITICISM OF THE NOVEL

By

Philip J. Klukoff

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of English

1965

938222
7.7

To my parents, wife and sister.

"...what absurd judgments we form in viewing
objects through the falsifying mediums of
prejudice and passion."

Humphry Clinker



CONTENTS

<u>Introduction</u>	1
<u>Chapter I</u> Smollett and the <u>Critical Review</u> : Literary Associations	6
<u>Chapter II</u> Premises of Taste; Critical Response.....	31
<u>Chapter III</u> Smollett and the Novel.....	58
<u>Chapter IV</u> The <u>Critical Review</u> and the novel; 1756-1763.....	88
<u>Conclusion</u>	140
<u>Bibliography</u>	159

APPENDICES

Appendix A

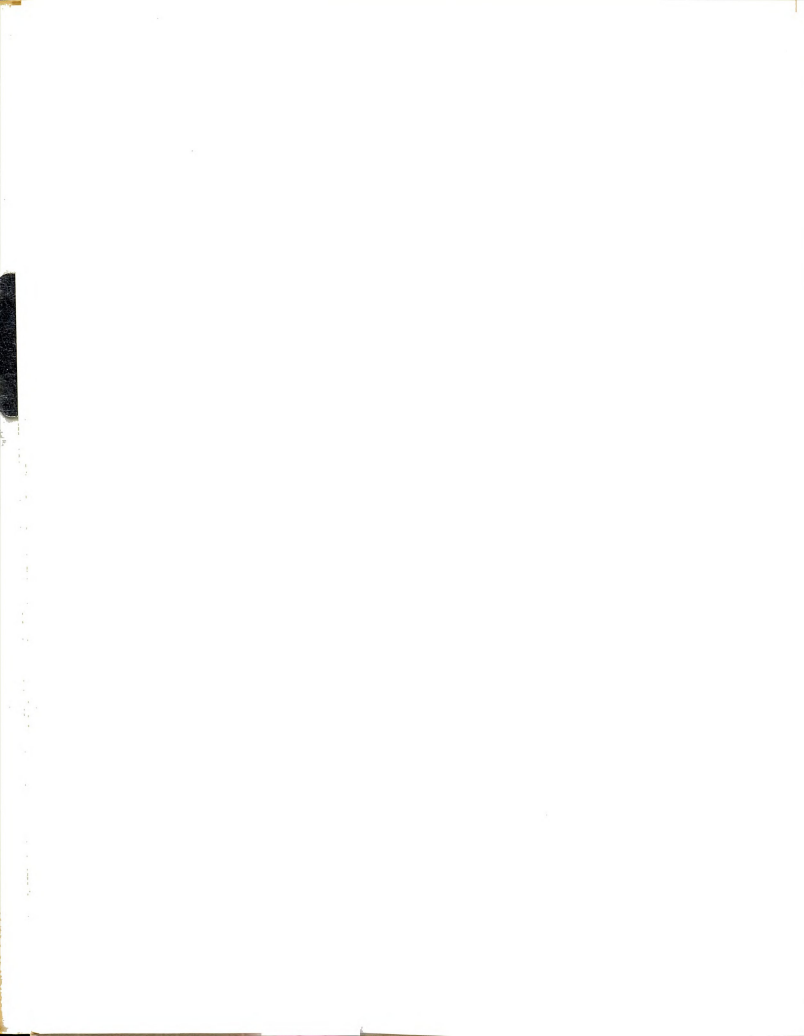
Novels reviewed in the Critical Review

1756-1763 143

Appendix B

Reviews written by and attributed to

Smollett in the Critical and Monthly Reviews..... 152



INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is in part to determine the extent of Smollett's influence on the criticism of the novel in the Critical Review, but more importantly to determine the critical foundations upon which both the Critical and Smollett formulated their conception of the novel as a distinct literary genre capable of development along artistic principles. Because there is little evidence that Smollett personally directed critical policy, I have found it valuable to examine those similarities in critical tastes and preferences between Smollett and the Critical which suggest the possibility of his influence.

Such examination indeed uncovers more questions than answers, and yet it is precisely the questions which need to be uncovered. They are questions which have heretofore remained unasked by Smollett scholarship, the answers to which are vital to a more comprehensive understanding of the author who from the eight-year period 1756-1763 emerged as one of the most versatile men of letters in the century.¹

¹It was during this time that Smollett produced A Compendium of Authentic and Entertaining Voyages (1756); A Complete History of England, which he began in 1755 and revised in 1758; the Modern Part of An Universal History (1759-1766); the Continuation of the Complete History of England (1760-1761); The Reprisal, a farce produced in 1757 at the Theatre Royal. He helped launch the British Magazine (1760), in which his Sir Launcelot Greaves appeared serially in 1761, the Briton (1762), a political organ in defense of the Bute ministry, and in 1756 began the Critical Review with Archibald Hamilton and Dr. John Armstrong.

They are questions which originate in a study of Smollett's Scottish cultural heritage and literary associations, and in a study of the critical tastes of the Critical Review which he edited from 1756-1763. Where the former study defines Smollett's intellectual propensity toward the aesthetic of eighteenth-century psychological criticism, so uniformly accredited by the Scottish renaissance, the latter discovers that aesthetic as a unifying critical base for the Review.

Neither the scholarship dealing with the journal's critical tastes nor any of the major studies of Smollett have attempted to discuss the extent of Smollett's influence on the critical policy of the Critical during the years of his editorship. In fact, scholars have neglected to study Smollett's career as a novelist in any apparent critical context, though Morris Goldberg's work on the Scottish school's influence on Smollett, despite its faults, has opened up a fruitful area of study for scholars interested in the author's critical milieu.²

There have been but three discussions of the criticism of the novel in the Critical Review, two of which are articles by Claude Jones.³ The first is a cursory note on

²Smollett and the Scottish School (Albuquerque, 1959).

³See "The 'Critical Review's First Thirty Years(1756-1785)," N&Q, CCI (1956), 70-78, and "The English Novel: A Critical View (1756-1785)," MLQ, XIX (1958), 147-159; 213-224.

the "criteria" by which the Critical judged the novel (morality, instruction, its appeal to reason, sentiment, melancholy, and interest in human nature). The second article devotes much of its early discussion to the Critical's attitude toward the novel-reading public, the publishers of novels, their "warehouses," and the circulating libraries. Jones suggests that the five features of the novel which received the most attention during the period from 1756-1785 were morality, sentimentality, characterization, probability, and the introduction of romantic love as motivation. He argues that each critic "concocted" his own scale of values founded on his own "common sense," and that basic critical standards did appear because the reviewers realized the novel's influence on its readers, many of whom were women who patronized the circulating libraries. Both articles are rather sketchy and general. Jones not only neglects to probe beyond the obvious and proven, but fails to consider the novel as a serious literary genre, organic in its conception.

An unpublished Princeton doctoral dissertation by Philip Benjamin is somewhat more thorough. In his chapter on the Critical's treatment of the novel, Benjamin delineates its criteria of a "good novel" in terms of the eighteenth-century division into fable, plot, characters, sentiment, and diction. He describes the merits of a good novel as one with a simple narrative or plot moving

steadily toward its denouement, and aided by incidents that were natural and not stale; characters drawn from nature with all their different and contradictory qualities, displaying genuine passions that arouse a real sympathy in the reader, and do not play upon mawkish sentimentalism; the ability to arouse the interest of the reader in such a way that he will enjoy innocent amusement, and a pleasure that is not made subservient to moral instruction; and an elegant and flowing style.⁴

Because Benjamin dissects the novel in this manner, he too cannot view the Critical's response to the genre as an organic one. The Critical considered the novel as an artistic unit complete in itself, in which the moral or ethic was dependent upon a structure designed to appeal to the reader's imagination through which he could sympathetically identify with the action of the hero, and reach a simultaneous moral and aesthetic awareness.

In the following discussion I hope to prove that although there is little evidence of Smollett's personal direction, the general critical response of the Critical Review, including its response to the novel, was consistent with Smollett's own preferences as articulated in his prefaces to Roderick Random, Ferdinand Count Fathom, and in re-

⁴The Critical Review, 1756-1790, A Study. (1934).

views which can be attributed to him with some certainty. . Central to this study is the fact that both Smollett and the Critical responded affirmatively to the psychological principles current in eighteenth-century philosophy and criticism, and that both organized their conception of the novel as a serious artistic genre in terms of these principles. If Smollett did influence the criticism of the novel in the Critical Review, it was through his early response to those principles both in theory and practice, a response which found voice in the critical organ he established.



CHAPTER I

SMOLLETT AND THE "CRITICAL REVIEW:"

LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS

CHAPTER I

SMOLLETT AND THE "CRITICAL REVIEW:"

LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS

The first we hear of Smollett's involvement with the Critical Review is in his frequently quoted letter to Dr. John Moore from Chelsea, August 3, 1756:

By your asking if I am engaged in any new performance, and immediately after mentioning the 'Critical Review,' I conclude you have been told I am concerned in that work: Your information has been true; it is a small branch of an extensive Plan which I last year projected for a sort of academy of belles lettres; a Scheme which will one day, I hope be put into Execution to its utmost extent. In the meantime the 'Critical Review' is conducted by four gentlemen of approved abilities, and meets with a very favourable reception.¹

This letter has presented two problems to Smollett scholarship, one of which has recently been solved by Professor Derek Roper.² Pencilled annotations in copies of Volumes I and II of the Critical Review in the library of the University of Oregon reveal that the "four gentlemen of approved abilities" were Dr. John Armstrong, Thomas Francklin, Patrick Murdoch, and Samuel Derrick. However, though nothing specific is known of Smollett's scheme for an academy of

¹Edward S. Noyes, The Letters of Tobias Smollett (Cambridge, 1926), p. 39.

²"Smollett's Four Gentlemen: The First Contributors to the 'Critical Review,'" RES, X (1959), 38-44.

b
s
i
l
t
t
-
P
C
M
P
P

M

belles lettres, except a reference to it in Joseph Reed's scurrilous pamphlet, A Sop in the Pan for a Physical Critick,³ it is clear from what evidence does exist, that Smollett launched the Critical as essentially a literary enterprise to revive "the spirit of criticism" and contribute towards the formation of a public taste, a function which the academy

³The full title of Reed's pamphlet was A Sop in the Pan for a Physical Critick: in A Letter to Dr. Smollett, occasion'd by A Criticism on a late Mock Tragedy, call'd Madrigal and Truletta. By a Halter Maker (London, 1759). On page 5 of the pamphlet the following attack on Smollett appeared:

In the close of the year 1755, a certain Caledonian Quack, by the Courtesy of England, call'd a Doctor of Physick, whose real, or assum'd Name was FERDINANDO MAC FATHOMLESS, form'd a Project for initiating and perfecting the Male-Inhabitants of this island, in the Use and Management of the linguary Weapon, by the Erection of a Scolding Amphi-theatre. For this Purpose, he selected, and engag'd, on weekly Salary, about a Dozen of the most eminent Professors of Vociferation in this Academy: but, after he had been at a considerable Expence, the unfortunate Empiric could not get his Project licenc'd.

The Doctor was greatly mortified at his unexpected Disappointment, but being resolved that his own, and the Sisterhood's Talents should not be lost to the World, he set about publishing a periodical Work, called the Hyper-Critical Review.

Quoted in Lewis Knapp, Tobias Smollett, Doctor of Men and Manners (Princeton, 1949), pp. 167-168.



V
S
C
C
R
M
t
b
V
M
W
P
S
M
-
O
A
2
i
L
O

D

would have served through meetings for the purposes of oral literary debates.⁴ Professor Roper has successfully refuted the charge that the Critical was launched as a political organ "established under Tory and Church patronage" in opposition to the Whig Monthly, a periodical instituted by Ralph Griffiths in 1749.⁵ Roper argues that there is no basis in fact for attributing the antagonism between the Critical and Monthly to political differences, since Smollett was at this time moving away from the Whig tradition in which he had been brought up, and because he seems to have had no contact with politicians of the period nor was known to be a party man. In fact, the political content of the Critical Review was confined to its criticism of controversial books and pamphlets, and until 1760 no occasion arose for the expression of Tory principles. Criticism of literature occupied more than one-fifth of the Critical's material, and the

⁴See "Proposals for Publishing Monthly the Progress or Annals of Literature and the Liberal Arts," in the Public Advertiser, December 30, 1755. A month later, on February 2, 1756, the same newspaper was republished with the following revision; "The Progress or Annals of Literature and the Liberal Arts" was changed to "The Critical Review, or Annals of Literature."

⁵"The Politics of the Critical Review, 1756-1817," Durham University Journal, LIII (1961), 117-122.



Monthly Catalogue and foreign articles still another one-fifth.⁶

Smollett's role in launching the journal is still somewhat uncertain. Even though he affirms in his letter that the Critical was a part of a larger scheme which he had projected, Dr. Moore suggests in his prefatory memoir to Smollett's Works that the latter was "prevailed on to undertake the conducting" of the Review.⁷ John Nichols' memoir gives credence to the argument that Archibald Hamilton was the prime mover of the Critical in 1756. He records that "with the assistance of Dr. Smollett and other literary friends, he [Hamilton] commenced the Critical Review."⁸ Indeed in the spring of 1770 Percival Stockdale refers to Hamilton as the "redoubted chieftan" of the

⁶ The Monthly Catalogue first appeared in the number of June, 1756 (p. 480), ostensibly to admit criticism of the many minor publications. Thomas Francklin, who wrote the introduction to the first Monthly Catalogue justified its inclusion:

We must desire our readers to consider our Monthly Catalogue as the impedimental exercitus, or baggage of our army, which may be found useful, though a little heavy: We shall for the most part reserve it for the minor poets and writers of every class, though we may now and then, for want of room in our main body, be obliged to crowd into it some of our best forces. We shall endeavour, however, always to execute this part of our work with equal care and assiduity as the rest of it, and submit the whole to the candour and judgment of our readers.

⁷ Quoted in Knapp, Tobias Smollett, p. 175

⁸ Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1812) III, 398.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1911

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

1911

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

Critical when Hamilton asked him to replace William Guthrie as its editor.⁹ But the title pages of the first four volumes carry the name of Ralph Baldwin rather than that of Hamilton, a fact which supports James Hannay's argument for Baldwin as the force behind its origin as an organ for London booksellers.¹⁰ The first issue for Hamilton was in 1758.

Dr. Armstrong's revealing letter to John Wilkes on January 6, 1756 identifies Smollett as the originator of the project.

...I am just going to take the step you so very kindly push me on to, and which I should have ventured upon nine years ago if it had not been for that State of Spirits which has made me set about it with some reluctance now, as it is an attempt to plunge deeper into a Business which upon some Occasion fills me with insupportable Anxiety the cause of a thousand Reveries and Blunders which you have often seen me ashamed of. Smollett imagines he and I may both make our fortunes by this project of his; I'm afraid he is too sanguine, but if it should turn out according to his hopes farewell Physick and all its Cares for me and welcome dear Tranquility and Retirement.¹¹

⁹The Memoirs of Percival Stockdale (London, 1809) II, 57-58.

¹⁰"Tobias Smollett," Quarterly Review, 103 (1858), 82.

¹¹Quoted in Lewis Knapp, "Dr. John Armstrong, Litterateur, and Associate of Smollett, Thomson, Wilkes, and other Celebrities," PMLA, LIX (1944), 1033.

That "project of his" Knapp correctly conjectures was either the academy for belles lettres or "the small branch thereof," the Critical Review. The latter is the more likely in that the scheme for the projected academy must have failed some-time during 1755, since the "Proposals" for publishing the Critical Review do not mention the periodical as a branch of any larger organized body. Indeed the evidence of Smollett's pen in the "Proposals," the editorial prefaces¹² and some sixty-six articles he contributed to Volumes I and II during

¹²See also the editorial prefaces to Vols. I, II, III.

A comparison of the preface to Volume XI for January, 1761 with a portion from Smollett's letter to Thomas Bontein on December 10, 1759, and a passage from Chapter two of Roderick Random is particularly striking. Using the editorial third person, Smollett wrote in the preface:

He has not only felt the rod of persecution and prosecution for opinions which he really broached, but he has been insulted in public abuse, and traduced in private calumny, by obscure authors whom he did not know, for criticism he had not written on performances he never saw.

To Bontein, he wrote:

I have been abused, reviled, and calumniated, for satires I never saw; I have been censured for absurdities of which I could not possibly be guilty....

Roderick records that:

I was often inhumanely scourged for crimes I did not commit;....I have been found guilty of robbing orchards I never entered, of killing cats I never hurt, of stealing gingerbread I never touched, and of abusing old women I never saw.

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

1755,¹³ and the evidence of his editorial function of soliciting articles, clearly indicate his personal influence and direction of the Critical from its very inception.

It is tempting to agree with Professor Knapp that Smollett's editorial powers and reviews increased as the years passed.¹⁴ But although he complained to John Wilkes in 1759 of being unable to "snatch...a momentary Respite from reading dull books & writing dull Commentaries," Smollett clearly eased his labors in 1761.¹⁵ When he wrote to Richard Smith in 1763 that he was responsible for "a great part of the Critical Review,"¹⁶ he was referring primarily to the years 1756-1761, for when he wrote to Dr. Moore on August 16, 1762 that he was "now proprietor of that work," he also admitted to having long resigned "the laborious part of authorship."¹⁷ And it indeed seems likely that because of his continuing physical and mental exhaustion Smollett shared his proprietorship with Hamilton, who appointed as editors Guthrie in 1763 and Stockdale in 1770. In

¹³Roper, "Smollett's Four Gentlemen," 41-43.

¹⁴Knapp, Tobias Smollett, p. 176.

¹⁵Noyes, Letters, p. 61.

¹⁶Noyes, Letters, p. 81.

¹⁷Edward Noyes, "Another Smollett Letter," MLN XLII (1927), 232-233.

Nov

"Sm

Mr.

bel

it.

pr

to

Gr

th

li

by

an

o

t

f

A

S

f

-

!

November, 1762, Boswell recorded in his journal that "Smollett...writes now very little in the Critical Review. Mr. Francklin, Greek professor at Cambridge, and Mr. Campbell, Son to a Principal Campbell of St. Andrews write in it."¹⁸

We would also err in arguing that the Critical was primarily conceived as an avowed antagonist to the Monthly to satisfy the personal rancor Smollett held for Ralph Griffiths. Benjamin Nangle has clearly disposed of the theory that Smollett seceded from the Monthly and established the Critical because of his resentment at a review by Mrs. Carter of his translation of Don Quixote. Nangle argues that Smollett's final review in the Monthly, that of Smellie's Theory and Practice of Midwifery,¹⁹ appeared three years before the review of Don Quixote, which was in fact written by Griffiths himself and not by Mrs. Carter.²⁰ Again, with the exception of William Kenrick's review of Smollett's edition of Voltaire, all of Smollett's works, from The Regicide in 1749 to the Ode to Independence in

¹⁸Quoted in Claude Jones, "Smollett Studies," University of California Publications in English, 9 (1942), 90.

¹⁹Monthly Review, V (1751), 465-466.

²⁰Monthly Review First Series 1749-1789, Indexes of Contributors and Articles (Oxford, 1934), p. 42.

the

dis

Mon

wit

Cri

alt

cer

er

de

we

me

th

wi

So

no

to

-

c

1773, received courteous if sometimes adverse treatment from
²¹
 the Monthly.

Though Smollett held Griffiths in contempt as an "undistinguishing bookseller,"²² the antagonism between the Monthly and Critical Reviews broke out into open warfare with Owen Ruffhead's attack on Shebbeare's The Occasional Critic in the Monthly for 1757. Ruffhead maintained that although The Occasional Critic exposed its author's indecency and lack of judgment in attacking the Critical reviewers, it had in many instances stumbled upon the truth. He declared that Shebbeare and the reviewers for the Critical were "physicians without practice, authors without learning, men without decency, gentlemen without manners, and...if their critical merit is no greater than his...the public will, probably be ready to add--Critics without judgment."²³ Smollett, who had previously told the Monthly that he would not dispute with "any low-bred, pedantic Syntax-monger, retained as a servant or associate to any bookseller, or book-

²¹Reviews of Smollett's works in the Monthly Review: VIII, 203; XIII, 196; XLIX, 500 (Ralph Griffiths) XVIII, 289; XXVIII, 249, 359. (Owen Ruffhead) I, 59; IV, 355. (John Cleland) XI, 441. (John Hawkesworth) XVI, 530 (Oliver Goldsmith) XXXIV, 419. (John Berkenhout)

²²See "Proposals For Publishing Monthly the Progress or Annals of Literature and the Liberal Arts."

²³Monthly Review, XVII (October, 1757), 367-374.



seller's wife,"²⁴ answered Ruffhead in the November number of the Critical. In an article addressed "To the Old Gentlewoman who directs the Monthly Review," Smollett professed to believe that it was Mrs. Griffiths, not Ruffhead, who had "squirted Malevolence at the authors of the Critical Review." Smollett argued that he could have demonstrated that with the exception of press errors and one or two slips of the pen, every assertion of The Occasional Critic was false, frivolous, or absurd. After arguing against any similarities between Shebbeare and the Critical reviewers, he suggests that Mrs. Griffiths should have employed some sensible person to write the article.²⁵ It is noteworthy that both Ruffhead and Shebbeare later joined Smollett on the staff of the Briton.

But behind the malevolence of personal antagonism, the battle of the reviews was based on shrewd and practical journalistic warfare. The "Proposals" of 1755 promised readers impartiality of treatment, accuracy, justified censure, and the inclusion of foreign articles, the last of which Professor Eugene Joliat quite correctly suggests was Smollett's personal innovation.²⁶ This was no doubt the

²⁴Critical Review, I (April, 1756), 287-288.

²⁵Critical Review, IV (November, 1757), 469.

²⁶Smollett et la France (Paris, 1935), pp. 159-160.



case, since the first foreign articles were written by Smollett's friend Patrick Murdoch, who was abroad in 1756. In fact, the Critical's "Foreign Articles" section ran through all numbers, and never relinquished its regularity until November, 1762, shortly before Smollett left the journal.

The Critical thus forced the Monthly into a financial rivalry which was so successful that by 1761, Griffiths was forced to sell a one-quarter share in his periodical to Benjamin Collins, and to change the format, scope, and size of the Monthly. Although the Monthly had earlier used articles on foreign books, the journal announced in an advertisement appended to the volume for the second half of 1756 that it was acquiescing in the demands of its readers, and that with the beginning of the February, 1757 number would give "a succinct account of foreign publications." The Monthly even borrowed the section on "Painting and Engraving" from the Critical.²⁷

Smollett appears then to have been either the original projector or, certainly at least, one of the founders of the Critical Review and its editor and guiding force until

27

Robert Donald Spector, "The Monthly and its Rival," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, LXIV (1960), 160.

1763, when his ill health forced him to give up "all connection" with it.²⁸ But Smollett's role and influence upon its critical policy are problems which have remained essentially untouched or inadequately treated. In order to be solved, they must be reexamined in the context of Smollett's own literary heritage. It was a heritage profoundly colored by the cultural renaissance in his native Scotland, a heritage with which he was both personally and culturally involved and quick to defend, and a heritage for which John Shebbears chose to damn the Critical as a "Scotch Tribunal."²⁹ That Smollett condemned English taste in his History and letters³⁰ suggests that he might indeed have looked north of the Tweed, where the Scottish renaissance in aesthetic theory and philosophy gained momentum in the hands of Francis Hutcheson, Alexander Gerard, David Hume, Lord Kames, Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, Hugh Blair, William Robertson, and others.

²⁸

Noyes, Letters, p. 96.

²⁹

Dr. John Shebbeare's The Occasional Critic, or The Decrees of the Scotch Tribunal Rejudged (1757) attacked the Critical for condemning his Third Letter To the People of England.

³⁰ See History of England (London, 1790), p. 381, and Smollett's letter to Alexander Carlyle of March 1, 1754, "New Smollett Letters," TLS (July 31, 1943), p. 372.



James Hannay records that when Smollett left Scotland in 1739, there had "hardly been a sign" of Scottish literature. Literary Scots like Thomson and Mallett could only satisfy themselves by moving to London. But after Smollett's departure, a sufficient taste for letters arose and generated a native authorship "of a nonprofessional character" in such men as Hume, Kames, Ferguson, Smith, and Thomas Reid.³¹ Professor Goldberg argues correctly that Smollett emerged from the same "forces" erupting in Scotland which produced these men.³² He was educated at Glasgow, where it is more than likely that he came under the tutelage of Francis Hutcheson, then Professor of Moral Philosophy, and he was on friendly terms with Adam Smith, who succeeded Hutcheson. Smollett later obtained his medical degree from Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he probably struck up his friendship with Dr. John Gregory, whom Knapp suggests he visited in 1753. But Goldberg fails to locate the specific forces with which Smollett himself was actively concerned, and by placing Smollett in the mainstream of the Scottish Common Sense school, Goldberg severely limits himself, and his study results in overgeneralization, oversimplification, and superfluous categorization. By failing to study carefully the aesthetic and critical dicta which

³¹Hannay, "Tobias Smollett," p. 81.

³²Smollett and the Scottish School (Albuquerque, 1959), p. 8.



Smollett himself approved and pursued, much of his discussion remains ingenious, though hardly thorough.

Smollett was both personally and intellectually involved with his Scottish heritage. During the emergence of the Scottish renaissance, the Select Society at Edinburgh and the Philosophical Society at Aberdeen became centers of intellectual camaraderie. The Select Society was formed by a group of intellectuals as a kind of Scottish Academy in 1754. They met in the Advocate's library (of which Hume was a keeper), and in 1755 they called themselves the "Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Agriculture in Scotland." They launched the short-lived Edinburgh Review as their official organ. The Philosophical Society was formed in Aberdeen in 1758 and lasted until 1773. The members met in taverns for papers and discussions, and included Dr. Gregory and Thomas Reid.

Smollett in London maintained his personal and cultural Scottish allegiance. He could not fail to recognize and be attracted by Edinburgh's "hot-bed of genius" of which Matthew Bramble writes, for though in London, he was much a part of their spirit. Through his correspondence with Alexander Carlyle and Home, he was made aware of their activities and, of course, when he returned to Scotland in 1753 spent time in Edinburgh with such friends as John Hume and Mansfield Cardonnel, who two years later were active members



of the Select Society. When Smollett visited Edinburgh in 1766, he met with Hume, Home, Robertson, Blair, Carlyle, Robert Cullen, and Alexander and John Monro, all of whom were members of the Society.³³

Smollett held the Select Society in high esteem. In his review of Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary in the Critical for June, 1756, he wrote that

Such a community composed of persons endowed with learning and probity, will constitute to the improvement of philosophy, not only by their own hints and discoveries; but also by exciting and diffusing a spirit of inquiry and emulation among people who without their example, would never have dreamed of expressing their faculties in these pursuits, or of publishing the remarks they might have made in the course of their observations. While other learned societies, honoured with the countenance of royalty and encouraged by exclusive privileges, are employed in praising dead and persecuting living merit; or engaged in delineating reptiles, and classing cockle shells; this little, private band of true philosophers exert their talents in those pursuits which tend to the ease, convenience, and real advantage of their fellow creatures.³⁴

Smollett's letter to Carlyle on March 1, 1754 sheds significant light on his attitude toward English taste and toward Scotland and his friends in the years preceding the launching of the Critical Review.

³³Hannay, "Tobias Smollet," p. 101.

³⁴Critical Review, I (June, 1756), 409-410.

I do not think I could enjoy life with greater relish in any part of the world than in Scotland among you and your friends, and I often amuse my imagination with schemes for attaining that degree of happiness, which however is altogether out of my reach--I am heartily tired of this land of indifference and phlegma where the finer sensations of the soul are not felt,--and felicity is held to consist in stupefying port and overgrown buttocks of Beef--where Genius is lost, learning undervalued, Taste altogether extinguished, and Ignorance prevail... Goodly criticism has been delirious a long time but now she is quite betrayed....Tell Jack Hume I think he might find leisure to write me in ~~deleted in pencil~~ a letter--make my compliments of Mr. Cardonnel and the honest Parsons to whom you introduced me, I mean Jardan/Jardine in pencil, Logan, Blair, and Hepburn....³⁵

In that same letter he voices his approval of Dr. Armstrong's Taste, and suspects "that Armstrong has stole it upon the public by which it is neglected."

Armstrong, who left Scotland and arrived in London sometime during 1735 joined the circle of literary Scotsmen which included Thomson, Mallett, Andrew Millar, and Murdoch, with whom he became intimate. It was no doubt Armstrong who introduced Smollett to their company when he began to practice medicine in London in 1744. Professor Knapp establishes the relationship between Armstrong and Smollett on the evidence that they were both Scotsmen; both moved in medical circles; both were well known in literary groups by 1748; and both liked tavern life. Their friendship remained stead-

³⁵TLS (July 31, 1943), 372.



fast until Smollett's death in 1771.³⁶

Carlyle recorded his recollections of Smollett and Armstrong during or about 1758, the time at which Armstrong's Sketches was published:

As soon as my sister got into her house in Aldermansbury, Dr. Dickson and she gave a dinner to my friends with two or three of his. There were Doctors Pitcairn, Armstrong, Smollett, and Orme, together with Dr. Robertson, John Blair, Home and myself. We passed an exceedingly pleasant day, although Smollett had given Armstrong a staggering blow at the beginning of dinner, by asking him some questions about his nose, which was still patched, on account of his having run it through the side-glass of his chariot when somebody came up to speak to him. Armstrong was naturally glumpy, and this, I was afraid, would have silenced him all day, which it might, had not Smollett called him familiarly John soon after the joke on his nose; but he knew that Smollett loved and respected him, and soon recovered his good humour, and became brilliant.³⁷

Through Armstrong, Smollett was undoubtedly introduced to James Thomson's circle of Collins, Lyttelton, Mallett, Quin, Millar, and Forbes. Thomson himself, while in Edinburgh, was on intimate terms with Murdoch, John Wilson, and John Cranston. He retained Murdoch's friendship in London. It is thus probable that Smollett met Murdoch through these associations; Mallett and Murdoch were, of course, future contributors to the Critical.

³⁶Knapp, "'Dr. John Armstrong, Litterateur," p. 1020.

³⁷Knapp, "Dr. John Armstrong, Litterateur," p. 1036.

The historian William Robertson, one of the original members of the Select Society and a president of the group, also became a friend of Smollett's. Carlyle recorded their meeting in 1758 with himself, Adam Smith, and Hume.

Robertson had never seen Smollett, and was very desirous of his acquaintance. By this time the Doctor had retired to Chelsea, and came seldom to town. Home and I, however, found that he came once a week to Forrest's Coffeehouse, and sometimes dine there; so we managed an appointment with him on his day, when he agreed to dine with us. He was now become a great man, and being much of a humourist, was not to be put out of his way. Home, Robertson, and Smith and I met him there, when he had several of his minions about him, to whom he prescribed tasks of translation, compilation, or abridgment, which, after he had seen, he recommended to the booksellers....

We passed a very pleasant day and joyful evening. When we broke up, Robertson expressed great surprise at the polished and agreeable manners and the great urbainity of his conversation. He had imagined that a man's manners must be a likeness to his books, and as Smollett has described so well the characters of ruffians and profligates, that he must, of course, resemble them. This was not the first instance we had of the rawness, in respect of the world, that still blunted our sagacious friend's observations.³⁸

Smollett and Robertson quickly began to correspond. In fact, one of the most important documents that sheds light on Smollett's position on the Critical Review is a letter of March 15, 1759, in which Robertson introduces him to Lord Kames.

³⁸ The Autobiography of Alexander Carlyle (London and Edinburgh, 1910), pp. 355-356.

Though I have great reason to return you thanks for the genteel and favourable treatment I have met with from the Critical Reviewers, and which has been, indeed, no other than I expected from your friendship; yet this is not the chief occasion of my troubling you just now. There was published a few weeks ago a book called "Historical Law Tracts." The author of it is Lord Kames, one of our judges, a man of great knowledge and worth, and the friend of every person in Scotland to whom you wish well. I intended (in consequence of a permission which you granted your Scotch friends in your last letter to Carlyle) to have drawn up an article for his book, to be inserted in the Critical Review;....May I beg that you will either delay this book till next month, with some general compliment upon it, and it shall then be considered at large; or if such a delay be now improper, let me entreat of you to look at the book, and the article prepared for it, yourself, and to see justice done to the merit of the performance, which I can assure you is very great.³⁹

The phrase "in consequence of a permission granted your Scotch friends" immediately suggests that Smollett solicited reviews from the north where he retained his friendships. The most famous of these reviews was Hume's favourable response to the second edition of Wilkie's Epigoniad in April, 1759, which had been condemned by the Critical the year before.

One of those to whom he "granted a permission" was Joseph Campbell of Edinburgh. Campbell worked with Smollett on the modern part of the Universal History in 1760, and in November, 1762, Boswell wrote in his journal that Campbell was a writer on the Critical.⁴⁰ Smollett's Scotch patronage

³⁹Quoted by Lewis Benjamin, The Life and Letters of Tobias Smollett (Boston, 1927), pp. 175-176.

⁴⁰Jones, "Smollett Studies," p. 90.

is evident again in his reevaluation of William Guthrie, a notorious political writer who was editor and, according to Stockdale, the "chief contributor" to the Critical around 1770, and who is referred to as "Captain Guthrie" in a satire on the Review in that year entitled A Word to the Wise. A Poetical Farce, most respectfully addressed to the Critical Reviewers with an Apology to the Ingenuity of Mr. Hugh Kelly for the Title of the Piece. Guthrie, like Campbell, defended the Bute ministry in Smollett's Briton. Though Smollett's footnote in Advice (ll. 201-202) labeled him as a "political writer noted for gall," this was deleted when Advice and Reproof were published together in 1748, a fact which suggests that Smollett came to like Guthrie better.⁴¹

But we would err, I think, in concluding that the Critical was primarily a Scottish organ functioning largely on Scottish patronage. Certainly Smollett treated his friends favorably, but in spite of his influence, the Critical Review was not unduly partial to the Scots. Wilkie and Home were furious at the condemnation of the Epigoniad and Douglas. A great part of this misconception lies in John Shebbeare's damnation of the Critical as a "Scotch Tribunal" and by the scotticisms employed by the anonymous author of the Battle of

⁴¹Knapp, Tobias Smollett, p. 68.

t

t

S

l

h

t

P

i

m

S

i

l

h

p

c

f

l

C

t

l

o

/

de

S

the Reviews (1760) in reference to the editorial staff of the Critical.⁴² Shebbeare's attack was aimed primarily at Smollett, Hamilton, and the splenetic Armstrong, who in 1756 were known to be identified with the Critical, though he was concerned chiefly with Smollett, whom he correctly thought to be the reviewer of his Third Letter to the People of England. But to try to identify that "tribunal" in 1757 would be sheer conjecture because there are no marked copies of the Critical, and because Smollett answered Shebbeare in October, 1757, that "of five persons engaged in writing the Critical Review only one is a native of Scotland,"⁴³ an answer which implies that Armstrong and Murdoch had given up authorship after 1756, and disavows Hamilton's participation as a contributor.

Because it was common knowledge that Smollett was closely connected with the journal, he became the target for attack from disgruntled authors who were exposed to the lash of condemnation. We need look no further than Charles Churchill's attack on Smollett in the Apology. Churchill took offense at the severe review of his Rosciad in March, 1761, which he incorrectly attributed to Smollett, and lashed out at him and Hamilton:

⁴²The anonymous author of The Battle of the Reviews describes in mock heroic style the strife between the Critical and Monthly reviewers.

⁴³Critical Review, IV (October, 1757), 333.

Sm

co

an

on

a

th

wr

Of

Sa

wh

re

On

Who ever read the Regicide, but swore
 The author wrote as man ne^{ter} wrote before?
 Others for plots and under-plots may call,
 Here's the right method--have no plot at all.

Smollett answered him in the Critical for May, 1761, and confirmed that he "had no hand in reviewing" the Rosciad, and that Hamilton "never in the course of his life wrote one single article in the Critical Review."⁴⁴

It would be fallacious to argue that Smollett held a tight rein on reviewing procedure. He himself admitted that he did not see the review of Wilkie's Epigoniad nor wrote the reviews of Home's Douglas or Churchill's Rosciad.⁴⁵ Of value are his remarks to Samuel Richardson concerning Samuel Derrick's review of a novel, The Supposed Daughter, which appeared in the Critical for April, 1756. Derrick's review contained the following allusion to Richardson;

"This at least we can say in his the author of the novel's]favour, that his incidents come thick upon you; his relations are told with brevity; and had the writer of Sir Charles Grandison been to have worked upon his materials, he would easily have swelled them into twenty folio volumes."⁴⁶

On August 10, 1756, Smollett wrote to Richardson:

⁴⁴Critical Review, XI (May, 1761), 411.

⁴⁵Noyes, Letters, p. 51.

⁴⁶Critical Review, I (April, 1756), 261.

Sir

I was extremely concerned to find myself suspected of a Silly, mean Insinuation against Mr. Richardson's Writings, which appeared some time ago in the Critical Review: and I desired my friend Mr. Millar to assure you in my name that it was inserted without my privity or concurrence....I never once mentioned Mr. Richardson's name with disrespect, nor ever reflected upon him or his writing by the most distant hint or allusion; & that it is impossible I should ever mention either as a writer or a man, without Expressions of Admiration and Applause....⁴⁷

This letter argues against Smollett's close control of editorial procedure. Articles need not have passed through his hands--indeed many did not. However he did take steps to appease his friends. He allowed Hume to write the review of the second edition of Wilkie's Epigoniad and he must certainly have influenced Derrick's review of The Paths of Virtue Delineated, an abridgment of Richardson's novels, in May, 1756. Derrick wrote, "The author must certainly have secured by them [Richardson's novels] the esteem of every good friend to virtue and religion; and we are glad to find them now reduced to such a size as may fit them for every hand."⁴⁸ ...In subsequent reviews through 1763, the author of Clarissa and Pamela is treated with a respect bordering on veneration.

⁴⁷Noyes, Letters, p. 40.

⁴⁸Critical Review, I (May, 1756), 345.

It is clear, however, that Smollett's chief duties appear to have included the soliciting of outside contributions. With few exceptions, no original material or unsolicited contributions were printed. On January 20, 1759, he wrote to Philip Miller, his neighbor in Chelsea:

Dear Sir

If you are at Leisure I should beg as an addition to all your favours, your opinion of this late Performance of Hill's, which I send with the bearer, together with your Essay on the Papyrus: your other Book I shall transmit one of these days. If we could have your Thoughts on the method of producing double Flowers from Single, in a few days, so that they could be inserted in the number for this month, it would be a double obligation on

Sir

Your obliged humble servt

TS Smollett⁴⁹

Later that year, in December, he wrote to Dr. MacAulay,

"I wish you would get me an article for the next number of the Review, on Painting, statuary, or engraving."⁵⁰

To determine the extent of Smollett's influence on the critical policy of the Critical Review, more particularly on the criticism of the novel, I must extend our sights beyond editorial intrigue. I have attempted thus far to

⁴⁹ Lewis Knapp, "Smollett's Letter to Philip Miller," TLS (June 24, 1944), 312.

⁵⁰ Noyes, Letters, p. 65.

4. 11

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

establish Smollett's personal attachment to his Scottish contemporaries, and to outline his role in directing the periodical from its inception. By examining the avowed critical responses of the Review and those of Smollett himself, we can discern as well his intellectual kinship with the critical concerns of the Scottish renaissance. They were concerns which affirmed a psychological basis for the aesthetic possibilities of the novel, and which found currency in the critical posture of the Critical Review.

CHAPTER II

PREMISES OF TASTE: CRITICAL RESPONSE

CHAPTER II

PREMISES OF TASTE; CRITICAL RESPONSE

Between 1756-1763 the Critical Review clearly appears to have been influenced by the psychological principles current in eighteenth-century philosophy and criticism. The leading exponents of these principles were the writers of the Scottish school who stressed the close connection between man's moral and aesthetic internal sense as well as the principle of sympathetic identification as an epistemological and ethical agent. The premises that experience of concrete phenomena could be intuitively known and that the faculties of judgment and imagination worked simultaneously were, of course, primary critical tenets of the second half of the century. These premises were formulated and developed since the end of the seventeenth-century in the writings of Hobbes, Locke, Addison, Hutcheson, Hume, Ballie, and Hartley. After 1750, they were commonplace in the works of Burke, Smith, Gerard and Kames.

The underlying assumption of these critics was the principle that all mental content originates in sensation. Because the cognitive powers of the mind can deal only with materials given by the senses, all our mental life depends upon our experience. In terms of criticism, this meant that the critic must attempt to understand the science of human

nature if he was adequately to explain and evaluate literary experience. Art, these critics believed, was primarily a communication of emotion, and must be analyzed and discussed in terms of its effect on the minds and emotions of the audience. Consequently, the critic, through an empirical examination of experience, must understand the ways in which emotions and ideas are formed, and describe qualities of response to art in terms of the association of ideas assembled from experience. The critical tastes resulting from this type of analysis are applied to such specific literary problems as characterization, rules of drama and poetry, etc. For the critic, then, the concept of literary form changed from a concern with external conventions to the intrinsic potential of the material. He placed value on the correctness of detail and novelty of experience, and stressed the emotional-intellectual response to the work of art.¹

These critics assumed a close connection between man's moral sense and aesthetic sense. The source of ethical awareness and moral judgment was internal and emotional--in "feeling" or sympathy--and since one of the func-

¹Gordon McKenzie, "Critical Responsiveness: A Study of the Psychological Current in later Eighteenth-Century Criticism," University of California Publications in English. XX (1949), 301.

tions of literature was to instruct, it must be emotionally responded to. Beattie wrote that "Literary instruction comes from whatever tends to raise those human affections that are favourable to truth and virtue, or to repress the opposite passions...."² Feeling transcended reason as an agent for response because it offered a more spontaneous vitality of realization; it was aware of significances and interrelationships to which logic was impervious, and stimulated dormant ideas in our memory.³ Gerard reconciled literature and morals on the grounds that taste, our judging faculty, depends upon the imagination, and thus the affections or passions with which taste is intimately concerned must also depend upon the imagination. Therefore, as we discipline our taste and imagination, we discipline our emotional life and learn to respond by habit to experience. Moreover, the specificness of literature enhances the vividness of impressions whose ultimate force is moral.⁴ An important early statement of this idea is found in the Spectator papers on the "Pleasures of the Imagination." Addison, who accepted Locke's distinction between the primary and secondary qualities of perception, defines the secondary pleasures of the imagination as those which flow from ideas of

²Beattie's Works, (Philadelphia, 1809) Vol. 5, 172.

³Walter Jackson Bate, "Imagination in English Criticism," ELH, XII (1945), 159.

⁴See McKenzie, "Critical Responsiveness," p. 289.

objects which are "called up into our memories, or formed into agreeable visions of things that are either absent or fictitious."⁵

In an essay of the series he stated that

...any single circumstance of what we have formerly seen often raises up a whole scene of imagery, and awakens numberless ideas that before slept in the imagination; such a particular colour is able to fill the mind, on a sudden, with the picture of the fields or gardens where we first met with it, and to bring up into view all the variety of images that once attended it. Our imagination takes the hint, and leads us unexpectedly into cities or theatres, plains or meadows. We may further observe, when the fancy thus reflects on the scenes that have passed in it formerly, those which were at first pleasant to behold appear more so upon reflection, and that the memory heightens the delightfulness of the original.⁶

In Spectator No. 418, Addison writes that

...when we read of torments, wounds, deaths, and the like dismal accidents, our pleasure does not flow so properly from the grief which such melancholy descriptions give us, as from the secret comparisons which we make between ourselves and the person who suffers. Such representations teach us to set a just value upon our own condition, and make us prize our good fortune which exempts us from the like calamities. This is, however, such a kind of pleasure as we are not capable of receiving, when we see a person actually lying under the tortures that we meet with in a description; because, in this case, the object presses too close upon our senses, and bears so hard upon us, that it does not give us time for leisure to reflect on ourselves. Our thoughts

VI, 72. ⁵Spectator #411, June 21, 1712 (London, 1893),

VI, 102 ⁶Spectator #417, June 28, 1712 (London, 1893),

are so intent upon the misery of the sufferer, that we cannot turn them upon our own happiness. Whereas, on the contrary, we consider the misfortunes we read in history or poetry either as past, or as fictitious, so that the reflection upon ourselves rises in us insensibly, and overbears the sorrow we conceive for the sufferings of the afflicted.⁷

Addison's assumptions here are two-fold: that the imagination imposes a form or design on experience, and that sympathy can and does act as an epistemological and ethical agent through an imaginative perception of experience. The former implies that imagination depends upon the vividness of a remembered impression which stimulates the relevant associations from other areas of experience,⁸ while the latter assumption is based on the idea that all our experience, which is known through our internal senses, affects our conduct and therefore has moral implications and results. Thus our interest and sympathy with characters and actions is closely connected with our moral sense.⁹ The following four psychological principles current in eighteenth-century philosophy and criticism are based on these above assumptions: (1) human nature is the most essential part of "nature;" (2) there is a natural and instinctive sympathy for one's fellow man, whether it comprises the fundamental

⁷ June 30, 1712, (London, 1893), VI, 107.

⁸ McKenzie, "Critical Responsiveness", 189.

⁹ McKenzie, "Critical Responsiveness", p. 287-289.

THE
FEDERAL
BUREAU OF
INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: [Illegible]

1. [Illegible]

2. [Illegible]

3. [Illegible]

4. [Illegible]

5. [Illegible]

6. [Illegible]

7. [Illegible]

8. [Illegible]

9. [Illegible]

10. [Illegible]

11. [Illegible]

12. [Illegible]

13. [Illegible]

14. [Illegible]

15. [Illegible]

16. [Illegible]

17. [Illegible]

18. [Illegible]

19. [Illegible]

20. [Illegible]

21. [Illegible]

22. [Illegible]

23. [Illegible]

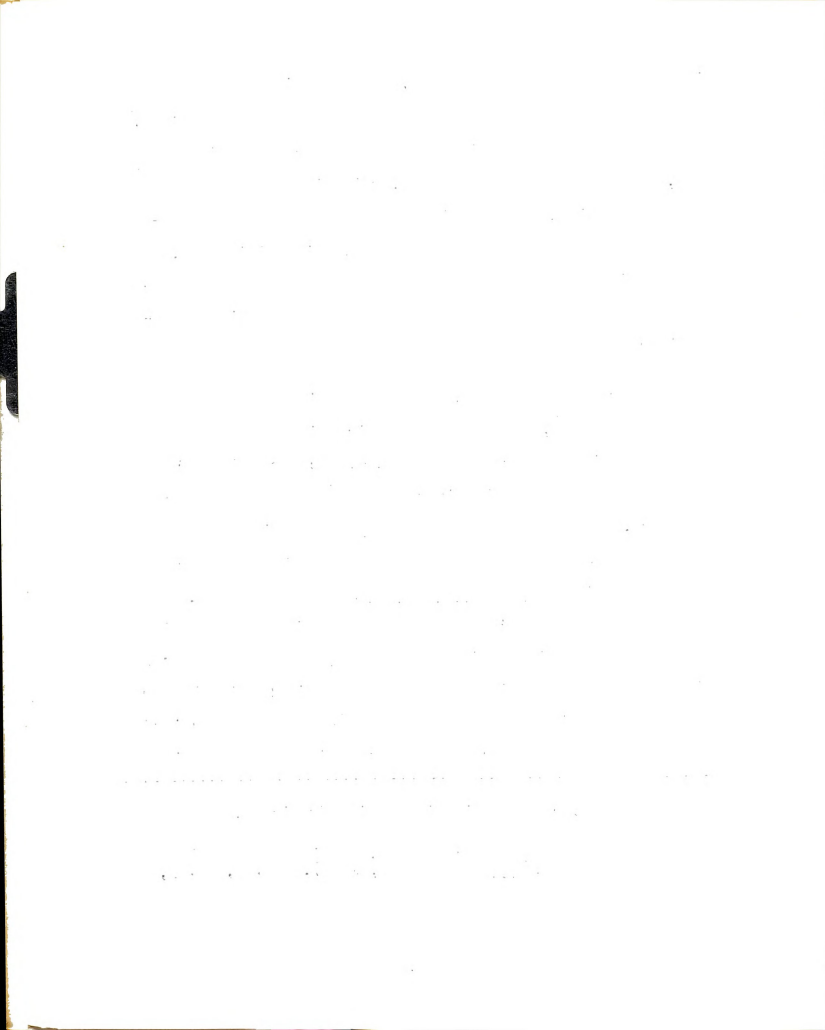
24. [Illegible]

impulse of morality or not; (3) we sympathize with what we see rather than what we hear intellectually delineated; (4) because of its primary importance in the constitution of man, identification by sympathy, which is achieved through the imagination, characterizes the highest moral and aesthetic exertion.¹⁰ By such sympathetic identification, the imagination perceives the fundamental reality of the peculiar nature of an object and unifies our perception of experience.

Francis Hutcheson, with whom it is likely Smollett may have studied, and whose theoretical influence on the later Scottish writers was so marked, accepted Addison's "Pleasures of the Imagination" often as a substitute for his own term, "Internal sense of Beauty," and defined and extended the notion of sympathy as an aesthetic and ethical agent. In his Essay on the Passions, Hutcheson wrote, "I have examined Addison's papers on the Imagination carefully and compared his ideas with my own in my essay on Beauty; I find that we are talking about the same thing: his Pleasures of the Imagination are equivalent to my pleasures perceived by the Internal Senses."¹¹ Hutcheson aligned himself with

¹⁰Bate, "Imagination in English Criticism," p. 159.

¹¹Quoted in Clarence Thorpe, "Addison and Hutcheson on the Imagination," ELH (November, 1935), Vol. 2, No. 3, 233.



Locke and Addison in repudiating the Shaftesburian doctrine of innate ideas. He recognized sensation and reflection as the ultimate sources of all knowledge, whereby our internal sense (imagination) is excited to response through experience and reflection. These aesthetic principles common to psychological criticism were extended by Scottish writers such as Smith, Hume, Gerard, and Kames in the middle of the century, three of whom were known either personally by, or corresponded with, Smollett.

Adam Smith, Francis Hutcheson's successor to the Glasgow chair of Moral Philosophy, regarded sympathy as man's internal monitor, and considered it the all-embracing principle of moral feeling and action. In The Theory of Moral Sentiments, Smith argued that moral judgment involved sympathetic participation with those other than the individual himself, who would be affected by the external consequences of an act; it necessitated even more a sympathetic awareness with the agent of the act, both of the intention or affection of the heart from which the act proceeds, and of the specific situation which prompts that intention. Smith did not identify his internal monitor with the imagination, but he did stress the complete inability of sympathy to function without the aid of the imagination. Thus he was careful to state at the outset that almost all knowledge of the inner nature and feelings of others must come through the imagination. He argued that because we cannot immediately experience what other men feel, we cannot form any idea of the manner in

which they are affected. We can, however, conceive what we ourselves should feel under like circumstances through our own imaginative projection. Smith continued, "Though our brother is upon the rack, as long as we ourselves are at our ease, our senses will never inform us of what he suffers. They never did and never can carry us beyond our persons, and it is by the imagination only that we can form any conception of what are his sensations....By the imagination we place ourselves in his situation."¹²

As a disciple of Hutcheson, Smith based his arguments on the Hutchesonian version of the humanitarian doctrine of the Cambridge neo-platonists which posited that the sharing of others' emotions might give pleasure, and Hume, Kames, Blair, Beattie, and others all admitted that a man might feel joys and sorrows with his neighbors no less acutely than on his own account. Smith argued that all moral distinctions are founded upon immediate sense and feeling, and he relates moral judgment to pleasure and pain by considering each to be the greatest objects of desire and aversion which are distinguished by immediate sense and feeling rather than by reason. It is the function of reason to discern our pattern of conduct in light of general rules of justice and in terms of approbation and disapprobation which

¹² The Theory of Moral Sentiments (London, 1875), pp. 3-4.

regulate our desires and aversions arrived at from our perception of pleasure and pain.

Because it is simultaneously a source of judgment, the imagination appropriates some of the powers which the empiricists relegated to the senses as well as appropriating some of the powers of the understanding. Consequently, our ideas of justice and propriety result when they are in harmony with the sympathetic emotions of the spectator, while concepts of injustice and impropriety arise when there is no coincidence between what one feels and the causes which excite the feeling. Smith wrote,

When the original passions of the person principally concerned are in perfect concord with the sympathetic emotions of the spectator, they necessarily appear to this last just and proper, and suitable to their objects; and on the contrary, when, upon bringing the case home to himself, he finds that they do not coincide with what he feels, they necessarily appear to him unjust and improper, and unsuitable to the causes which excite them. To approve of the passions of another, therefore, as suitable to their objects, is the same thing as to observe that we entirely sympathize with them; and not to approve of them as such, is the same thing as to observe that we do not entirely sympathize with them.¹³

Beattie's definition of "instruction" in his Essay on Poetry, published seventeen years later, exemplifies the way in which the Scottish school tried to combine the aesthetic and moral offices of literature in their efforts to

¹³ The Theory of Moral Sentiments, p. 14.



discover a general criterion on which valid aesthetic judgments could be made. Instruction meant not only the communication of fresh knowledge, but also that "...which awakens our pity for the sufferings of our fellow creatures; promotes a taste for the beauties of nature; makes vice appear the object of indignation and ridicule; inculcates a sense of our dependence upon heaven; fortifies our minds against the evils of life; or promotes the love of virtue and wisdom, either by delineating their native charms, or by setting before us in suitable colours, the dreadful consequences of impudent and immoral conduct."¹⁴

One of the most insistent stresses on the intuitive nature of the imagination's dependence upon the passions through a sympathetic sensibility comes from Alexander Gerard, one of the members of the Select Society. In his Essay on Taste (1759), Gerard speaks of an instinctive "sensibility of heart" by means of which we become interested in some of the persons represented in poetry and drama, and sympathize with every change in their condition. This faculty "fits a man for easily being moved" and "for readily catching, as by infection, any passion that a work is fitted to excite."¹⁵

¹⁴Quoted in A.M. Kinghorn, "Literary Aesthetics and the Sympathetic Emotion. A Main Trend in 18th Century Scottish Criticism," Studies in Scottish Literature, I (July, 1963), 41-42.

¹⁵An Essay on Taste, ed. Walter J. Hipple Jr. (Gainesville, 1963), p. 70.



He continues that "a man who is destitute of sensibility of heart must be a very imperfect judge of them [works of taste]," and thus a great sensibility of taste is generally accompanied with lively passions and is dependent upon the imagination.¹⁶

Gerard expanded this contention in his later Essay on Genius (1774). He argued that the creative imagination, under the influence of a passion prompted in the poet by sympathetic identification, comprehended and then fused into a concrete totality all that gave birth to that passion, and served as vent to it. Thus there were "some ideas intimately connected with a passion, as the object of the passion, its cause, what is fit for supporting it, or what gratified it. Every passion has a strong tendency to suggest such ideas, to force them into our view...."¹⁷

Gerard believed that abruptness of thought tends to characterize the progress of every passion when a sufficiently high pitch is attained; and this the imagination, controlled by the passion with which it has been sympathetically "infected," will appreciate and reveal. If different ideas are connected with the passion, "in different respects, but with

¹⁶An Essay on Taste, p. 81.

¹⁷Bate, "Imagination in English Criticism", p. 154.

almost equal closeness," the passion introduces them with inevitable naturalness. Thus a passion or strongly dominant association bestows an organic unity and immediacy upon thought. If the result of the control of the imagination by a passion is "comprehensiveness"---the actual number of ideas culled from this wide extent is determined by the naturalness of their relevance. When the imagination is under the dominion of a passion which it has sympathetically caught, "the passion directs its view to things closely connected with it, so powerfully and so constantly, that the imagination is drawn backward to repeated conceptions of them;" it engrosses us wholly in the present subject, and "preserves us from attending to foreign ideas, which would confound our thoughts and retard our progress;" and when an object is brought into the mind by a passion to which it is related, "it receives a tincture from that passion, it exerts power of association only in such ways and so far as the passion permits it...it introduces no long train of ideas, but suffers the mind to return quickly to the conception of itself, or of some other object as intimately connected to the passion....But it has no tendency...to lead the imagination into a remote or more extensive wandering."¹⁸ Gerard, then, viewed the imagination as a governor of innate sensibility which had the powers of association and conception.

¹⁸ Bate, "Imagination in English Criticism," p. 155.

Beattie, who was influenced by Gerard and Hutcheson, also stressed the inventive power of the imagination which selected and arranged into new forms those ideas culled from experience. Gerard wrote in his Essay on Taste that "As the magnet selects, from a quantity of matter, the ferri- ginous particles which happen to be scattered through it, without making an impression on other substances; so imagination, by a similar sympathy, equally inexplicable, draws out from the whole compass of nature such ideas as we have occasion for, without attending to any others; and yet presents them with as great propriety, as if all possible conceptions had been explicitly exposed to our view, and subjected to our choice."¹⁹ The imagination was then capable of more than invention. In certain cases, it enabled us to judge, "because qualified to form distinct ideas of those things in nature, art, and science, which exercise our reason, or call forth our affections."²⁰

Beattie reasons, then, that the person of taste must possess the following qualities: "first, a lively and correct imagination; secondly, the power of distinct apprehension; thirdly, the capacity of being easily, strongly, and agreeably affected, with sublimity, beauty, harmony, exact imitation, etc.; fourthly, Sympathy, or Sensibility of

¹⁹An Essay on Taste, pp. 163-164.

²⁰Beattie, Works, I, 212.

the heart; and fifthly, Judgment, or Good Sense, which is the principle thing, and may not very improperly be said to comprehend all the rest."²¹ The function of the individual is not only to apprehend, but to judge; not only to employ the language of enthusiasm and express those passions agitating the soul, but to adjust and correct. "The greatest liveliness of imagination will...avail but little, if it is not 'corrected' and regulated by the knowledge of nature, both external or material, and internal or moral. Without this, there cannot be Taste; because one cannot discern whether the productions of art...be good or bad."²²

Lord Kames also insists upon deriving a taste for the fine arts from the human heart and the sensitive part of our nature. He insists on it "with entire satisfaction, that no occupation attaches a man more to his duty than that of cultivating a taste in the fine arts. A just relish of what is beautiful, proper, elegant, and ornamental, in writing or painting, in architecture or gardening, is a fine preparation for discerning what is beautiful, elegant, or magnanimous, in character and behaviour."²³

²¹ Beattie, Works, I, 243.

²² Beattie, Works, I, 246.

²³ Elements of Criticism (New York, 1829), p. xiii.

Kames' application of the principles of the psychological school on the manner in which fiction operates on the mind is important to this study. He writes that through memory, a thing formerly seen may be recalled to the mind with different degrees of accuracy. When one is introduced to an interesting object or event which makes a strong impression, the mind ruminates on every circumstance. Kames' theory of "ideal presence" is based on the idea that the imagination draws upon associational instincts which are broadened and matured by the reader's experience, and in which an order or design arises out of the associational interplay of uniformity and regularity, eliciting a sympathetic bond between the individual and society without intellectual delineation:

When I recall the event so distinctly as to form a complete image of it, either by words, painting, or representation on the stage, I perceive it ideally, as passing in my presence; and this ideal perception is an act of intuition, into which reflection enters not more than into an act of vision. But real presence, vouched by eye-sight, commands my belief, not only during the direct perception, but in future reflection upon the object. However, the idea of memory and of speech produces fainter emotions than the original or real perception. Our sympathy notwithstanding is in the same manner engaged, and it signifies not whether the relation be true or false, provided images are called up to engage our passions, and banish reflection on our present situation.

When ideal presence is complete, we perceive every object as in our sight; and the mind, totally occupied with an interesting event, finds no leisure for reflection of any sort....

Upon this ideal presence of objects is founded that extensive influence which language hath over the heart; an influence which, more than any other means, strengthens the bond of society, and attracts individuals from their private system to exert themselves in acts of generosity and benevolence. Without it the finest speaker or writer would in vain attempt to move our passions: our sympathy would be confined to objects that are really present, and language would lose entirely that astonishing power it possesseth of making us sympathize with beings removed at the greatest distance of time and place.²⁴

Reviews of the following documents published in the Critical between 1756-1763 reveal the journal's response to these premises: Burke's A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757), Smith's The Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759), Gerard's Essay on Taste (1759), Dr. Armstrong's Sketches (1758), published under the pseudonym Launcelot Temple, John Gilbert Cooper's Letters Concerning Taste (1757), and Lord Kames' Elements of Criticism (1762). After having carefully examined these reviews and Smollett's reviews for 1756, as well as having examined the Smollett canon, I am led to believe that he reviewed at least the first four works and possibly that of Kames. If my arguments prove correct, Smollett's role in directing the critical policy of the periodical is evident in his affirmative response to, and acceptance of the primary tenets of the psychological school. I will, however, delay my attributions until a later chapter.

²⁴Quoted in the Critical Review, XIII (March, 1762), 212.

The review of Burke's Enquiry argues from the position of Hutcheson and Smith. Though calling it "a performance superior to the common level of literary productions," the reviewer disagrees with Burke's discussion of sympathy. He argues against Burke's premise that sympathy in the misfortunes of others is attended with a degree of delight. Instead, he believes that:

The very meaning of sympathy is fellow feeling; how then can we suffer the miseries of others, and yet be happy ourselves? The sympathizing mind indeed, may have recourse to comparison, when the sensation becomes too keen, and this will afford relief; but a positive pain still continues. We cannot think that nature excites in any person a sense of pleasure, at feeling the sufferings of a fellow creature. We rather shun such spectacles with horror, except when there is something great or astonishing in the event; then we are interested and attracted by curiosity and ambition. The novelty of the occurrence strikes the imagination: we are seized with an instantaneous desire of acquiring a new and great idea: we grow ambitious of signalizing our fortitude and address, where there is an appearance of danger and difficulty; and we become as it were parties to the important scene which is transacting....It is not pleasure that impels him; but he is hurried on by an ambitious curiosity mingled with horror, which produces a very painful effect.²⁵

Like Hutcheson, Smith, and their Scottish adherents, the reviewer argues that the imagination, through sympathetic intuition can identify with an object, and spontaneously and vitally perceive the existing reality of that object,

²⁵Critical Review, III (April, 1757), 362.



and that sympathy carries a pain superior to pleasure, that "misery alone observed is the cause of misery only." Hutcheson wrote that:

...there is a natural impulse implanted for the kindest reasons, forcing us to such spectacles of misery, which generally brings relief to the sufferers. And we can restrain this impulse where we foresee that it can do no good. Let none be surprised at such impulses where no pleasure is in view, or any removal of our own pain: do we not observe after the death of a dear friend, when we can serve him no more, nor enjoy any sympathetic pleasure with him, the tormenting thoughts of his dying agonies and groans are for many weeks, and months, and years recurring to our minds....Can that sensation have superior pleasure which upon reflection we shun to retain, and guard against as a torment; which in tenderer constitutions turns into bodily sickness?²⁶

The same internal response has its counterpart in our attitude toward tragedy. Hutcheson continued, "Our sympathetic feelings indeed of every kind are exercised; and compassion and terror are gently raised upon distresses which we know are feigned. Can one say that terror has superior pleasure in it; and yet we sometimes court such stories as terrify ourselves."²⁷

The review of Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments illustrates the reviewers' attitude toward the importance and

²⁶ A System of Moral Philosophy (London, 1755), pp. 145-146.

²⁷ A System of Moral Philosophy, p. 146.



functions of the "sympathetic emotion" as a first principle in ethics. The reviewer comments, "It is sufficient to his [Smith's] purpose, if sympathy, whence ever it proceeds, be allowed to be a principal in human nature, which surely, without the greatest obstinacy, cannot be disputed. This spring, this movement, this power, is the chief foundation of his system. By means of it he hopes to explain all the species of approbation or disapprobation, which are excited by human action or behaviour. It is indeed the principle which runs through all his theory of morals."²⁸ The reviewer, agreeing with Smith's thesis, adds that the Critical reviewers "may venture to give him the preference above all writers who have made an attempt on this subject."²⁹

The review of Armstrong's Sketches is highly laudatory, recommending it to "all those who love the Belles Lettres."³⁰ In his Sketches, Armstrong argues in terms of Shaftesbury's connection of taste and morality and Hutcheson's fusion of the "moral sense" and aesthetic internal sense. He restates the popular argument that taste and morality are psychologically dependant upon each other, that they augment each other's growth and delicacy, and that decline in one necessarily precipitates decline in the other.

²⁸ Critical Review, VII (May, 1759), 385.

²⁹ Critical Review, VII (May, 1759), 386.

³⁰ Critical Review, V (May, 1758), 380.



The reviewer agrees with Armstrong's thesis, but disagrees with the Doctor's definition of "genius." Armstrong argued that genius was constituted by that sensibility which perceives and distinguishes the good, bad, beautiful, and deformed, both in the natural and moral world, and that sensibility was governed both by "a sound head and a good heart" as well as a lively imagination. True genius, he said, consisted "of a perfect polish of soul, which receives and reflects the images that fall upon it, without warping or distortion." This fine polish of soul was, he believed, "constantly attended with what philosophers call the moral truth."³¹

The reviewer, on the other hand, considered genius as "something more than the faculty of reflecting images." He argued that "There is a creative power in genius: this indeed we consider as its criterion and essence, without which it cannot exist. If common understanding be a source of original ideas, distinct from sense and reflection, how much more is that generative power inherent in genius, which is a divine faculty of creating....We would add, taste is merely passive: genius is active."³²

Once again the reviewer, probably Smollett himself, draws on common assumptions of the Scottish school. Genius,

³¹"Sketches," in the Augustan Reprint Society publication No. 30. (Los Angeles, 1951), 134-135.

³²Critical Review, V (May, 1758), 381.

said Ger

a great

called g

sprang f

was eith

genius.

senses--

cule, a

largest

tion to

wholly

It deri

mind; b

unless

comment

ly ref

page t.

"coinc

taking

circle

ing by

said Gerard, was the faculty of invention which consisted in a great extent of comprehensiveness of imagination. He called genius the "Grand Architect," whose inventive power sprang from the imagination. Taste was "passive" because it was either an essential part of, or a necessary attendant to genius. For Gerard, taste was an aggregate of particular senses---novelty, sublimity, beauty, harmony, imitation, ridicule, and virtue. The best taste called up and combined the largest number of these powers. Indeed, Gerard's introduction to his Essay on Taste defines taste as being "neither wholly the gift of nature, nor wholly the effect of art."³³ It derives its origin from certain powers material to the mind; but these powers cannot attain their full perfection unless they are assisted by proper culture.

I stress Gerard's argument because the Critical's comments on his Essay on Taste reflect an attitude consistently reflected in its own criticism. The reviewer, in his eight-page treatment of the work, admitted that Gerard's ideas "coincide with our own" and congratulated the Critical upon taking issue with him. "There cannot, perhaps in the whole circle of letters be a more pleasing employment than examining by the test of criticism the productions of a fine genius.

33

An Essay on Taste, p. 1.

It is a spe
stowed upon
spired to t
treatment o
ing," and t
for critica
author has
cerment in
with a vigo
from them
whole dist
his judge

Wh
tude towar
personal r
"I can see
that can a

34

35

on Taste (the partic
facts for
which our
cannot be
the greater
and correc
of human r

It is a species of self adulation, by which the praise bestowed upon the author is secretly and imperceptibly transpired to the critic."³⁴ The reviewer adds that Gerard's treatment of taste is handled with "depth, genius, and feeling," and then utilizes Gerard's own terminology and criteria for critical evaluation in judging the work: "...where the author has disclosed his general principles with a nice discernment in the principles of human nature, combined them with a vigorous power of the abstracting faculty, inferred from them with a capacity for correct induction; and upon the whole distinguished himself no less for his sensibility than his judgment."³⁵

What is most revealing is the reviewer's own attitude toward the individual's perception of phenomena, and his personal reaction toward what is "sublime." He writes that "I can see nothing in the abstract and nature of proportion, that can at all satisfactorily account for my feelings; and

³⁴Critical Review, VII (May, 1759), 440-441.

³⁵Critical Review, VII (May, 1759), 441. In An Essay on Taste (pp. 170-171), Gerard wrote that "Taste perceives the particular beauties and faults, and thus supplies the facts for which we are to account, and the experiments from which our conclusions may be deduced. But these conclusions cannot be formed without a vigorous abstracting faculty, the the greatest force of reason, a capacity for the most careful and correct induction, and a deep knowledge of the principles of human nature." (my emphasis)

I sit down
ing than in
of art, and

The
Cooper's Le
its defense
pamphlet, C
sense, and
taste. The
taste, know
elegant des
imagination
est reader;
all, some i
the natural
which the a
nently dist

The
Cooper from
two parts,
Painting, S

36
C

37
C

I sit down fully convinced, that the fault lies in the building than in us, who judge by the prejudices and narrow rules of art, and not by intuitive feeling and sensibility."³⁶

The review of the third edition of John Gilbert Cooper's Letters Concerning Taste is particularly striking in its defense of intuition, feeling, and imagination. In this pamphlet, Cooper accepted the Hutchesonian thesis of internal sense, and went on to discuss the personal ecstatic effect of taste. The reviewer commended the work as having "....much taste, knowledge, and spirit, some very judicious criticisms, elegant descriptions, a warmth of fancy, and strokes of imagination, which cannot fail to please and animate the coldest reader; together with what is still more valuable than all, some indisputable signs of a liberal and ingenious mind, the natural effects of that philanthropy and benevolence for which the author is known by his private friends to be eminently distinguished."³⁷

The importance of this review lies in its defense of Cooper from an attack in a pamphlet entitled An Essay, in two parts, on the Necessity and Form of a Royal Academy for Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture (1755) which we now

³⁶ Critical Review, VII (May, 1759), 443. (my emphasis)

³⁷ Critical Review, III (1757), 422.

know to hav
same Nesbit
borated with
quotes Lett
and discusse
stantaneous
frame, and s
the intellec
of the mind

Nesbi
who wrote th
argued, "By
his taste to
account, rea
to be the ver
to mere capri

The re
thesis, which
insisted upon
course, this

38 See M
very assumptio
had a hand in

39 Criti

40 Criti

know to have been written by John Nesbitt. This is the same Nesbitt whom Professor Knapp suggests to have collaborated with Smollett on this pamphlet.³⁸ The review quotes Letter I "To Euphemus," in which Cooper defines taste, and discusses the effects of good taste as "...that instantaneous glow of pleasure which thrills thro' our whole frame, and seizes upon the applause of the heart, before the intellectual power, reason, can descend from the throne of the mind to ratify its approbation."³⁹

Nesbitt, if he indeed was the "malevolent anonymous" who wrote the pamphlet, attacked Cooper's position. He argued, "By this definition our author has clearly proved his taste to be very depraved; it is irrational by his own account, reason being wholly excluded. Now I take reason to be the very basis of good taste, otherwise it is reduced to mere caprice, whim, and enthusiasm."⁴⁰

The reviewer's arguments are in accord with Cooper's thesis, which like Armstrong's, Gerard's, and Hutcheson's insisted upon a felt response to a work of art. It is, of course, this notion that characterized the transition from

³⁸See Knapp, Tobias Smollett, p. 168. Because of the very assumptions of the pamphlet, it is doubtful Smollett had a hand in its authorship.

³⁹Critical Review, III (1757), 422.

⁴⁰Critical Review, III (1757, 422.

classic to
that Smolle
tions had h
tures. In
wrote, "Let
on paper, i
insipid, th
while the
force of ex

One
develops th
with the p
Elements o
stract of

st
ph
fo
co

th
th
on
au
ti
se
an
th
to
en
of

classic to romantic premises of taste. I might add here that Smollett would hardly have agreed with Nesbitt's assumptions had he had a hand in that pamphlet, as Knapp conjectures. In his review of Warton's Essay on Pope, Smollett wrote, "Let two writers, for example, produce the same image on paper, in verse; the one shall be awkward, lifeless, and insipid, tho' exhibited in proper language and studied cadence; while the other shall strike the imagination with all the force of expression and all the fire of enthusiasm."⁴¹

One of the most vital documents that projects and develops the theories of Hutcheson and Gerard in a concern with the psychological analysis of taste is Lord Kames' Elements of Criticism. In a forty-nine page review and abstract of Kames' work, the reviewer wrote:

The present age hath not furnished a more striking instance of the union of a refined philosophical genius, with an exquisite taste for the arts, than in the production now under consideration....

Critical inquiries into the principles of the arts, improve the heart while they enlarge the understanding, and have a beautiful effect on moderating the selfish affections. Our author regards a fine taste as an excellent antidote against pride, and other disgusting selfish passions, as it tends greatly to sweeten and harmonize the temper. He likewise thinks that justness and delicacy of taste contribute to invigorate the social affections, by heightening our sensibility of pain and pleasure, and of course, our sympathy, which is the source of

⁴¹ Critical Review, I (October, 1756), 228.

ever
ded
tha

The reviewer

thetic emot

the author

by an ingen

nature, and

human natur

for a discu

In

firmatively

critical t

sympathy a

agreed wit

sponse. I

judgment,

source of

chological

sense as t

Th

that art i

42

42

every social passion. But the greatest advantage deducible from the criticism here mentioned is, that it greatly supports morality.⁴²

The reviewer approved of Kames' discussion of the sympathetic emotions excited by virtuous action, and added that the author derived all the rules of taste "from the heart, by an ingenious investigation of the sensitive part of our nature, and accurate remarks on our feelings."⁴³ By studying human nature, Kames had arrived at the valid basis and source for a discussion of criticism.

In summary, then, the Critical Review responded affirmatively to the attitudes of contemporary psychological critical taste. It accepted the Hutchesonian principle of sympathy as the foundation for a theory of morals, and agreed with Gerard's thesis of imaginative or intuitive response. It viewed the sympathetic emotion as a source of judgment, and the comprehensiveness of the imagination as a source of perception and conception, thus affirming the psychological fusion of the innate "moral sense" and aesthetic sense as the source of ethical and epistemological awareness.

The Critical affirmed these basic assumptions: (1) that art is a communication of emotion characterized by its

⁴²Critical Review, XIII (March, 1762), 205-206.

⁴³Critical Review, XIII (March, 1762), 207.

form or des
by the form
perience; (
achieved in
union which

I w
and practic
fluence on
the above p
views which

form or design; (2) that associational response is elicited by the formal presentation of ideas familiar through experience; (3) and that through a sympathetic identification achieved imaginatively we can discern the moral and aesthetic union which characterizes the end of art.

I will now examine Smollett's own critical standards and practice, and attempt to discern the extent of his influence on the criticism of the novel from his response to the above principles in his theory of the novel and in reviews which I attribute to him in the Critical.



CHAPTER III

SMOLLETT AND THE NOVEL

T
the tradit
of Italy a
the novel
reaction a
Ironically
reaction t
correctly
nearly all
eighteenth
literacy a
acted agai
decessors
ized love
real conce
Ernest Bak
the novel
that there
cause the

1
1960), Vol

2.
!

CHAPTER III

SMOLLETT AND THE NOVEL

The novel in the eighteenth-century grew out of the tradition of the medieval romance and the courtly mode of Italy and France. It would be more accurate to say that the novel grew out of these traditions more as a realistic reaction against, rather than as an extension of them. Ironically, it extended their structural possibilities as a reaction to their ethical milieu. Arnold Kettle maintains correctly that "the great eighteenth-century novels are nearly all anti-romances."¹ Because the popularity of the eighteenth-century novel was determined by the growing literacy and reading practices of the middle-class, it reacted against the non-realistic extravagances of its predecessors whose concepts of chivalry, adventure, and idealized love were a far remove from the critical attitudes and real concerns of men and his commercial society. When Ernest Baker argues that there was "no complete theory of the novel accepted by both authors and critics,"² he forgets that there has never been a complete theory of the novel, because the very nature of the form is the expression of the

¹An Introduction to the English Novel (New York, 1960), Vol. I, 30.

²History of the English Novel (London, 1934), V, 14.

dynamics of
are in con

T
as both an
cal of soc
experience
began the
that "The
tion seems
life in it
daily happ
qualities
mankind...
by easy me
wonder."

T
period in
which old
critics be
itself, as
Remarks on
pared Clar
bination o
Richardson

dynamics of human society and human consciousness, which are in constant revolution and change.

The novel, then, had to be placed in its context as both an aesthetic and ethical vehicle, aware and critical of social values, functioning on the level of common experience, and capable of giving pleasure. Dr. Johnson began the fourth number of the Rambler in 1750 by remarking that "The works of fiction, with which the present generation seems more particularly delighted, are such as exhibit life in its true state diversified only by accidents that daily happen in the world, and influenced by passions and qualities which are really to be found in conversing with mankind.....Its province is to bring about natural events by easy means, and to keep up curiosity without the help of wonder."

The years between 1740-1760 were a transition period in the criticism of the novel; it was a period in which old and new critical theories coexisted. Although the critics began to view the novel as an aesthetic entity in itself, as late as 1754, the anonymous author of Critical Remarks on Sir Charles Grandison, Clarissa, and Pamela compared Clarissa to the Iliad, discussed Lovelace as a combination of Achilles and Ulysses, and concluded by telling Richardson, "You, Sir, are not Homer."³ It was, however,

³ See Augustan Reprint Society #21 (Series IV, No. 3), 57.

from the n
poetry tha
ment of th
Bossu, and
moral effi
Poetry (17
Lost (1711
the critic
ported wit
character
diction, .
ful moral
action. I
Joseph And
their com
reviewed
tuity in
Regicide,
importance
entertain
uncommon;
indignati
and the st
plan is to
criticks;

from the neo-classical theories of the drama and epic poetry that critics borrowed most heavily in their treatment of the novel. They drew upon Scudery, Boileau, Le Bossu, and Du Bos in their emphasis on probability and moral efficacy. Like Dennis in The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry (1704), Addison in the Spectator papers on Paradise Lost (1711), and Pope in his Preface to the Iliad (1715), the critics were interested in a well developed fable supported with a variety of surprising yet probable incidents, characters drawn from nature, rational sentiments, elegant diction, just reflections on men and manners, and some useful moral which should be naturally resolved from the action. Fielding uses the same order in his preface to Joseph Andrews (1742), as did many critical reviewers in their comments on individual novels. Even Smollett, who reviewed Cleland's Memoirs of a Coxcomb merely as a gratuity in return for Cleland's flattering review of The Regicide, wrote: "The story is well connected, and rises in importance from the beginning to the end; the incidents are entertaining and instructing; the reflexions judicious and uncommon; the satire nervous, just, and fraught with laudable indignation; the characters well contrasted and sustained, and the style spirited and correct. On the other hand, the plan is too thin for the intriguing taste of our modern criticks; there is a total want of episodes:"⁴

⁴Monthly Review, V (1751), 386-387.

begin to d
of the nov
Sterne, S
vidual cor
butes dist
ture. Ea
Richardson
work rather
clusion o
"editor o
a laudable
who may th
praises,
ly distin
works of
should be
more nece

novels are
dramatic
imaginati

But during this period the novelists realized and began to discuss the distinct and individual possibilities of the novel. Although Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, Sarah Fielding, and others differed in their individual concepts of the genre, each assigned to it attributes distinguishing the novel from other forms of literature. Each mapped out for it certain modes of procedure. Richardson, for example, emphasized the moral aims of his work rather than its structure or technique. At the conclusion of the first part of Pamela, he wrote that the "editor of these sheets will have his end, if it inspires a laudable emulation in the minds of any worthy persons, who may thereby entitle themselves to the rewards, the praises, and the blessings, by which Pamela was so deservedly distinguished."⁵ Of Clarissa, he wrote that "in all works of this, and of the Dramatic Kind, Story, or Amusement, should be considered as little more than the Vehicle to the more necessary Instruction."⁶

Although his comments on the moral nature of his novels are highly generalized, Richardson did realize the dramatic possibilities of his didactic purpose in terms of imaginative realism. In the preface to the continuation of

⁵Everyman's Library edition (New York, 1959), I, 453.

⁶From Preface to 1747 edition, I, vi.

Pamela (17

this Part

all romant

machinery;

quisite."

demonstrat

are consor

the Greek

The decist

of Lovelace

the ground

Conversion

bilty. in

method was

essentially

cal veras

narrative

in Humphreys

letters to

epistolary

conveyed m

in the

Pamela (1741), he wrote that "the Letters which compose this Part will be found equally written to Nature, avoiding all romantic flights, improbable surprises, and irrational machinery; and that the passions are touched where requisite."⁷ The purpose of the postscript to Clarissa is to demonstrate that the story and the manner of its narration are consonant with both the high artistic standards set by the Greek dramatists and with the facts of everyday life. The decision not to conclude the story with the reformation of Lovelace and his marriage to the heroine is defended on the grounds that "the author...always thought, that sudden Conversions...had neither Art, nor Nature, nor even Probability, in them." Richardson's use of the epistolary method was, in fact, based on his belief that it was an essentially dramatic vehicle which enhanced the psychological veracity of his story, and was thus superior to the narrative technique. Smollett was finally to realize this in Humphry Clinker. Aaron Hill, in one of the introductory letters to Pamela, argued that one of the best features of epistolary technique was that the moral instruction was conveyed "as in a kind of Dramatical Representation," while in the postscript to Clarissa, Richardson described his

⁷ Everyman's Library edition (New York, 1959), II, v.

novel as
continued
of this m
moves on,
Book, into
Reader's

principle
affirmed
the comic
tended ac
He differ
declaring
than the
epic, he
Simple in
diction.
the novel
Dunciad or
Quixote.
"consists of

of Preface
#103, pp.

P. xxxi.

novel as a "History (or rather Dramatic Narrative)." He continued, "We need not insist on the evident Superiority of this method to the dry narrative; where the Novelist moves on, his own dull Pace, to the End of his Chapter and Book, interweaving impertinent Digressions, for fear the Reader's Patience should be exhausted...."⁸

Fielding, on the other hand, spoke openly of the principles of composition. Like Le Bossu and Du Bos he affirmed the possibility of a prose epic, and distinguished the comic prose epic from comedy in that "it has more extended action, more incidents, greater variety of character." He differentiated the comic epic from the serious epic by declaring that the former dealt with the ridiculous rather than the sublime.⁹ In accordance with the critics of the epic, he appraised his sister's The Adventures of David Simple in terms of its fable, characters, sentiments, and diction. In the preface to his sister's work, he wrote that the novel might consist of one action like Le Lutrin and the Dunciad or of a series of separate adventures such as Don Quixote. The latter type, exemplified by David Simple "consists of a series of separate adventures, detached from

⁸See "Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa*: Preface, Hints of Prefaces, and Postscript," Augustan Reprint Society #103, pp. iv-vii.

⁹Joseph Andrews, Modern Library ed. (New York, 1950), p. xxxii.

and indep
great end
here, may
objection
praised D
a deep an
and labyr
degree the
them."¹⁰

I
tinguished
the comic
from the j
we can thi
tinction be
"action;"
in the othe
its charact
and consequ
sets the hi
Diction; by

10.
(London, 174

11.

12.

and independent of each other, yet all tending to one great end; so that those who should object to want of unity here, may if they please, or they dare, fly back with their objection, in the face of even the Odyssey itself." He praised David Simple for "vast penetration into human nature, a deep and profound discernment of all the mazes, winding, and labyrinths, which perplex the heart of man to such a degree that he is himself often incapable of seeing through them."¹⁰

In the preface to Joseph Andrews Fielding distinguished between the comic and serious romance in that in the comic we should "confine ourselves strictly to nature from the just imitation of which will flow all the pleasure we can this way convey to the sensible reader."¹¹ His distinction between the genres was in terms of "fable" and "action:" "...that as in one these are grave and solemn, so in the other are they light and ridiculous: it differs in its characteristics by introducing Persons of Inferior Rank, and consequently inferior Manners, whereas the grave Romance sets the highest before us: lastly in its Sentiments and Diction; by preserving the Ludicrous instead of the Sublime."¹²

¹⁰ Sarah Fielding, The Adventures of David Simple (London, 1744), p. viii.

¹¹ Modern Library edition, p. xxxiii.

¹² Modern Library edition, p. xxxii.

But Field
dimension
reader's
ties as a
ethical f
Indeed Pr
recogniti
as a tool
argues th
tion to
was reas
effect"

been gen
cussions
Roderick
knecht s
critical
Tom Jones
Fathom w
continue

p. 101.

the Pres
206.

But Fielding is concerned less with the psychological dimensions of the novel as an ethical vehicle and the reader's response to it as such, than with its possibilities as a literary form. He thus tends to separate the ethical from the total aesthetic concern of the novel. Indeed Professor McKillop finds "Fielding's most complete recognition of humor as an aesthetic experience rather than as a tool of didacticism,"¹³ and even though Homer Goldberg argues that Fielding chose his literary subjects in relation to their emotional effects, he admits that Fielding was reasoning primarily in terms of the intended "poetic effect" of the work rather than its ethical consequences.¹⁴

Smollett's comments on the novel are few, and have been generally considered undistinguished. His main discussions of the novel as an art form are in the prefaces to Roderick Random and Ferdinand Count Fathom. Professor Wagenknecht suggests that it was probably the influence of the critical chapters with which Fielding opened every book of Tom Jones that caused Smollett to begin both Random and Fathom with a discussion of his art. "But," Wagenknecht continues, "the discussion is not impressive, nor was he

¹³ Early Masters of English Fiction (Lawrence, 1956), p. 101.

¹⁴ "Comis Prose or Comic Romance: The Argument of the Preface to Joseph Andrews," PQ, Vol. XLIII, (April, 1964), 206.

ever notat
theory."¹⁵
a thinker
gests that
"impromptu

Smollett
philosoph
to reconc
associati
I have su
Smollett

Inquiry i
(1725), w
Before th
major doc
chology o
English t

Understan
of the Im
An Essay
tions (17
Ballie's

ever notably successful in regulating his practice by his theory."¹⁵ Professor Baker condemns Smollett as "neither a thinker on life and art nor a serious novelist," and suggests that his preface to Ferdinand Count Fathom is an "impromptu bit of theorizing" not to be taken seriously.¹⁶

What Wagenknecht and Baker fail to realize is that Smollett was aware of, and sympathetic to a larger body of philosophy and criticism with which I believe he attempted to reconcile his theory of the novel. Although his personal association with Francis Hutcheson has not been established, I have suggested that its likelihood exists. In any event, Smollett would have been familiar with Hutcheson's popular Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue (1725), which ran into five editions within twenty years. Before the publication of Roderick Random in 1748, seven major documents dealing entirely, or in part, with the psychology of internal response had already left their mark on English thought. These were Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding (1690), the Spectator papers on the "Pleasures of the Imagination" (1712), Hutcheson's Inquiry (1725) and An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections (1728), Hume's A Treatise on Human Nature (1738), and Ballie's Essay on the Sublime (1747). It is difficult to

¹⁵Cavalcade of the English Novel (New York, 1954), p. 70.

¹⁶History of the English Novel, IV, 216.

judge the
works be
there is
Locke, H
call that
Humphry
whom owe
lectual
jecture
critical
to Roder
Smollett
premises
and to ap
desirable
knecht, I
strugglin
date and
cerned wi
and able
ness thro
emotion.

their con
of intern
organic f

judge the extent of Smollett's familiarity with these works because there is no record of his library, although there is ample evidence in his work of his readings in Locke, Hutcheson, Addison, and Hume. We might also recall that between the publication of Roderick Random and Humphry Clinker (1771) Smith, Gerard, and Kames, all of whom owed their lights to Hutcheson, spearheaded the intellectual renaissance in Scotland. Although it would be conjecture to locate individual and specific influences on his critical tastes, we can, however, discern in the prefaces to Roderick Random and Ferdinand Count Fathom (1753) that Smollett was attempting to restate the general critical premises of psychological criticism in terms of the novel, and to apply the Hutchesonian ethical system as the most desirable course of human action. Unlike Baker and Wagenknecht, I believe that Smollett was a serious novelist struggling to find both a suitable form and hero to accommodate and dramatize that ethic. We thus find Smollett concerned with the novel as a genre characterized by its form and able to evoke a simultaneous moral and aesthetic awareness through the imaginative response of the sympathetic emotion.

Smollett's few remarks on the novel are notable for their concern with the creative process and the importance of internal response. They reflect his concern for an organic fusion of structure and ethic, whereby the moral

assertio
tural in
character
sists up
associat
is throug
efficacy
Smollett
novel whi
value.

foundatio
has a mor
the essen
intimatel
are either
assertions
Hutcheson
within the
approbatio
thus benev
benevolenc
feel towar
ness is th
or toward

assertion of the novel is effectively directed by a structural intensity governed by the action of the principal character. Because of the hero's importance, Smollett insists upon a necessary rapport--a sympathetic response or association--between the reader and that principal. And it is through this response that the novel's ethical or moral efficacy is wrought. Like the psychological critics, Smollett emphasizes the necessary emotional response to the novel which must be present if it is to have any ethical value.

Hutcheson's ethical system appears to be at the foundation of Smollett's work. Hutcheson posited that man has a moral sense, and that disinterested benevolence is the essence of moral goodness. These two propositions are intimately related, since benevolence and the moral sense are either emotions or emotional expressions, and the two assertions together constitute an emotional theory of morals. Hutcheson distinguished between natural good (contained within the individual self) and moral good which procures approbation and love (defined in terms of an onlooker), and thus benevolence secured approbation and love. He associated benevolence with sympathy, for if a person aids another we feel toward him a sympathetic gratitude, and this felt goodness is the same whether we feel it because of good done us or toward strangers, whose interests we may expect people in

general,

is descri

to produc

this acti

To be mor

toward re

produce t

produce t

then, mer

social go

and love.

to the go

antitheti

result fr

Hutcheson

judice pr

Philosoph

general, as benevolent spectators, to sympathize with.

The law of conduct implicit in Hutcheson's system is described as the law of beneficence: always act so as to produce the greatest amount of good for humanity. But this action does not necessarily spring from benevolence. To be morally good, an action must flow from some "affection toward rational agents"---which includes not only a will to produce the happiness of particular persons, but a will to produce the welfare of society as a whole. For Hutcheson, then, men are good if their actions are consonant with social good, and if their characters call forth "approbation and love." But he reasons also that self-love is essential to the good of society when one realizes that it is not antithetical to social good, and that private happiness can result from social benevolence.

Central to Smollett's concern in the novel is Hutcheson's belief that benevolence divorced from all prejudice promotes universal happiness. In A System of Moral Philosophy, Hutcheson writes:

The other determination alleged is toward the universal happiness of others. When the soul is calm and attentive to the constitution and powers of other beings, their natural actions and capacities of happiness and misery, and when the selfish appetites and passions and desires are asleep, 'tis alleged that there is a calm impulse of the soul to desire the greatest happiness and perfection of the largest system within the compass of its knowledge. Our inward consciousness abundantly testifies

In his c
times:

scribes
words.

that there is such an impulse or determination of the soul, and that it is truly ultimate, without reference to any sort of happiness of our own. But here again, as few have considered the whole system of beings knowable by men, we do not find this determination exerted generally in all its extent; but we find natural desires of such individuals, or societies, or systems, as we have calmly considered, where there has intervened no prejudice against them, or notion that their happiness is any way opposite to our own.¹⁷

In his chapter on "The Nature of Rights," Hutcheson continues:

But, altho' private justice, veracity, openness of mind, compassion, are immediately approved, without reference to a system; yet we must not imagine that any of these principles are destined to control or limit that regard to the most extensive good which we shewed to be the noblest principle of our nature. The most extensive affection has a dignity sufficient to justify the contracting any other disposition: whereas no moral agent can upon close reflection approve himself in adhering to any special rule, or following any other disposition of his nature, when he discerns, upon the best evidence he can have, that doing so is contrary to the universal interest or the most extensive happiness of the system in the whole of its effects.¹⁸

In the preface to Roderick Random Smollett describes the response of the sympathetic emotion in these words.

The reader gratifies his curiosity in pursuing the adventures of a person in distress; his indignation is heated against the authors of his calamity; the humane passions are inflamed; the contrast between dejected virtue and insulting vice appears with greater aggravation; and every impression having a double force on the

¹⁸
Hutcheson, p. 255.

revealin

The simi
#418 are
Smith's

sympathy

imagination, the memory retains the circumstance, and the heart improves by example. The attention is not tired with a bare catalogue of characters, but agreeably diverted with all the variety of invention; and the vicissitudes of life appear in their peculiar circumstances,¹⁹ opening up an ample field for wit and humour.

The similarity of sentiment with that of Smith is revealing. Smith writes that

Our joy for the deliverance of those heroes of tragedy or romance who interest us, is as sincere as our grief for their distress, and our fellow-feeling with their misery is not more real than with their happiness. We enter into their gratitude towards those faithful friends who did not desert them in their difficulties; and we heartily go along with their resentment against those perfidious traitors who injured, abandoned, or deceived them. In every passion of which the mind of man is susceptible, the emotions of the bystander always correspond to what, by bringing the case home to himself, he imagines should be the sentiments of the sufferer.²⁰

The similarities of these two passages with Spectator paper #418 are not unusual when we consider that Hutcheson, Smith's precursor at Glasgow, based his argument on Addison.²¹

Like Hutcheson and Smith, Smollett introduces sympathy as a first cause of our ideas of justice and pro-

¹⁹ Everyman's Library edition (New York, 1956), p. 3.

²⁰ Theory of Moral Sentiments (London, 1875), p. 5.

²¹ See above, p. 37.

priety.
tween t
Smith's
Burke's
ment is
Kames,
spond t
that ex
and ins
indiffe
gravat
which e
"infla
verted

example
moral s
tuously
Kames,
heart a
Hutche
determi
and to
realize

priety. The similarity in tone, structure, and idea between this portion of the preface, the passage from Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments, and the review of Burke's Enquiry is striking enough.²² Smollett's statement is consonant with the ideas of Gerard, and later Kames, for he suggests here that the passions first respond to distress and calamity, and organize and unify that experience---"the contrast between dejected virtue and insulting vice," "modest merit confronting the base indifference of mankind"---which appears with greater aggravation, or with that immediacy of association with which emotion responds. The imagination is controlled by "inflamed" passions, and the "attention is...agreeably diverted with all the variety of invention."

When Smollett writes that "the heart improved by example," he implies that it does so because our superior moral sense limits notions of self-interest and acts virtuously without incitement to its own advantage. Like Kames, he argues that the sympathetic emotion directs the heart and adds virtue to the force of habit, and like Hutcheson and Smith, that we are affected because of our determination to be pleased with the happiness of others and to be uneasy at their misery. Smollett, like Beattie, realized that literary instruction should awaken our pity

²² See above, pp. 48-49.

for the s
preface t
theory of

Fathom, S

"internal

process.

graph a m

tence use

analogy o

Smollett

ceiving c

which bec

function

the labyr

own impor

for the sufferings of our fellow men, and outlined in his preface the novel's capability of communicating an emotional theory of morals.

In the much maligned preface to Ferdinand Count Fathom, Smollett again fuses the moral sense and aesthetic "internal" sense as inextricable powers in the creative process. Scholars have erred in labeling the first paragraph a mere echo of Fielding. The fact that the first sentence uses the analogy of painting, and the second the analogy of dramatic plotting suggests that not only was Smollett concerned with the aesthetic gratification in conceiving order or design, but with the response to that order which becomes manifest in the response to the hero whose function it is to "unite the incidents, unwind the clue of the labyrinth, and at last close the scene, by virtue of his own importance." Smollett continues:

Almost all the heroes of this kind, who have hitherto succeeded on the English stage, are characters of transcendental worth, conducted through the vicissitudes of fortune, to that goal of happiness, which ever ought to be the repose to extraordinary desert. Yet the same principle by which we rejoice at the remuneration of merit, will teach us to relish the disgrace and discomfiture of vice, which is always an example of extensive use and influence, because it leaves a deep impression of terror upon the minds of those who were not confirmed in the pursuit of morality and virtue, and, while the balance wavers, enables the right scale to preponderate....

The impulse of fear, which is the most violent and interesting of all the passions, remains longer than any other upon the memory; and

Peregrin

naturall

cognizar

fear and

rehearse

cumstanc

cation."

an atten

Smollet

Ferdina

"same p

sponse.

unmitig

of fear

sions"

Vol. II

for one that is allured to virtue, by the contemplation of that peace and happiness which it bestows, a hundred are deterred from the practice of vice, by that infamy and punishment to which it is liable, from the laws and regulations of mankind.²³

Smollett may have had in mind a passage from Peregrine Pickle, in which he wrote that "The imagination naturally magnifies every object that falls under its cognizance, especially those that concern the passions of fear and admiration; and when the occurrence comes to be rehearsed, the vanity of the relater exaggerates every circumstance in order to enhance the importance of the communication."²⁴

Smollett, I feel, experimented with this work in an attempt to mature as a novelist. Like the critics, Smollett admitted the necessity of a "real" hero, but in Ferdinand Count Fathom he emphasized a "principle"---that "same principle"----which evoked immediate and lasting response. Ferdinand is conceived as the personification of unmitigated malevolence, so that he can evoke the "impulses of fear...the most violent and interesting of all the passions" which "remain longer than any other upon the memory,"

²³Shakespeare Head edition (Oxford, 1925), p. 4.

²⁴Everyman's Library edition (New York, 1956), Vol. II, 151.

while C
passion
not the
hero wh
approba

which m
that th
spectac
or asto
it, "at
of acqu
cerned
the rea
from wh
fiture
the min
morality
ure that
ambition
very pai
construc

while Count Melvil is presented to evoke the antithetical passion of admiration. It is the principle that is real, not the character. In this manner, Smollett presents a hero who evokes the reader's antipathy, aversion, and disapprobation of the ethic he personifies.

Smollett again refers to the chain of response in which memory is influenced by the passions. We might recall that the reviewer of Burke's Enquiry argued that we shun spectacles of horror except when there is something "great or astonishing" in the event. We then become interested in it, "attracted by a curiosity and ambition," with a desire of acquiring a new idea.²⁵ This is what Smollett is concerned with in Ferdinand Count Fathom. He is concerned with the reader's response to a totally malevolent individual from whom he will learn to "relish the disgrace and discomfiture of vice...because it leaves a deep impression upon the minds of those who are not confirmed in the pursuit of morality and virtue." Smollett continues, "It is not pleasure that impels him the reader but he is hurried on by an ambitious curiosity, mingled with horror, which produces a very painful effect."²⁶ Smollett, in fact, appears to have constructed the novel on Hutcheson's sentiment that "we

²⁵ See above, p. 47. (my emphasis)

²⁶ Shakespeare Head edition, p. 4. (my emphasis)

sometime

is hard

crude st

ent with

Roderick

practice

not evol

Smollett

being; h

malevole

Smollett

most suc

and is b

ble. Sm

allowed

to depic

effect a

present

other me

confront

response

sometimes court such stories as terrify ourselves."²⁷

Smollett's preface to Ferdinand Count Fathom, then, is hardly an "impromptu bit of theorizing," but rather a crude statement of purpose which is theoretically consistent with, though an inversion of, his earlier preface to Roderick Random. But the preface never becomes realized in practice because the length and diffusion of the novel cannot evoke a sustained emotional response, and because Smollett's hero is inadequate. Ferdinand is not a human being; he is a vaguely conceived personification of active malevolence, unreal, and thus an unsuccessful vehicle for Smollett's "principle." It is noteworthy that Smollett's most successful novel, Humphry Clinker, is his least diffuse, and is built around his most successful hero, Matthew Bramble. Smollett succeeds because his epistolary technique has allowed him, as it did Richardson, a framework within which to depict the internal motivations of his characters, and effect an immediacy of rapport. Matthew, Jerry, and Tabby present themselves and comment upon each other through no other medium than their own reactions to the events which confront them, thus allowing the reader a more concentrated response free from authorial interruption.

²⁷ See above, p. 48.

by Don G
mance ar
Smollett
ism he
wished t
and sym
mind wh
the"vic
and hum
Smollett
that it
and wil
the wor
an ethi
with sp
lence a
benevol
sonian
to sust
of cont
Greaves
benevol
credibl

By working in the picaresque tradition established by Don Quixote, Smollett fused the conventions of the romance and novel. This fusion was adequately suited for Smollett's satire, but it could not sustain any sentimentalism he had hoped to elicit in favor of his hero. Smollett wished to balance his satire and wit with emotional warmth and sympathetic feeling, and it was this balance he had in mind when he wrote in his preface to Roderick Random that the "vicissitudes of life" would open up "ample field for wit and humour." Alan D. McKillop reasons correctly that Smollett's indignant satire is inadequate to his practice, that it is not flexible enough for the exigencies of life and will not see the novelist through his variegated tour of the world. McKillop argues that Smollett uses his satire as an ethical short-cut, a kind of inverted sentimentalism, with spontaneous indignation instead of spontaneous benevolence as the test of virtue.²⁸ Smollett, however, desired benevolence as the test of virtue, more particularly Hutchesonian benevolence: yet his form and hero were inadequate to sustain it. Roderick and Perry are thrown into a world of contradiction and contesting values, while Fathom and Greaves are personifications of malevolence and a quixotic benevolence, who exist rather as tools of contrivance than credible human beings. Greaves, particularly, becomes the

²⁸Early Masters of English Fiction, pp. 151-152.

idealize
ditions
his crea
benevole
position
this pro
his own
ethical
moral co
human ex
it is ow
which is
moral se
phers,"²
conduct
novelist
embody th
love. H.
problem.
vanity,
benevolia
self as a
Bramble

idealized hero who is disaffected with existing social conditions and encourages reform. Smollett finally succeeds in his creation of Matthew Bramble, in whom indignation and benevolence are fused into a character whose malevolent disposition disguises his active benevolence. It is through this progression of Smollett's heroes that we can discern his own progress as a novelist for whom the Hutchesonian ethical system served as the most desirable pattern for moral conduct. When Smollett writes "I, whose notions of human excellence are not quite so sublime, am apt to believe it is owing to that spirit of self-conceit and contradiction, which is at least as universal, if not as natural, as the moral sense so warmly contended for by those ideal philosophers,"²⁹ he is affirming the existence of two motives for conduct within a human being. And Smollett's growth as a novelist can be traced in his search for the hero in whom to embody the compatible qualities of self-love and social love. His last three novels dramatically illustrate the problem. Fathom is a malevolist, for whom self-conceit, vanity, and self-gratification motivate action; Greaves is a benevolist whose social-love is incapable of sustaining itself as a successful ethical principle in a vicious world; Bramble is a malevolent benevolist, in whom self-love and

²⁹Shakespeare Head edition, p. 137.

social
tion
not d
penta
the p
the m

for h
esque
ford
acqui
is th
facul
dour
of al
the a
his p
activ
we mi
unpre
happ
Melf
lett

social love are inextricably fused. He is the personification of complete ethical awareness. In this context, it is not difficult to understand why Smollett introduces the repentant (and now benevolent) Fathom in Humphry Clinker under the pseudym "Grieve" in an obvious play on "Greaves." He is the malevolent become benevolent.

In Humphry Clinker, Smollett found the precise form for his social criticism, and defined his idea of the picaresque mode in terms of its archetypal journey. Jerry Melford writes that "Without all doubt, the greatest advantage acquired in travelling and perusing mankind in the original, is that of dispelling those shameful clouds that darken the faculties of the mind, preventing it from judging with candour and precision."³⁰ This idea appears to be at the root of all Smollett's novels. It summarizes his attitude in the apologue to Roderick Random and resolves the problem all his heroes must face: how must one perceive experience, actively participate in it, and secure happiness. Hutcheson, we might recall, posited that benevolence functioning in an unprejudiced mind promoted both individual and universal happiness, and Smollett records this basic idea through Jerry Melford. The passage is important as a statement of Smollett's most vital realization of the organic fusion of ethic

³⁰Modern Library edition (New York, 1929), p. 404.

and
ach
var
in
val
len
and
her
Per
cel
ser
stu
all
wel
con
the
st
se
he
se
ta
Pe

and form. Humphry Clinker is important as Smollett's achievement of that realization.

Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle succeed as variegated pictures of life because their heroes are shown in the process of maturing, in the process of acquiring the values of self-love and social-love, of humanity and benevolence, to sustain them in society. Ferdinand Count Fathom and Sir Launcelot Greaves fail as novels because their heroes are shadows upon whom extreme values are superimposed. Ferdinand's malevolence is never fully dispelled, and Launcelot's quixotic benevolence is too improbably to be taken seriously. Humphry Clinker presents the most concentrated study, where the duality of self and social-love in Bramble allow him to comment candidly on the follies of Bath, as well as achieve an enlightened view of Scotland. It is his concealed benevolence which suggests the Hutchesonian thesis of man's intrinsic goodness.

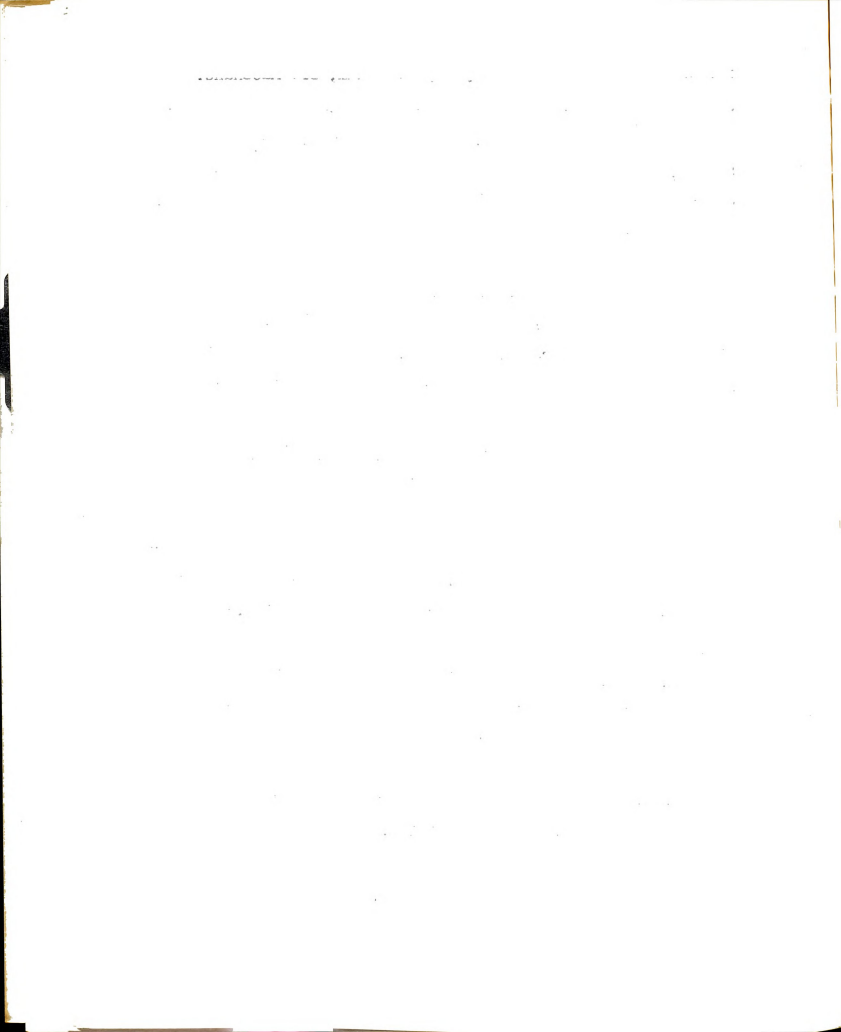
Both Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle are constructed in terms of the conflicting and inherent powers of self interest and benevolence as they influence the two heroes. In the former, the conflict is external and presented through the people with whom Roderick comes into contact; in the latter, the conflict is internal, based upon Perry's own vanity and self-conceit. Roderick is exposed to

RECEIVED BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
JAN 10 1900

a vicious world inhabited by Captain Okum, Dr. MacShane, Crampley, Gringer, the cowardly Captain Weazel, and the affectatious Captain Whiffle, as well as Strap, Morgan, Mrs. Sagely, and of course Tom Bowling, of whom Roderick wrote, "I always ascribed his benevolence to the dictates of a heart as yet undebauched by a commerce with mankind."³¹

The world of Roderick Random is one in which malice, cowardice, stupidity, affectation, and brutality, are pitted against generosity, honesty, benevolence, humanity, sense, and courage. Human nature is described in its various manifestations in terms of Roderick's own perception of it, whereas the omniscient narrator of Peregrine Pickle directs his attention to Perry, who contains within himself the conflicting antithetical social and selfish passions common to human nature. As Professor Goldberg points out, Perry is revealed as "naturally generous," "naturally compassionate," with a "fund of good nature," "unlimited generosity," and "natural benevolence." Yet he vacillates between these natural, intrinsic human qualities and the selfish passions he has acquired from his association with the "commerce of mankind." He develops "pride...licentious conduct...and a large proportion of insolence." He is described as having

³¹Everyman's Library edition, p. 27.



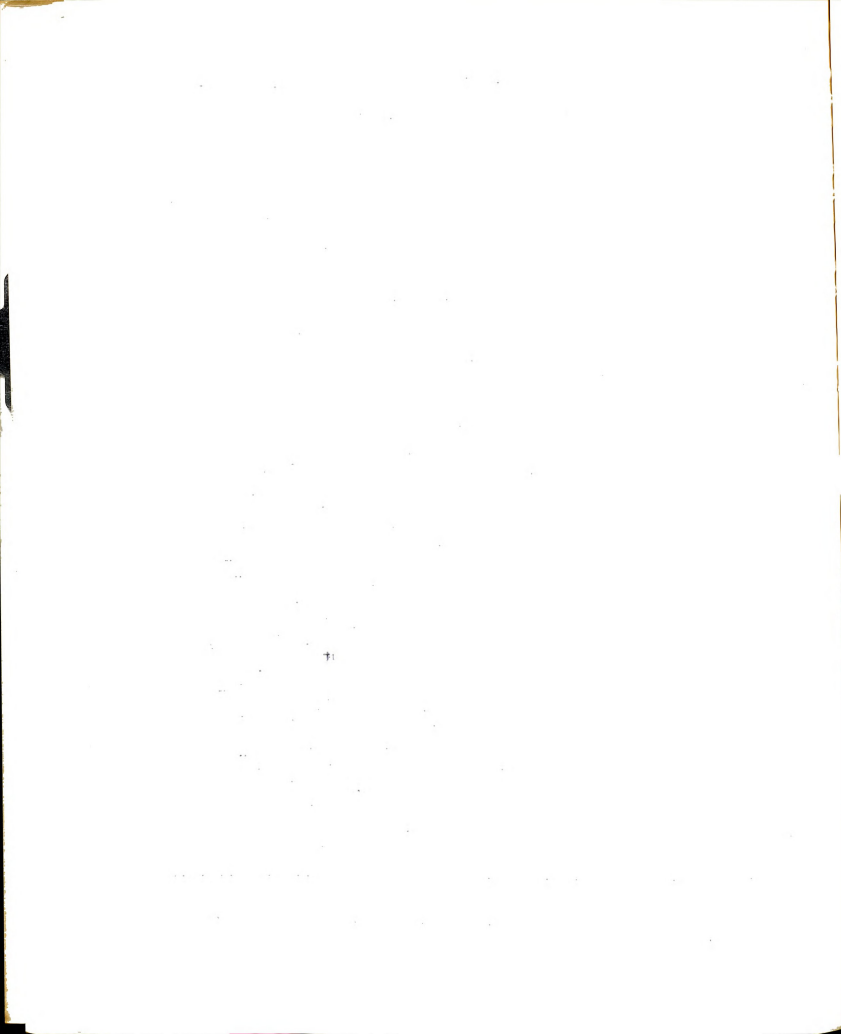
"vanity and self-conceit," "vanity and ambition," "self-conceit and affectation of learning," "pride and ambition."³²

It is when Peregrine is forced to remove himself to the Fleet and strip himself of his pride, vanity, and ambition, that he secludes himself from all society. Perry has come to realize that his selfish passions have alienated the approbation and love of his fellows, and consequently that his actions have alienated him from a society, which according to Hutcheson affirms and recognizes the individual in terms of its approbation and disapprobation of socially beneficent or malevolent action.

He was conscious of his infirmity, and found it incurable. He foresaw that by his own industry he should never be able to defray the expense of these occasions; and this reflection sunk deep into his mind. The approbation of the public, which he had earned or might acquire, like a cordial often repeated, began to lose its effect upon his imagination; his health suffered by his sedentary life and austere application; his eyesight failed, his appetite forsook him, his spirits decayed; so that he became melancholy, listless, and altogether incapable of prosecuting the only means he had left for his subsistence; and (what did not at all contribute to the alleviation of these particulars) he was given to understand by his lawyer, that he had lost his cause, and was condemned in costs. Even this was not the most mortifying piece of intelligence he received; he at the same time learned that his bookseller was bankrupt, and his friend Crabtree at the point of death.

These were comfortable considerations to a youth of Peregrine's disposition, which was so

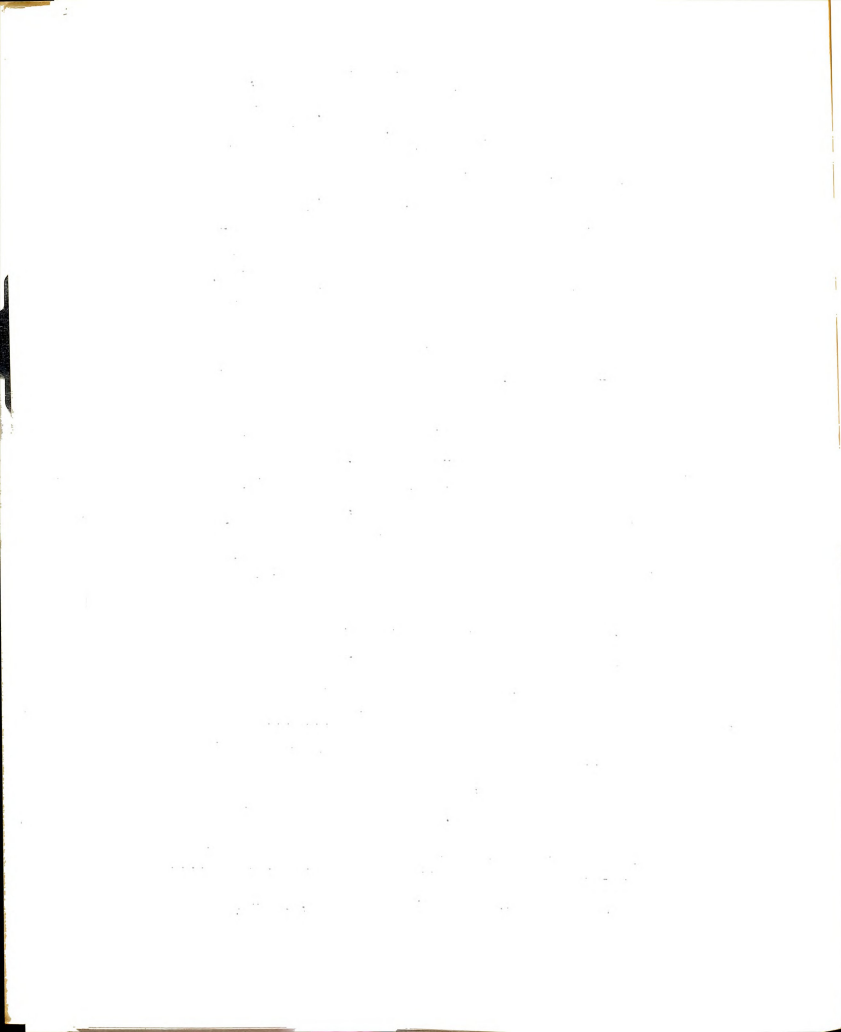
³² Smollett and the Scottish School (Albuquerque, 1959), p. 59.



capricious, that the more misery increased, the more haughty and inflexible he became. Rather than be beholden to Hatchway, who still hovered about the gate, eager for an opportunity to assist him, he chose to undergo the want of almost every convenience of life, and actually pledged his wearing apparel to an Irish pawnbroker in the Fleet, for money to purchase those things without which he must have already perished. He was gradually irritated by his misfortunes into a rancorous resentment against mankind in general, and his heart so alienated from the enjoyments of life, that he did not care how soon he quitted his miserable existence. Though he had shocking examples of the vicissitudes of fortune continually before his eyes, he could never be reconciled to the idea of living like his fellow-sufferers, in the most abject degree of dependence. If he refused to accept of favours from his own allies and intimate friends, whom he had formerly obliged, it is not to be supposed that he would listen to proposals of that kind from any of his fellow-prisoners, with whom he had contracted acquaintance. He was even more cautious than ever of incurring obligations; he now shunned his former messmates, in order to avoid disagreeable tenders of friendship. Imagining that he perceived an inclination in the clergyman to learn the state of his finances, he discouraged and declined the explanation, and at length secluded himself from all society.³³

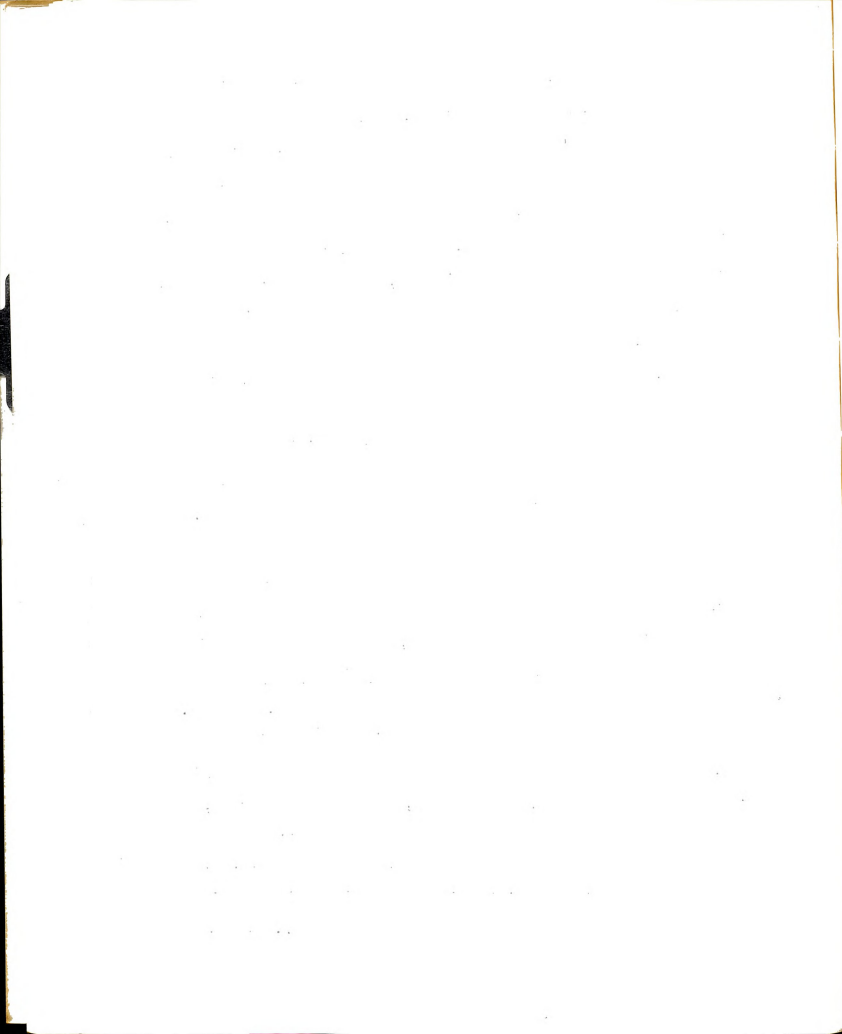
Ferdinand Count Fathom and Sir Launcelot Greaves are both experimental novels. In the former, Smollett attempted to mature as a novelist, realized he had fallen short of the mark, and attempted to redeem himself with Greaves. The preface to Fathom is evidence that he was concerned with the novel as a serious form, as is the fact that he waited nine years between both novels, and an additional nine between Greaves and Humphry Clinker. Both Fathom and Greaves

³³ Everyman's Library edition, Vol. II, 333-334.



fail because of their extravagances. The former depicts the effects of self-love and ambition, while the latter embodies an unbalanced mixture of self-love and quixotic social concern. Where Fathom is very much a part of the commerce of mankind, Greaves stands outside to voice ideal social political, and ethical attitudes. He boasts, "I reason without Prejudice, can endure contradiction, and as the company perceives, even hear impertinent censure without passion or resentment."³⁴ But Greaves is unreal. As a spokesman for Smollett, however, his social attitudes are quite consistent with Smollett's own. Greaves supports the fact that Smollett does present contradictions which are compatible and which must exist together, just as Hutcheson posited the necessary dual existence of social and self-love. In this context, Sir Launcelot Greaves may possibly be viewed as one of Smollett's most important novels. He defends the "Seven years war," lashes out against political prejudice and faction, attacks private madhouses and jails, and defends the policies of George II. It is noteworthy that Critical Review also defended the war and Georges II and III. Greaves, however, is unaware of the value of the contradictions in his character, and his egocentric extravagance overshadows the reality of his statement which, as a result, also becomes unreal, and thus a contradiction itself. Yet we must accept these contradictions in terms of the author's attempt to reconcile

³⁴Shakespeare Head edition (Oxford, 1926), p. 16.



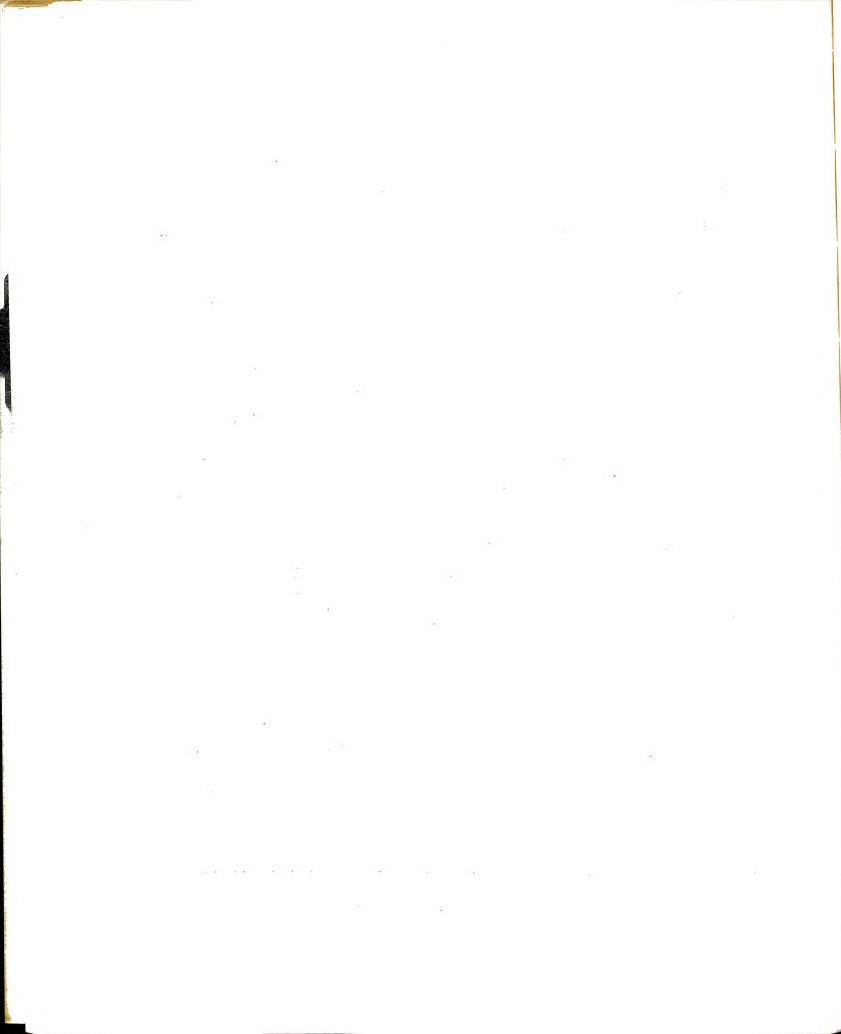
them successfully if we are to accept Smollett as a serious novelist.

The realized existence of the duality in man is dramatized by Matthew Bramble, who like Bowling is "undebauched by a commerce with mankind" and who as a result displays an enlightened benevolence and understanding of human nature. Jerry Melford records Bramble's remarks to Mr. Barton:

Of his grace I shall say nothing at present, but that for thirty years he was the constant and common butt of ridicule and execration. He was generally laughed at as an ape in politics, whose office and influence served only to render his folly the more notorious; and the opposition cursed him, as the indefatigable drudge of a first mover, who was justly stiled and stigmatized as the father of corruption: but this ridiculous ape, this venal drudge, no sooner lost the places he was so ill qualified to fill, and unfurled the banners of faction, than he was metamorphosed into a pattern of public virtue; the very people who reviled him before, now extolled him to the skies, as a wise experienced statesman, chief pillar of the Protestant succession, and corner stone of English liberty. I should be glad to know how Mr. Barton reconciles these contradictions, without obliging us to resign all title to the privilege of common sense.³⁵

And, of course, Bramble himself is a contradiction, albeit successful, because he is human and can elicit the reader's sympathetic response through the reality and universality of his nature. He accosts society without the aid of a lance or suit of armor, and thus becomes an effective agent

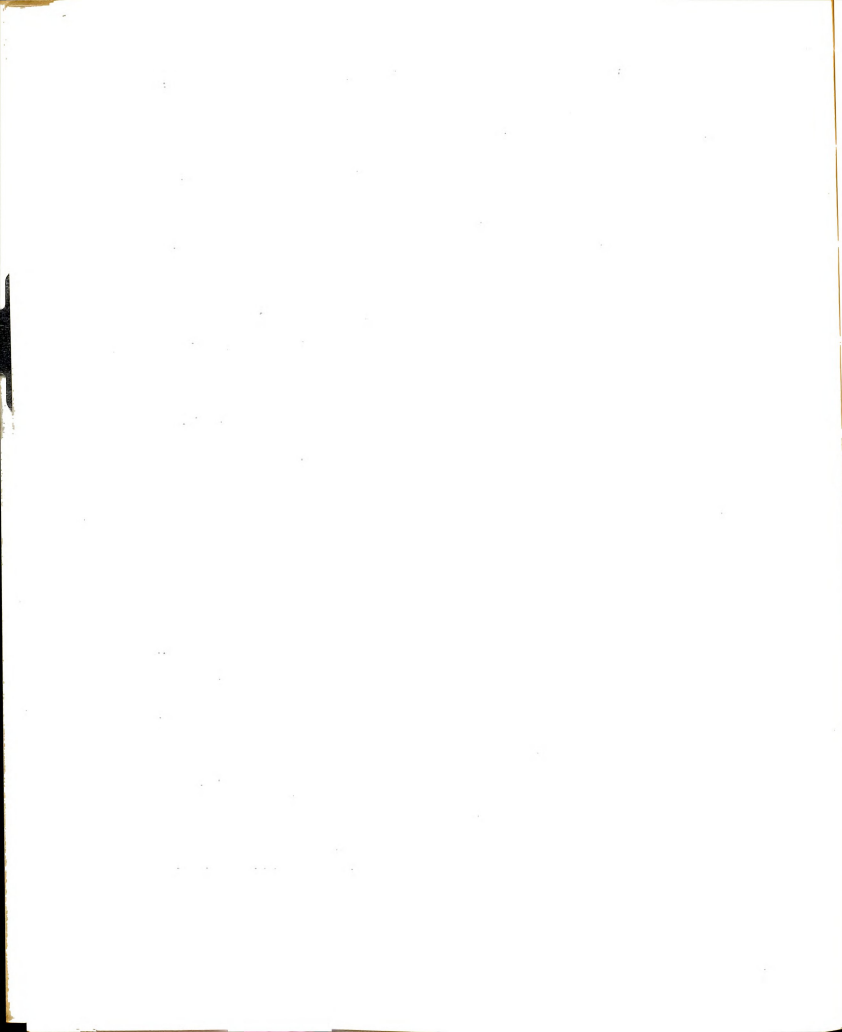
³⁵Modern Library edition, pp. 116-117.



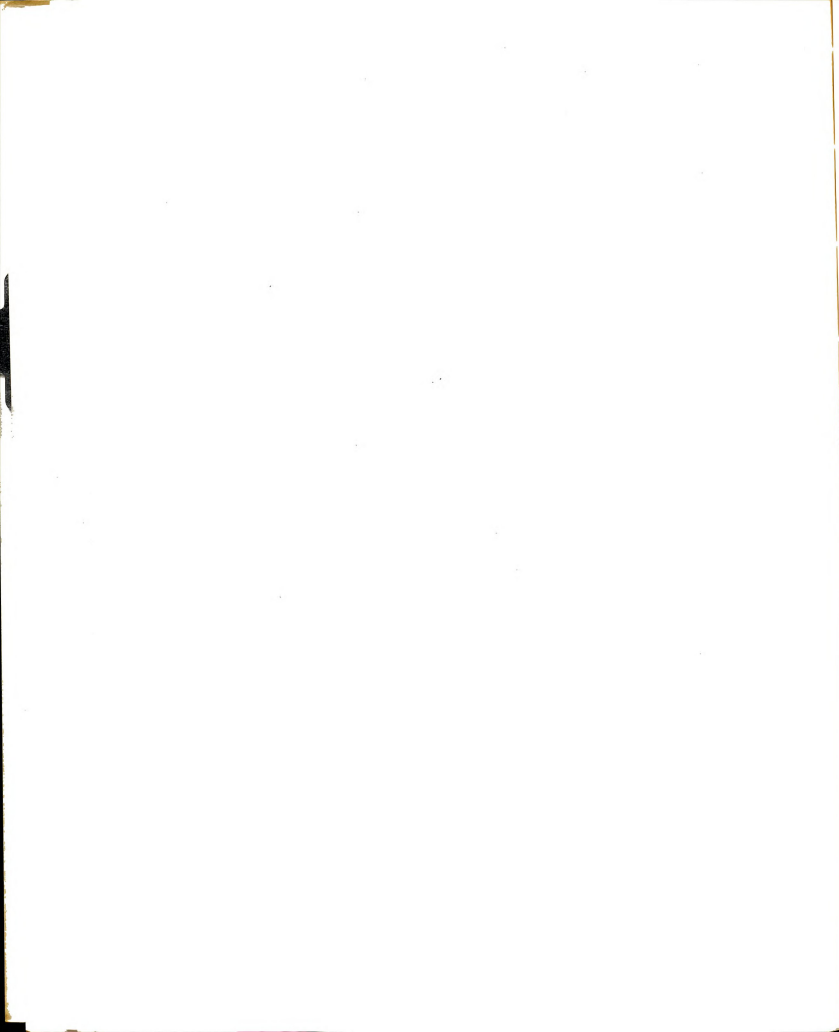
for Smollett's purposes. With an obvious debt to Hutcheson, Smollett has Bramble remark: "The longer I live, I see more reason to believe that prejudices of education are never wholly eradicated, even when they are discovered to be erroneous and absurd. Such habits of thinking as interest the grand passions, cleave to the human heart in such a manner, that though an effort of reason may force them from their hold for a moment, this violence no sooner ceases, than they resume their grasp with an increased elasticity and adhesion."³⁶

Smollett was clearly working in the ethical tradition of Hutcheson and his Scottish successors, and his attempt to find a form and suitable hero to accommodate and communicate that ethic may accurately describe his growth as a novelist. More importantly, the prefaces to Roderick Random and Ferdinand Count Fathom reflect his response to the aesthetic of the psychological school, though it appears that his struggle to embrace that aesthetic in the novel was marred by his inability to reconcile the shafts of his satire with the texture of the novel's total effect: an effect predicated on the reader's response to action governed by the hero's own perception of experience. But if in practice, Smollett only partially succeeded, he did conceive of the novel as a genre characterized by its form: a form which

³⁶Modern Library edition, p. 327.



succeeded as both an aesthetic and ethical vehicle in terms of its imaginative impact through sympathetic response. Within this framework, Smollett attempted to dramatize the conflict between human nature and social awareness, and to awaken in the reader a realization of his own humanity in terms of a common humanity.



CHAPTER IV

THE "CRITICAL REVIEW"

AND

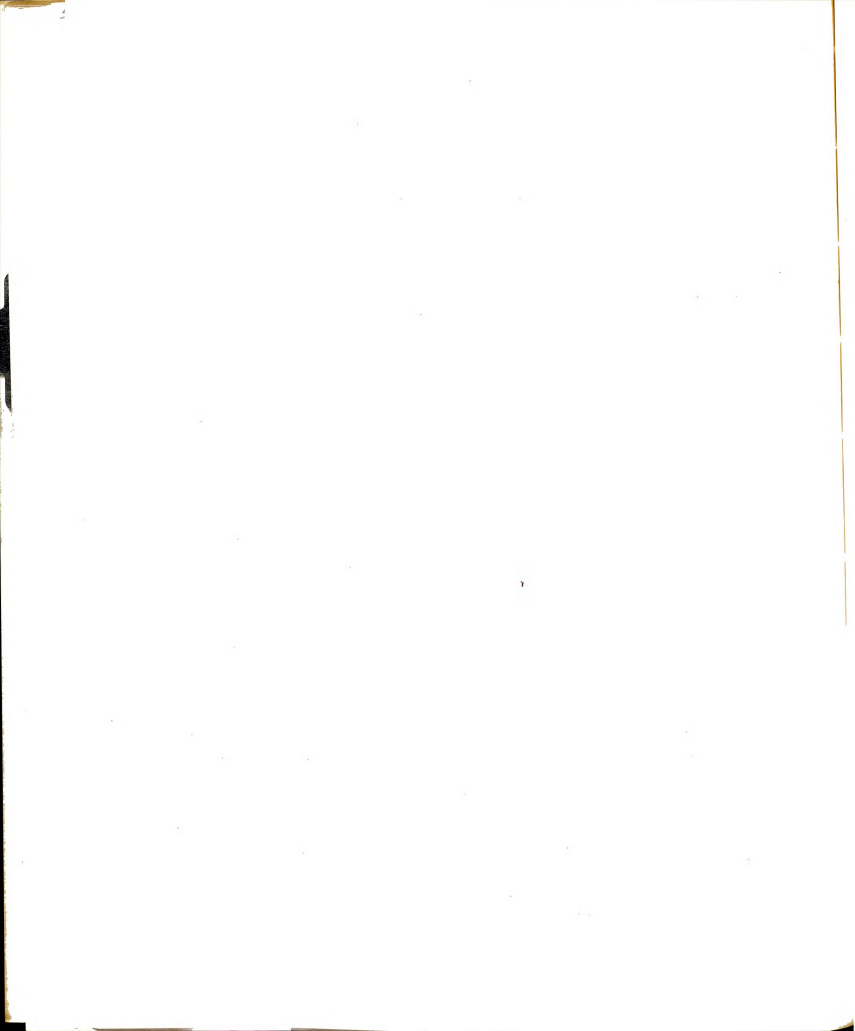
THE NOVEL; 1756-1763

CHAPTER IV
THE "CRITICAL REVIEW"
AND
THE NOVEL; 1756-1763

Much of the criticism of the novel in the Critical Review took the form of digests and summaries such as those in many of the earlier abstract journals and indeed in its contemporary, the Gentlemen's Magazine. However, the reviewers did show a marked interest in the theory of the novel, and a critical standard revealed itself in the reviews of major novels.

We need remember that in 1756 no less than four-fifths of the novels were reviewed by Samuel Derrick, who it appears was assigned the task of "trash reader" and who may well have been "the little Irishman" referred to by Smollett in his letter to Dr. Moore of May, 1757.¹ Smollett himself did not review any novel in 1756, but rather concentrated his efforts on historical and scientific documents, and wrote the editorial prefaces and remarks. In the division of labor, Dr. Armstrong shared with Smollett the reviewing of scientific and medical works, Franklin, who was Professor of Greek at Cambridge, dealt with theological works, and Murdoch con-

¹Edward S. Noyes, The Letters of Tobias Smollett (Cambridge, 1926), p. 46.



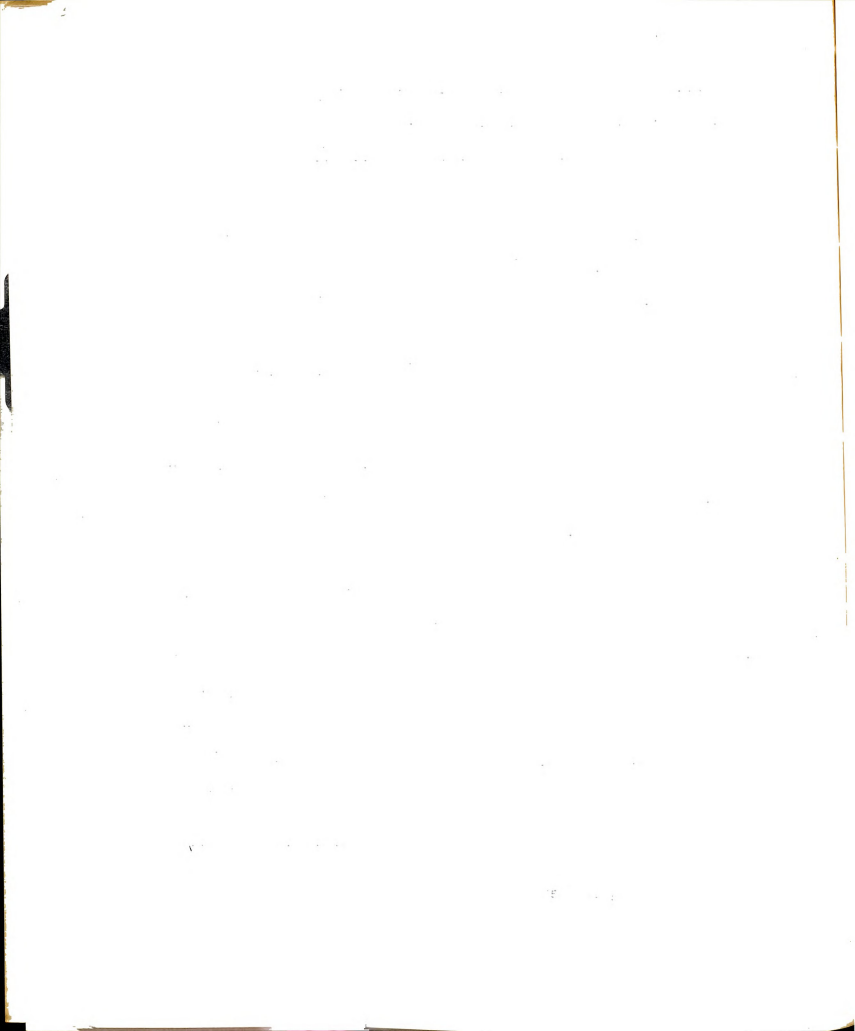
tributed the foreign articles from abroad. Derrick came to his job well prepared. In 1754, he translated and wrote the preface to the Memoirs of the Count du Beauval from Le Mentor Cavalier, ou Les Illustres Infortunes de Notre Siecle, by the Marquis d'Argens. His preface is hardly notable, for he merely restates the traditional theories of the extravagances of romance, and argues for reality and moral efficacy through characters who were "remarkable in life" and "within the compass of our acquaintance." Derrick carried these precepts into his reviews, of which his comments on L'Empire des Passions are illustrative: "This romance is like a play performed by a strolling company in which there is a great deal of tinsel and frippery without any taste, much declamation and no nature; a variety of parts acted by the same player, with no variation in his manner, and very little difference in his dress. It moves no passion but contempt, because it is not written from the heart, but from the imagination; the characters are not copied from life, but drawn from crude fancy, poorly furnished from antiquated novels."² Derrick's comments reflect the traditional attitude toward "probability" or the "realistic" presentation of character in the novel. This critical concern which achieved a greater currency between 1740-1765 was discussed by such writers as John Hawkesworth in the Adventurer for May 18, 1752, Frances Sheridan in

²Critical Review, I (January-February, 1756), 92.

her Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph (1761), John Leland in Longsword, Earl of Salisbury (1761), and Arthur Murphy in his Essay on the Life and Genius of Henry Fielding (1762).

There is little reason to believe that Smollett would have altered his reviewing policy after Derrick's departure to Bath, where he succeeded Beau Nash as Master of Ceremonies, for certainly until 1759 many of the reviews of novels shared an almost undistinguishable anonymity. It is not until April, 1759, with the review of Rasselas, that the Critical clearly begins to set down its theory of narrative writing, and it is in that same year that Smollett's pen became prominent in the reviews of novels. It is likely, however, that he reviewed the novels out of necessity because, as we might recall, he complained to Wilkes in that year of "reading dull books & writing dull commentaries" without having time to "snatch...a momentary respite."³ In the reviews for 1759 we can begin to discern the critical context into which the Critical Review placed the novel as an organic genre through which the principle of universal benevolence urged men to sympathize with the feelings of others regardless of self-interest, and taught the reader simple ethical principles without setting up any intellectual barrier to thwart the right kind of imaginative response. Joseph Bunn

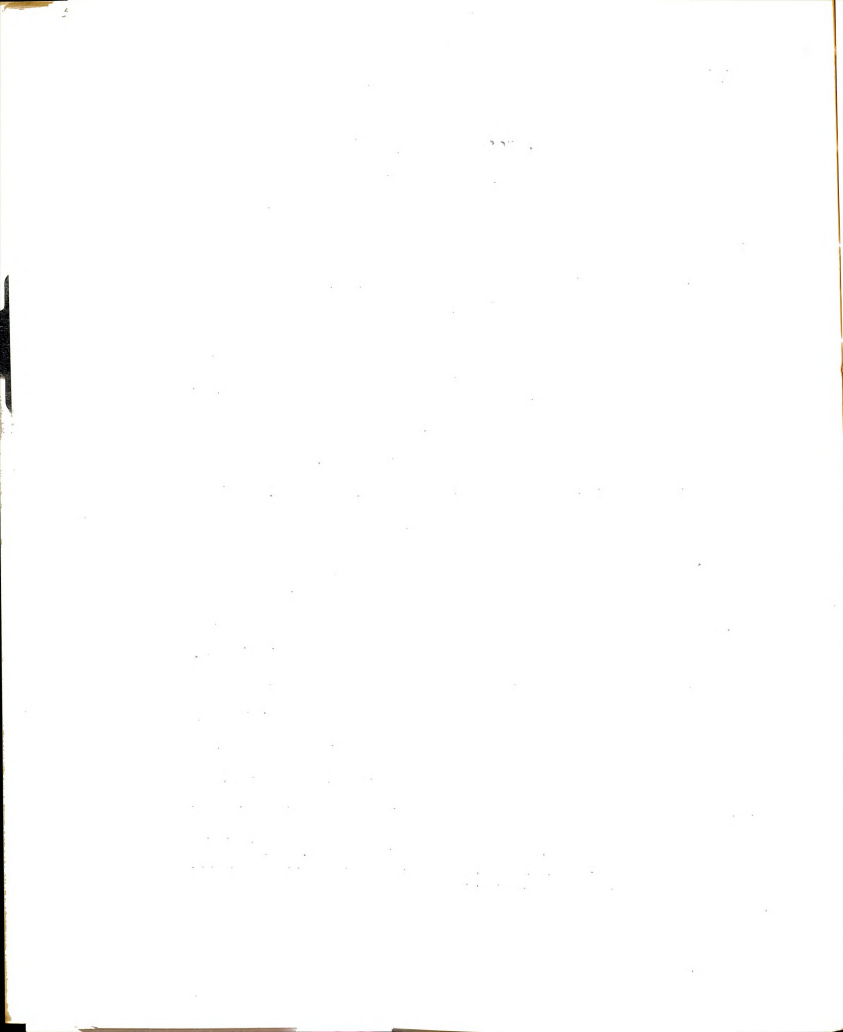
³ Noyes, Letters, p. 61.



Heidler remarked that "Whereas the Monthly reviewers were prone to judge the novels mostly on the basis of moral and characterization alone, those in the Critical endeavored to judge intelligently not only their several component parts, but also their total effect."⁴ "Effect" necessarily implies response, and although Heidler never really defines "total effect," he correctly suggests the Critical's emphasis on the reader's response to the novel's gestalt.

A word about the problem and method of attribution is necessary. Admittedly, any attempt to attribute authorship on the basis of internal evidence, more particularly amidst the commonplaces of eighteenth-century style, too often runs the risk of conjecture. Professor Martz, however, reminds us that "style is a way of thinking, a method of presenting ideas," and accordingly style cannot be divorced from those ideas because it is their vehicle of expression. Consequently, when we attempt to discern authorship through style, we are in essence examining material from the author's ideas, mentality, and aim, and it follows that ideas expressed in the given piece to be examined must be consonant with those of the reputed author. Yet we must agree with Dr. Johnson that by attributing authorship through internal evidence "we

⁴"The History, from 1700-1800, of English Criticism of Prose Fiction," University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, No. 13 (1928), p. 77.

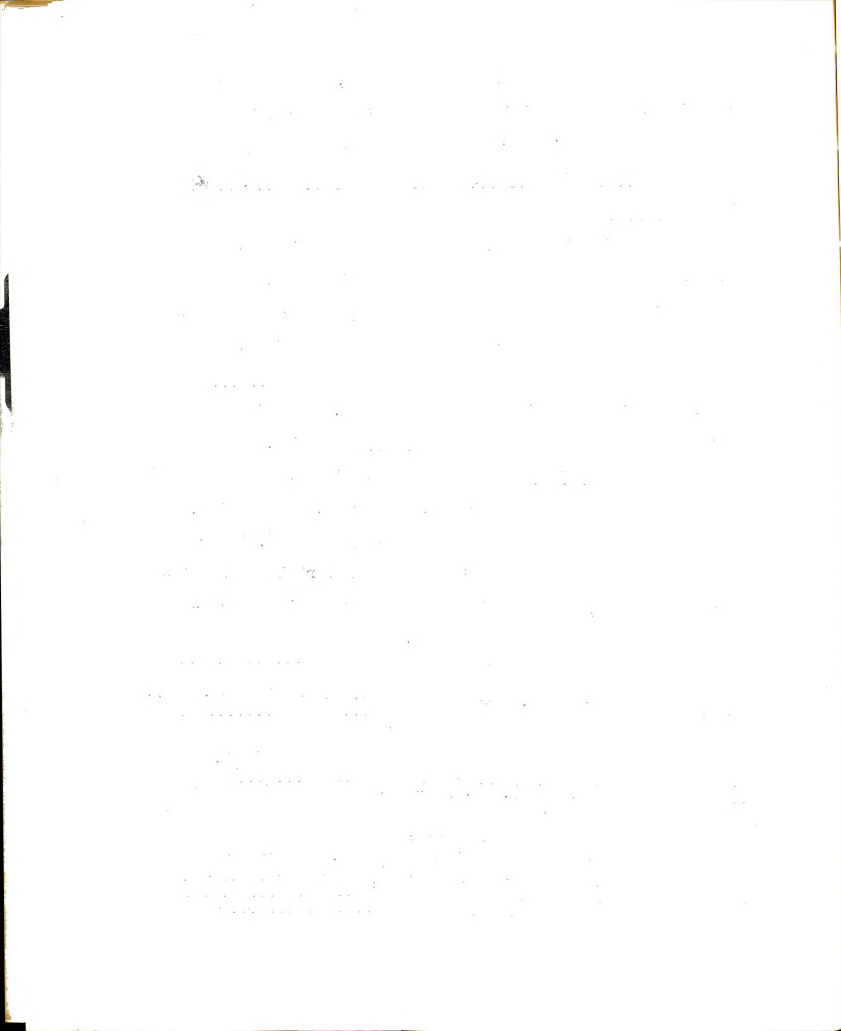


may discover the author with probability, though seldom with certainty."⁵ The validity of Johnson's argument is attested to by George Kahrl's erroneous attributions to Smollett of reviews of Catharine and Petruchio and The Tempest, an Opera, in the Critical for 1756 which are based upon the author's apparent fascination with, and frequent allusions to Shakespeare.⁶ Professor Kahrl erred by isolating an aspect of Smollett's concern which was unrelated to any central context of ideas within which he worked. For my discussion of Smollett's probable authorship of reviews in the Critical, I have carefully examined his prose works, including letters, reviews known to be his in the Critical for 1756, and his reviews in the Monthly. I have also examined selected but pertinent documents of Francklin, Armstrong, and Derrick, as well as their reviews in the Critical for 1756, in order to isolate not only Smollett's particular verbal and stylistic preferences, but more importantly his sentiments concerning the novel and its function.⁷

⁵The Later Career of Tobias Smollett (New Haven, 1942), p. 55. See Dr. Johnson's first note on The Two Gentlemen of Verona in his edition of Shakespeare, 1765.

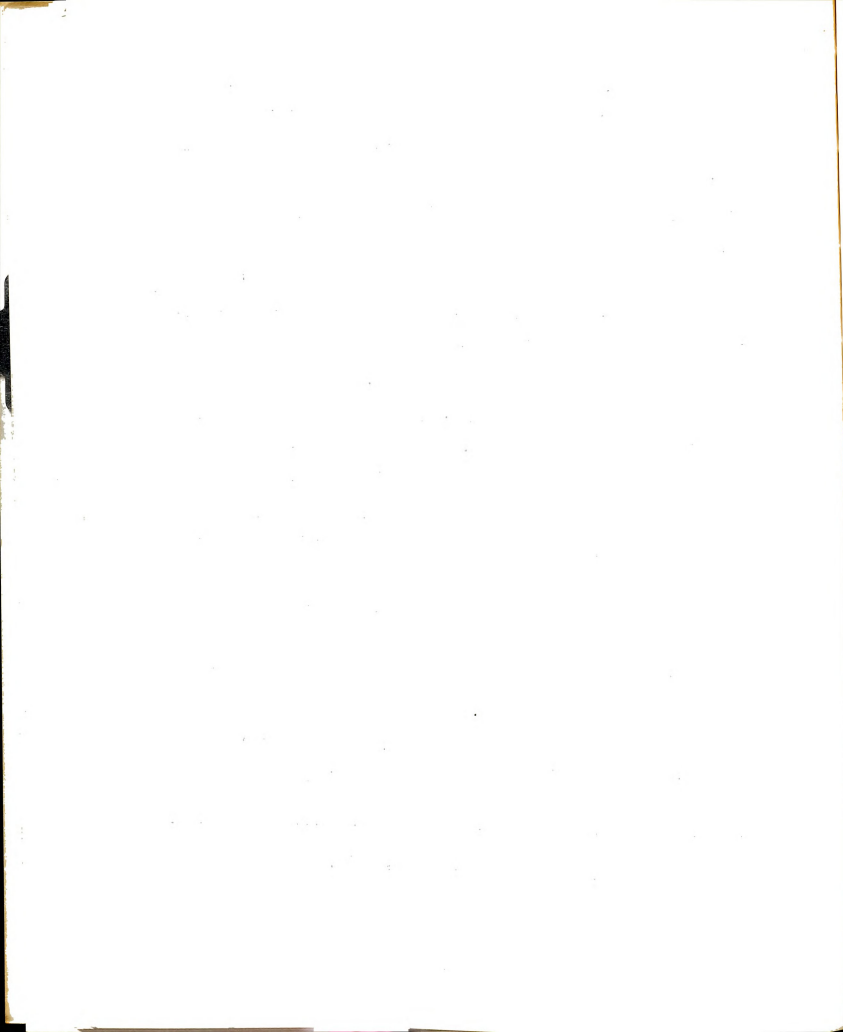
⁶See "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett," in Essays in Dramatic Literature: The Parrot Presentation Volume (Princeton, 1935), pp. 399-420. See Appendix B for Kahrl's Attributions.

⁷I have examined Francklin's plays and translations for revealing prefatory material and notes, Armstrong's Benevolence, An Epistle, Sketches, which includes Taste, An Epistle to a Young Critic, and Derrick's View of the Stage and translation of the Memoirs of the Count de Beauval.



We have already observed that Smollett realized in the novel its capability of effectively dramatizing the virtues of a benevolent and unprejudiced perception of experience and human nature, which in turn affirmed the possibility of universal happiness. This idea which is central to Smollett's work and to his career as a novelist provides a fundamental criterion for distinguishing Smollett's pen from Francklin's or Armstrong's in a given review. Francklin particularly adhered to religious orthodoxy and rejected "enthusiasm" of any kind. For example, in his review of Thoughts on the Being of a God, the Nature of Man, and the Relation of Man to his Maker, Francklin writes: Every illiterate visionary sets up for a philosopher, and a free-thinker, indulges his genius for paradox and romance, and publishes his Utopian System in hopes of forming some new Sect....The age we live in seems to be the age of ignorance and enthusiasm...."⁸ Smollett, on the other hand, instills in Matthew Bramble the following sentiment toward Humphry Clinker's Methodism: "If there was anything like affectation or hypocrisy in this excess of religion, I would not keep him in my service; but so far as I can observe, the fellow's character is downright simplicity, warmed with a kind of enthusiasm, which renders him very susceptible of

⁸ Critical Review, II (August, 1756), 51.

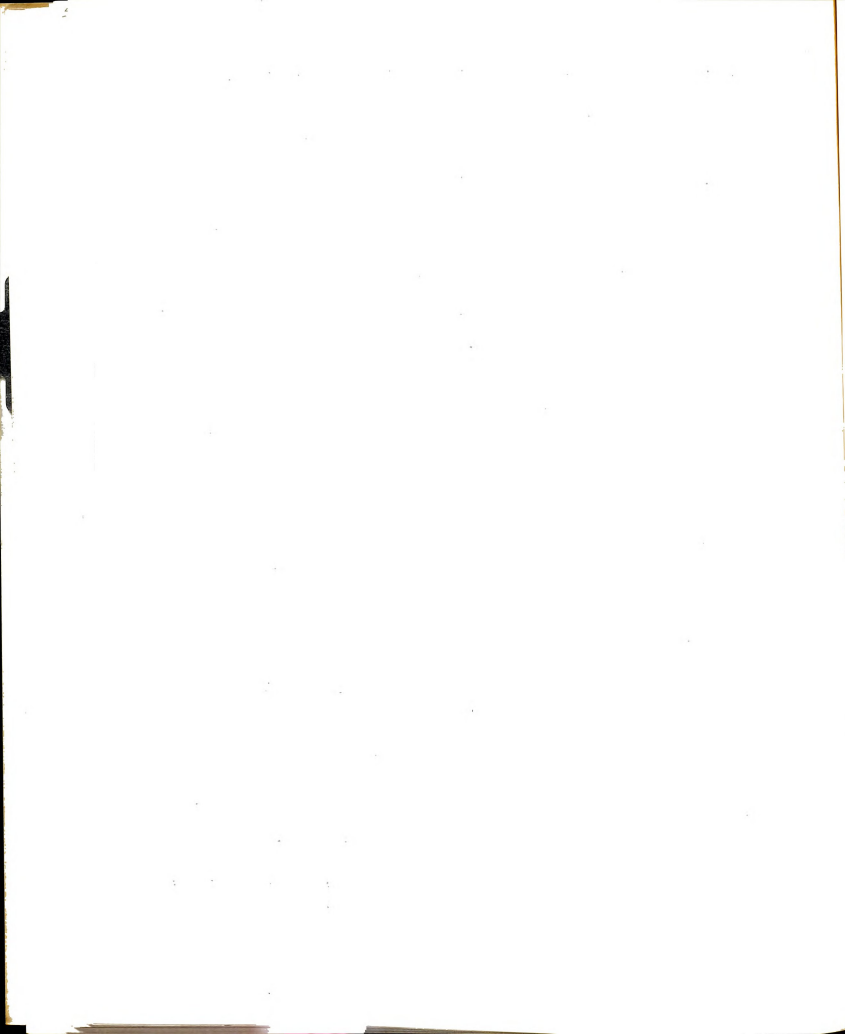


gratitude and attachment to his benefactors."⁹ Again, in Peregrine Pickle, Smollett writes: "Though our young gentleman differed widely from them in point of political principles, he was not one of those enthusiasts who look upon every schism from the established articles of faith as d_nable, and exclude the sceptic from every benefit of humanity and Christian forgiveness. He could comprehend how a man of the most unblemished morals might, by the prejudice of education, or indispensable attachments, be engaged in such a blame-worthy and pernicious undertaking."¹⁰ I might add that in this last passage, Francklin's own brand of "enthusiasm" is discredited by Smollett. Because the preceding aesthetic and ethical concerns are peculiar to the Critical Review between 1756-1763, and because they are consistent with Smollett's own conception of the novel, we would be mistaken in divorcing the two. If it is difficult at times to discern Smollett's pen in a given review, it is less a task to acknowledge his influence on its critical tenor.

The first clear statement of the Critical's attitude toward the nature and function of the novel is found in the review of Dr. Johnson's Rasselas (1759). The reviewer outlines the purposes and effectiveness of narrative writing:

⁹Modern Library edition (New York, 1929), p. 183.

¹⁰Everyman's Library edition (London, 1962), Vol. I., 180.

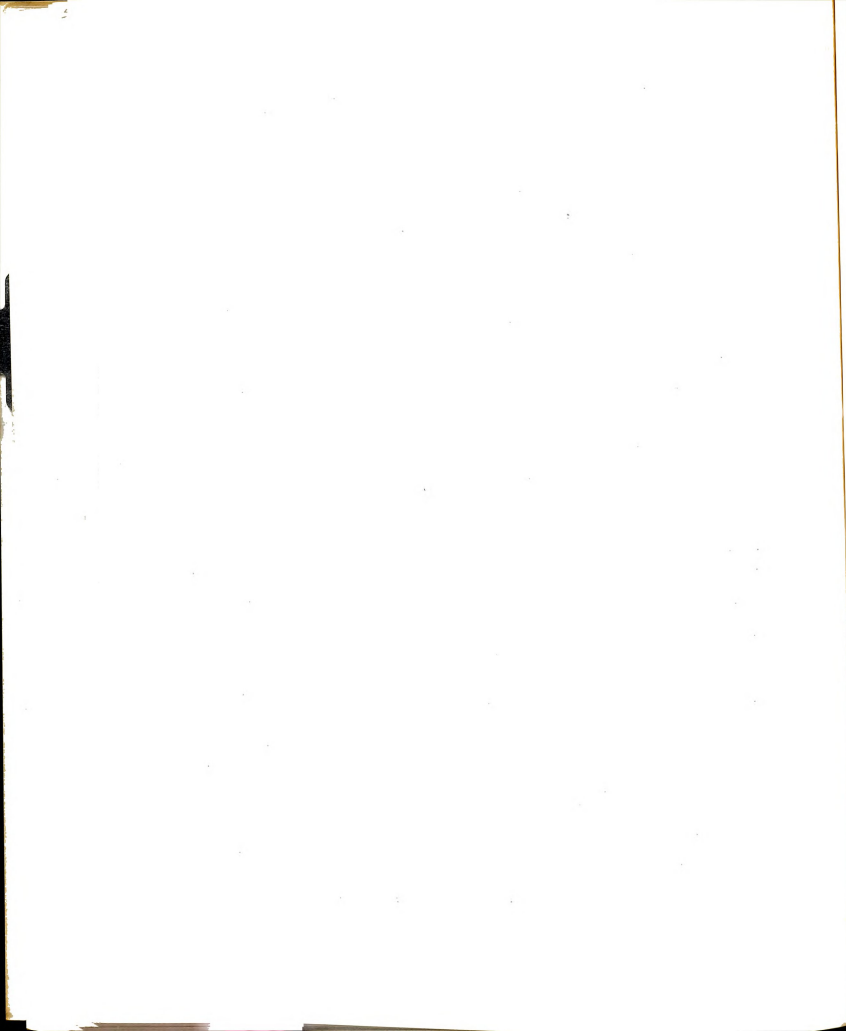


Those who employ their pens on moral subjects, free from limited systems, narrow prejudices and subtle disquisitions, cultivate a science of all others the most conducive to private content and publick utility.

Narration has been justly deemed the most essential and pleasant vehicle for this kind of instruction, where the attention is fixed by our solicitude for the event, and the precept enforced by example. To convey knowledge by insensible steps, to teach while you direct, and make wisdom steal into the heart requires execution, genius, and great address. For this reason the laws of history prohibit tedious reflections, long dissertations, and laboured disquisitions either in morals or politicks; such as only are permitted as they rise easily from the subject, and illustrate without breaking the thread of the narrative. In this particular, our learned author may possibly be thought to fail. He has in a simple, but elegant tale, couched in the method of dialogue the most important turths and profound speculations. No plot, character, or contrivance, is here used to beguile the imagination.¹¹

Rasselas is judged as "unintelligible to the readers of novels" because it fails to meet the artistic demands of the novel, which include the reader's "solicitude for the event" through imaginative response. The reviewer commends it rather as "a beautiful epitome of practical ethics." But there are two ideas in this review that are important to my discussion: the statement of the dramatic possibilities of the novel---"to convey knowledge by insensible steps"---a phrase which should remind us of Kames' "ideal presence," and which importantly emphasizes the relationship between structure and sympathetic

¹¹ Critical Review, VII (April, 1759), 372-373.

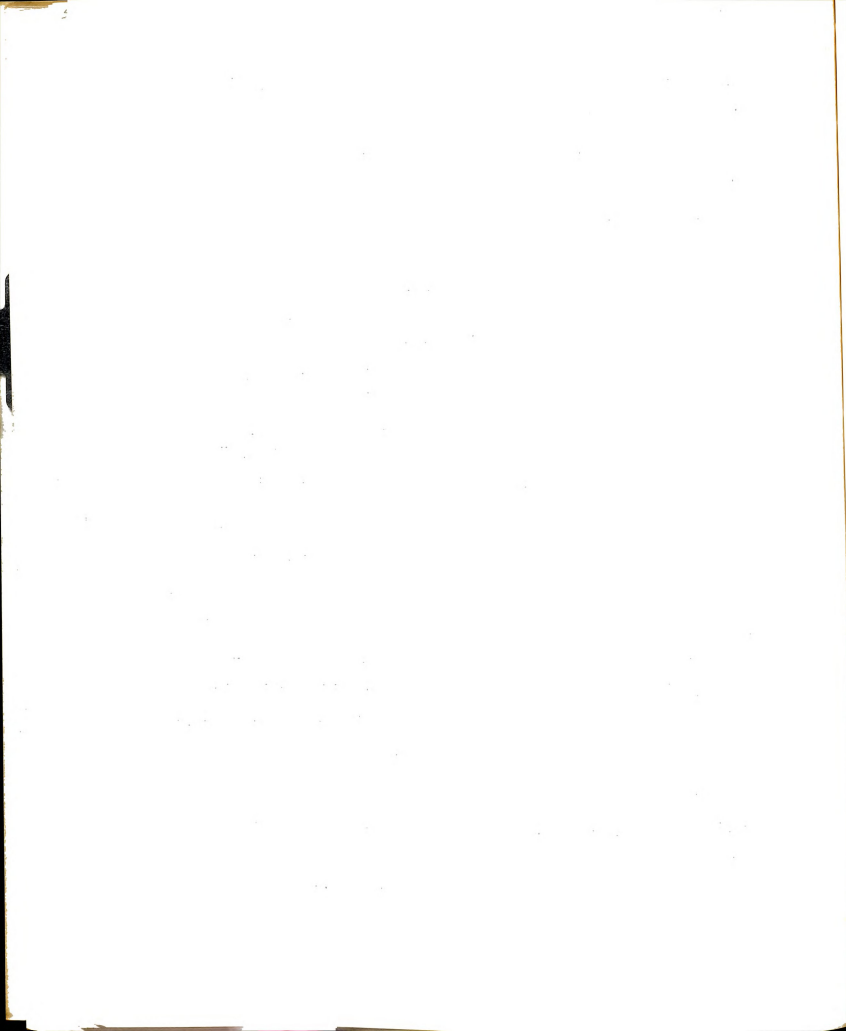


response; and, the reviewer's emphasis on an unprejudiced mind "free from limited systems" reflecting sentiments most conducive to "private content and public utility," the product of that vital union of the selfish and social passions. We can, in fact, find the same sentiment expressed in the review of Kames' Elements of Criticism:

Upon this ideal presence of objects is founded that extensive influence which language hath over the heart; an influence which, more than any other means, strengthens the bond of society, and attracts individuals from their private system to exert themselves in acts of generosity and benevolence. Without it the finest speaker or writer would in vain attempt to move our passions: our sympathy would be confined to objects that are really present, and language would lose entirely that astonishing power it possesseth of making us sympathize with beings removed at the greatest distance of time and place.¹²

The reviewer implies that a natural series of events or plot that rises "easily from the subject...without breaking the thread of the narrative" will delight the reader aesthetically in terms of its coherence, and ethically in terms of imaginatively evoking our sympathy in favor of the well-being of a common humanity. The concept of probability in fiction is viewed not in terms of characters being true to "nature," but rather in terms of our internal response to the entire texture of the work. Smollett reflected this attitude in his review of Maxims, Characters, and Reflections. He wrote that

¹²Critical Review, XIII (March, 1762), 213.



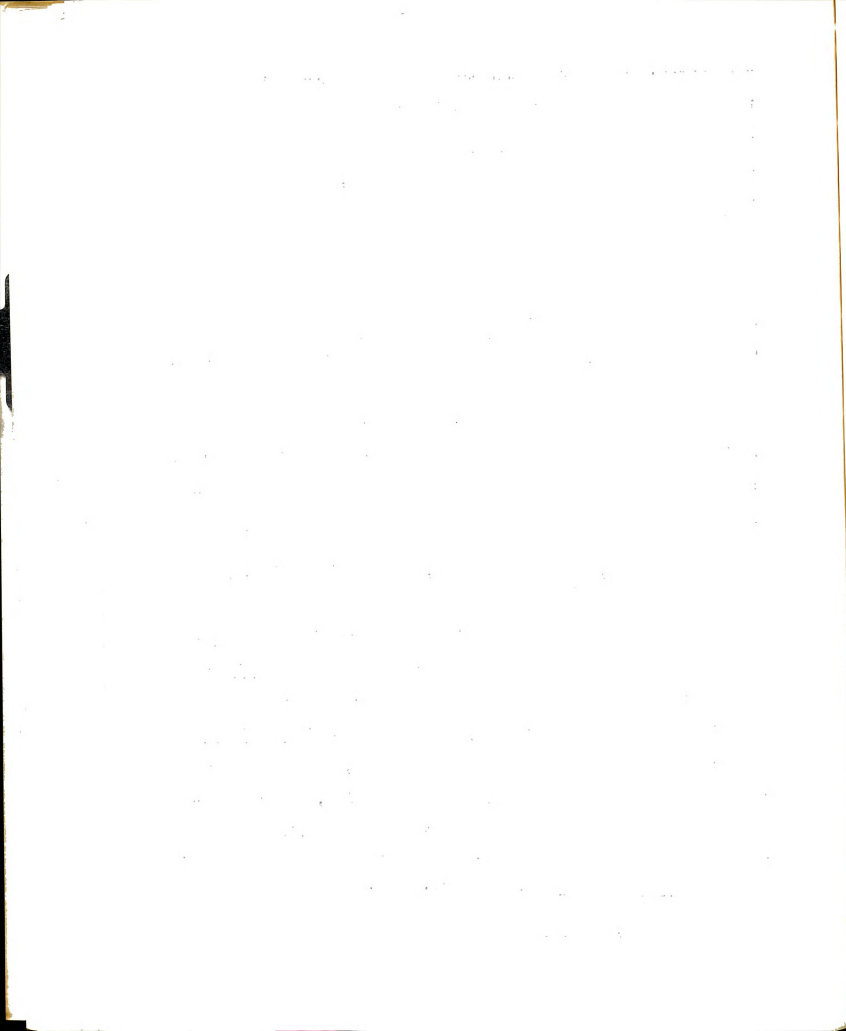
the author's want of method resulted in the reader's memory being "left in perplexity and confusion. Had the maxims been arranged in the manner of La Bruyere, they would have made much more distinct impressions on the mind, and we should have known where to recur for any single reflection; which we must now search for in an undistinguished medley."¹³

The reviewer of Rasselas argued that narrative fiction should inculcate the sentiments of virtue and honor through "insensible steps," proceeding through a variety of interesting incidents toward the catastrophe without interruption or digression. Morality could be taught through a structurally vivid representation rather than intellectual delineation; and consequently, the representation should appeal to the feelings and to the imagination rather than to our logical faculty.

Smollett, more than likely, wrote this review. Neither his deference to his friend Johnson as the "learned and sensible author of the Rambler nor his pointed criticism of Rasselas is surprising. In the February number of the Critical for 1759, Smollett answered James Grainger's attack against the reviewer (Smollett himself) who condemned his Tibullus, and did not hesitate to remark that Johnson, whom Grainger had taken as his authority for the translation, was "not infallible."¹⁴ My evidence for attributing the review of

¹³Critical Review, I (March, 1756), 221.

¹⁴Noyes, Letters, pp. 180-181.



Rasselas to Smollett is based on its opening passage, which closely corresponds both in idea and verbal preference to passages in Smollett's known work.

Those who employ their pens on moral subjects, free from limited systems, narrow prejudices and subtle disquisitions, cultivate a science of all others the most conducive to private content and public utility.

This idea, clearly consonant with the theme I have already discussed as central to Smollett's work, is restated here in terms of the function of the writer of narrative fiction, and echoes sentiments expressed in Smollett's reviews of Warton's Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope and Hume's History of Great Britain. Smollett writes of Warton's work,

It breathes the spirit of true criticism, unbiased by sordid prejudice and partiality. It abounds in judicious remarks, delivered with an air of candour and liberality.¹⁵

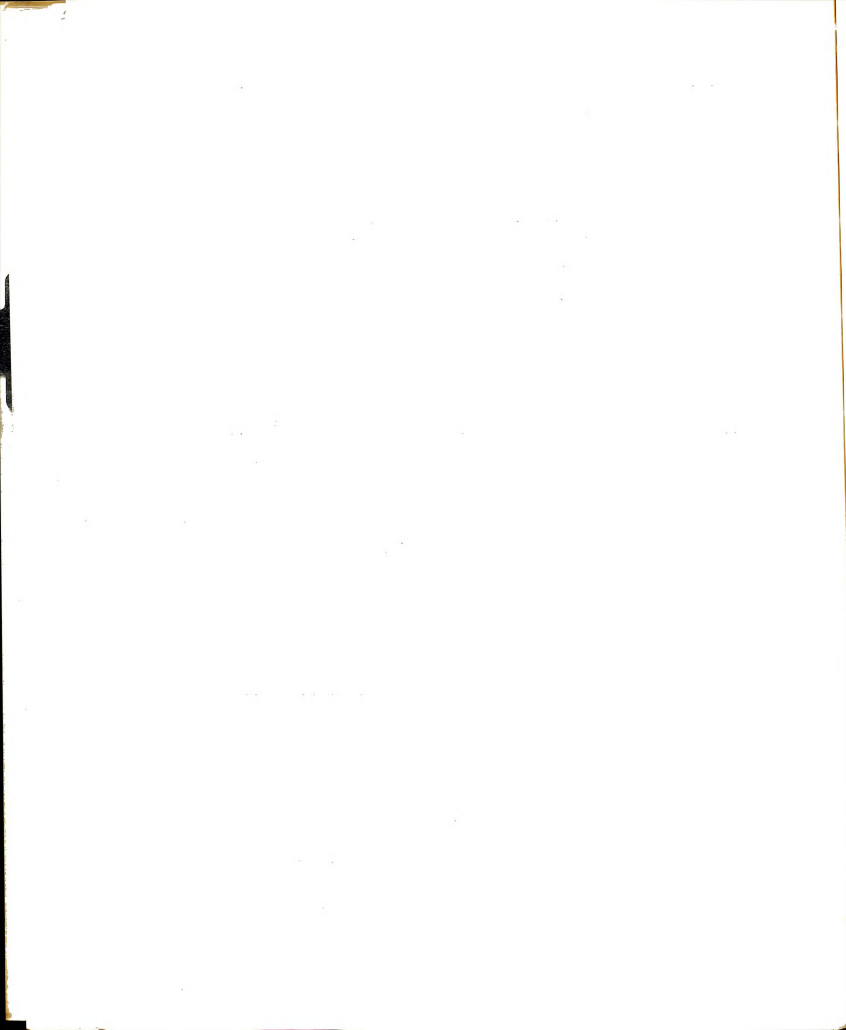
and argues that although Hume has

a warm side towards those princes of the Stuart family...we can perceive those prejudices vanishing before the power of historical credit, operating upon the natural candour and good sense of the author.¹⁶

Passages in Smollett's "Proposals" and preface to the first number of the Critical further illustrate this attitude.

¹⁵ Critical Review, II (October, 1756), 228.

¹⁶ Critical Review, II (November, 1756), 385.



They the reviewers have no Connexions to warp their Integrity; they have no Prejudices to influence their judgment;...their favorite Aim is to befriend Merit, dignifying the Liberal Arts, and contribute towards the formation of a public taste which is the best Patron of Genius and Science.¹⁷

Howsoever they the reviewers may have erred in judgment, they have declared their thoughts without prejudice, fear or affectation; and strove to forget the author's person, while his works fell under their consideration.¹⁸

I believe it is possible to attribute to Smollett on similar evidence the reviews of Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments, Gerard's Essay on Taste, and Burke's Enquiry into the Origin of the Sublime and Beautiful. The following passage from the review of Smith's work is striking, particularly if we view it in relation to the opening passage of the review of Rasselas.

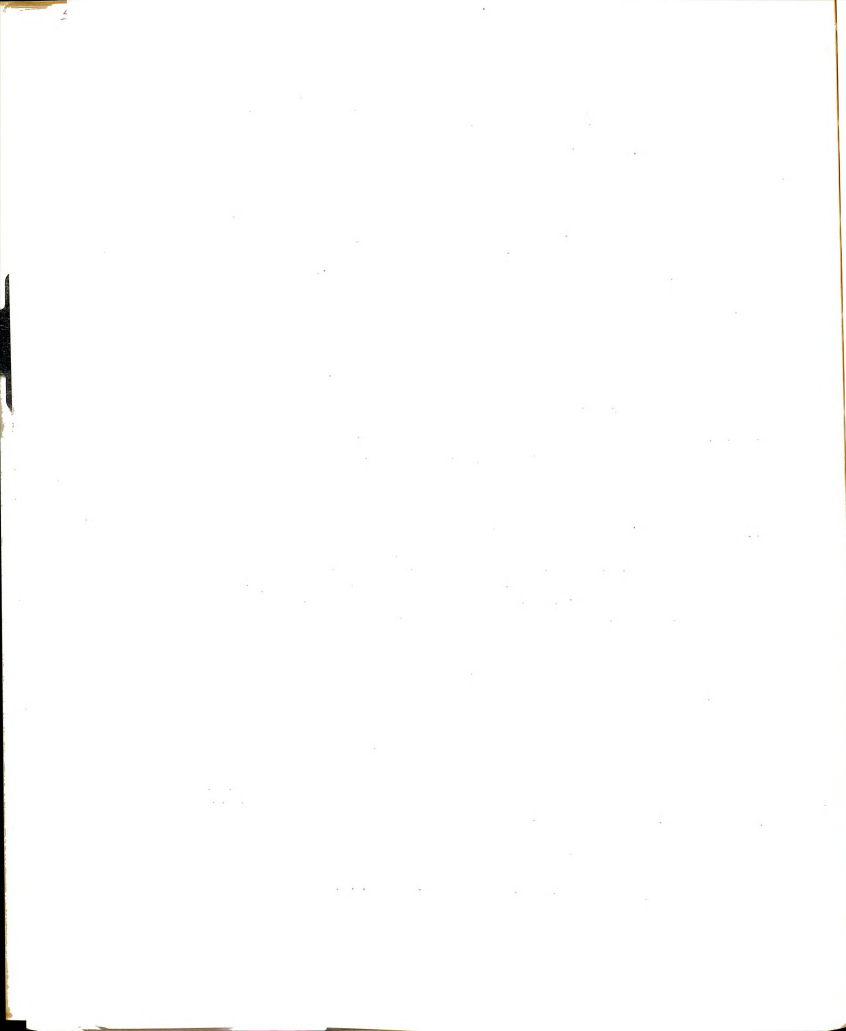
Even the few who are entitled to judge of their merit, have often their sentiments warped by innocent, because unavoidable prejudices; and having previously embraced some system of their own...receive with reluctance...any attempt to overturn those opinions.¹⁹

Again, the review of Gerard's Essay contains the following passage:

¹⁷See "Proposals for publishing monthly the Progress or Annals of Literature and the Liberal Arts" in the Public Advertiser, December 30, 1755.

¹⁸See preface to Volume I.

¹⁹Critical Review, VII (May, 1759), 382.



I can see nothing in the abstract and nature of proportion, that can at all satisfactorily account for my feelings; and I sit down fully convinced, that the fault lies in the building than in us, who judge by the prejudices and narrow rules of art, and not by intuitive feeling and sensibility.²⁰

Burke's Enquiry is judged as

...a performance superior to the common level of literary productions, as much as real ingenuity is superior to superficial petulance, and the fruit of nature study to the hasty produce of crude conjecture. The author has rejected all systems; he has descended into himself, and diligently investigated his own feelings upon which his philosophy is founded.²¹

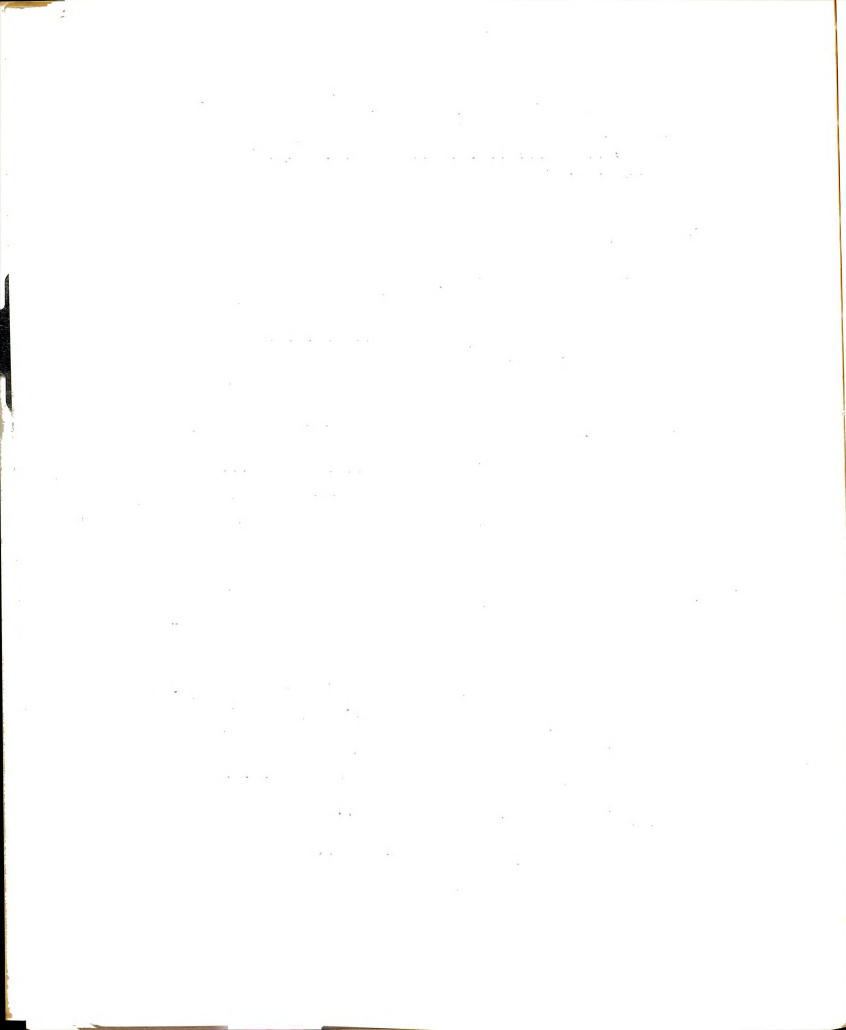
In my preceding chapter I referred to the similarities between passages in the preface to Ferdinand Count Fathom and this review. But the evidence of a "produce" or "blossoming" metaphor in the above passage also suggests Smollett's hand. In his reviews for 1756, Smollett uses such a metaphor three times, while Derrick, Francklin, Armstrong, and Murdoch did not use it at all. The two following passages are illustrative:

...they [reviewers] have cherished with condemnation, the very faintest bloom of genius, even when vapid and unformed, in hopes of its being warmed into favour, and afterwards producing agreeable fruits by dint of proper care and culture;²²

²⁰Critical Review, VII (May, 1759), 443.

²¹Critical Review, III (April, 1757), 361.

²²See preface to Volume I.



Nothing is more unjust, than the common observation that genius no longer blooms in this degenerate age; that science expired with Newton and poetry perished with Pope. Nature is as vigorous as ever, and will be always uniform in her productions; but, the fairest flower will blow unregarded among people who have no faculties of feeling, and no ideas of beauty.²³

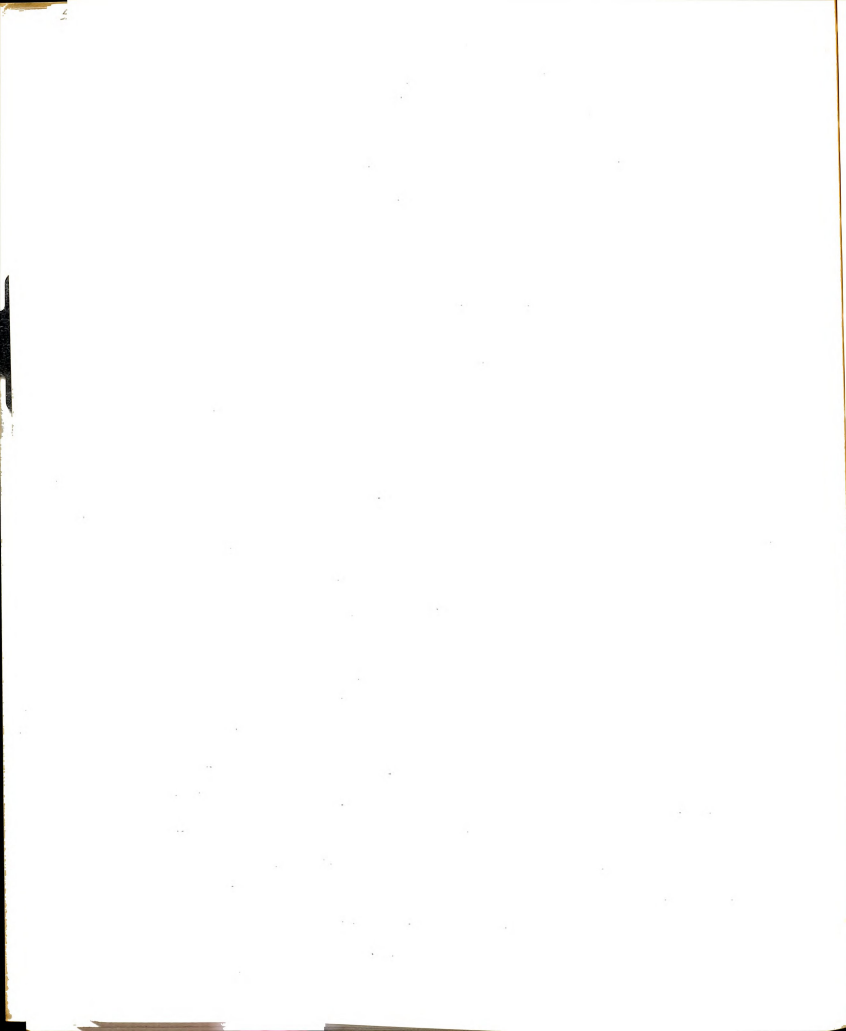
There is both a striking similarity and an important difference between the Critical's and Monthly's review of Rasselas. Owen Ruffhead's review for the Monthly began:

The method of conveying instruction under the mask of fiction or romance has been justly considered as the most effectual way of rendering the grave dictates of morality agreeable to mankind in general. The diversity of character, and variety of incidents, in a romance, keeps the attention alive; and moral sentiments find access to the mind imperceptibly, when led by amusement; whereas dry, didactic precepts, delivered under a sameness of character, soon grow tiresome to the generality of readers.²⁴

Although there is an apparent structural similarity with the second paragraph of the Critical's review, the evident theoretical difference sharply distinguishes both reviews. The Monthly attempted to fuse the aesthetic and ethical function of fiction through a sophisticated generalization of the traditional "sugar-coated pill" idea; the "moral sentiments find access to the mind imperceptibly, when led by amusement...." The Critical, on the other hand, began the review with a statement of the function of that aesthetic and ethical fusion in fiction --- "to cultivate a science...the most

²³ Critical Review, I (April, 1756), 276.

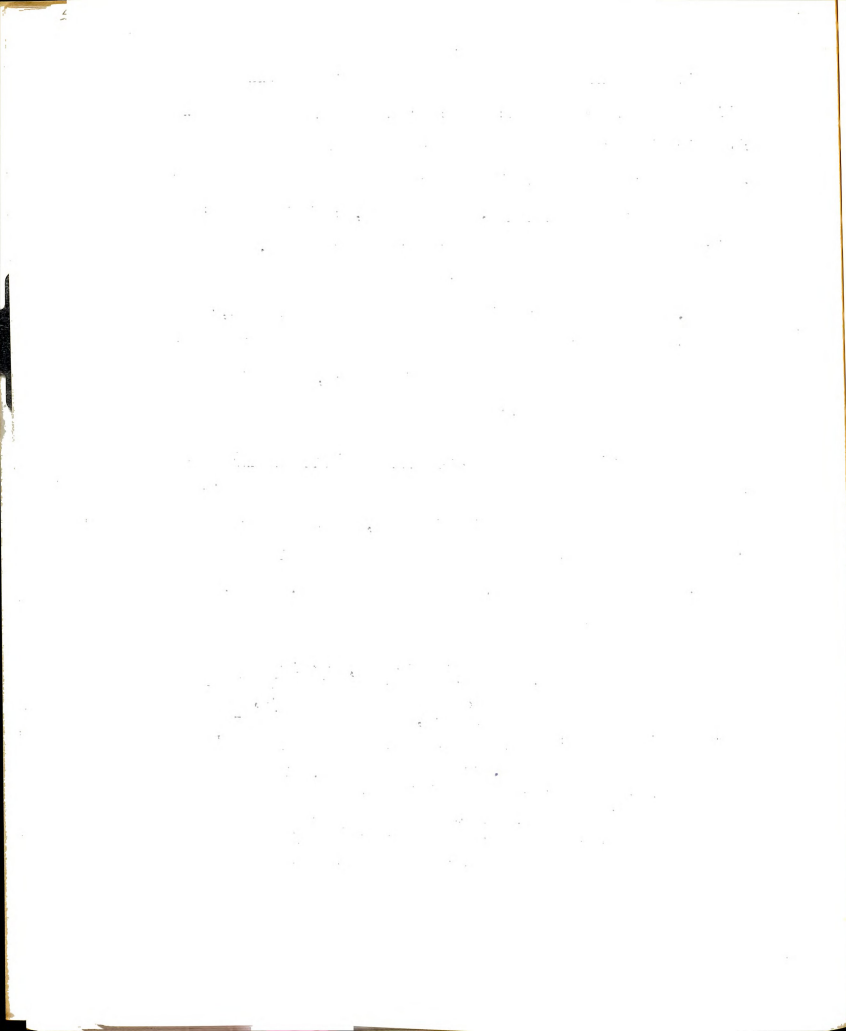
²⁴ Monthly Review, XX (May, 1759), 428.



conducive to private content and public utility" --- and delineated how the organic structure of the work might psychologically appeal to the reader's emotions as natural and credible through his imaginative rapport with the content of the narrative. The Monthly, I might add, called Johnson's topics "so often handled they are grown threadbare," and argued that his work has no "great tendency to the good of society," nor does he "excite men to laudable pursuits," but rather "tends to discourage them from all pursuits whatever; and to confirm them in that supine indolence, which is the parent of vice and folly."

The reviewer of A Description of Millenium Hall also restated the necessity of appealing to both the aesthetic and moral sense through the imagination, which at once unifies the novel structurally and provides the medium for the reader's sympathetic response. The emphasis is, again, on "total effect."

Morality conveyed in fiction, requires all the powers of imagination to render it palatable. If we sit down to a formal system of ethics, we know what we are to expect, and are not disappointed, because the passions are not gratified, if the understanding be improved; but when we enter upon a novel, the moral is only a secondary object; pleasure and amusement are principally sought, without which we regard it as the most insipid of all moral reflections. A writer of romance, to answer the purpose of this species of writing, ought eminently to possess the faculty of pleasing by an exertion of the powers of the



imagination; a fruitful invention and a profound knowledge of the human heart;....²⁵

A comparison with the Monthly's review of Almorán and Hamet might be useful to distinguish the theoretical attitudes of the reviewers. This review, written by Ruff-head, is probably the Monthly's most comprehensive statement on the novel, although the theory was seldom consistent with its reviewing practice.

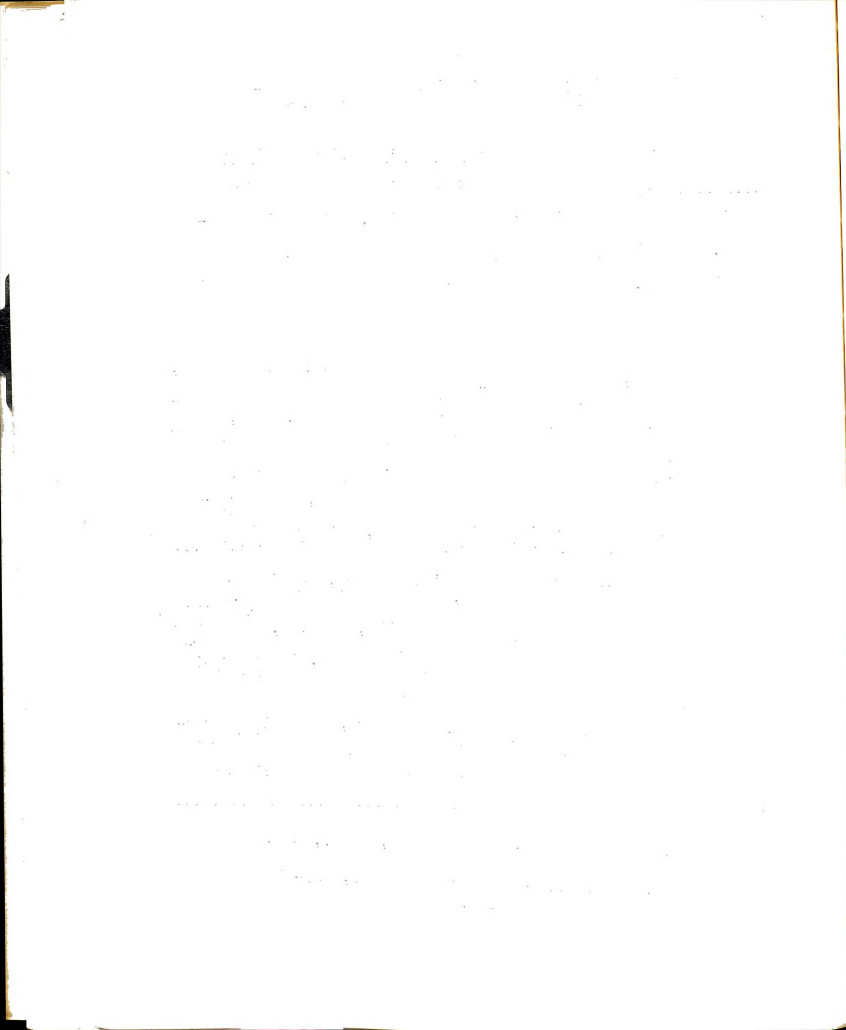
Compositions of this kind [romance], nevertheless, when conducted by a Writer of fine talents and elegant taste, may be rendered as beneficial and delectable. They have this peculiar advantage, that, by making a forcible impression on the imagination, they answer the purposes of conviction and persuasion, with the generality of mankind, much better than a direct appeal to the judgment. Very few are disposed to relish the dry precepts of morality, or to connect a lengthened chain of reasoning; the majority must be entertained with novelty, humoured with fiction, and, as it were, cheated into instruction....

But, though Romance is, in fact, nothing more than a poetical fiction, in the habit of prose, yet it ought never to exceed the bounds of probability. The Writer may adorn the Probable, however, with every incident to make it agreeable, and to charm and surprise the Reader. We must copy Nature, it is true; but Nature in the most perfect and elegant form in which conception can paint her.

It is not requisite, therefore, that his characters should bear resemblance to any known original. It is sufficient that they are aggregates of those qualities which lie scattered among the species.²⁶

²⁵Critical Review, XIV (December, 1762), 463.

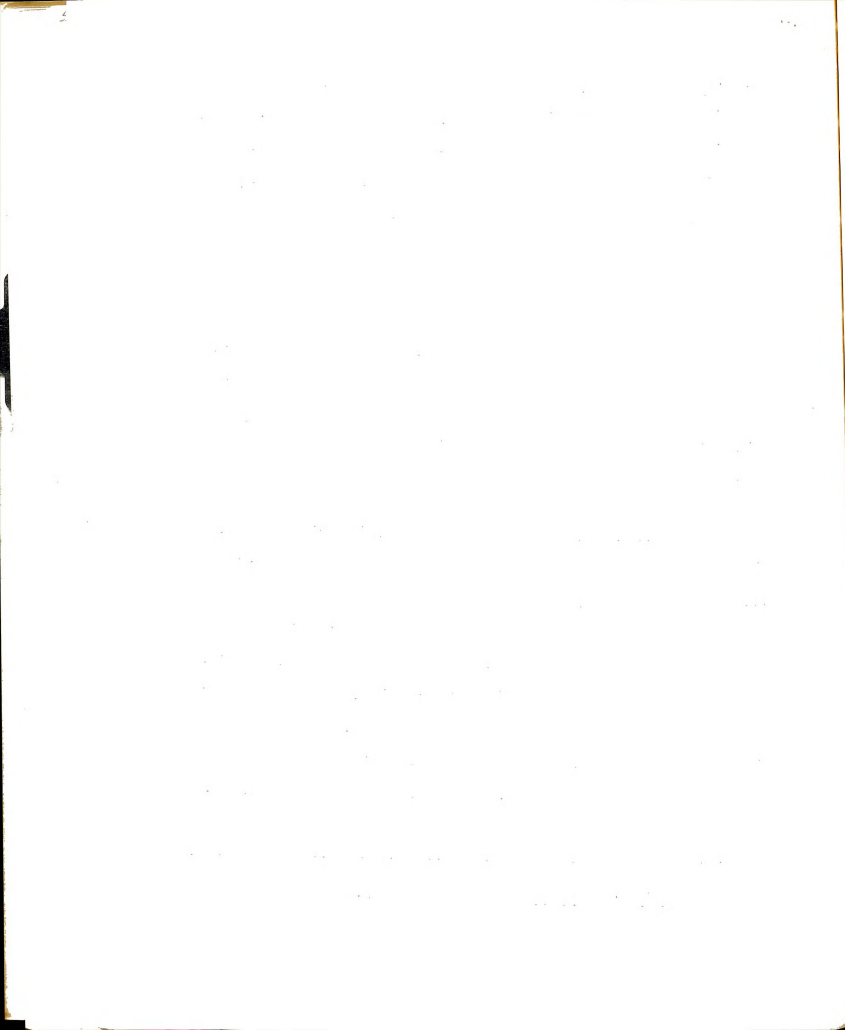
²⁶Monthly Review, XXIV (June, 1761), 415-416.



Although the Monthly argued here that the fiction must forcibly impress the imagination, it separated the idea of the imagination as a vehicle of conception and organization from its function of making the whole work psychologically credible by recalling the theory of probability voiced earlier in the century which postulated that the writer not merely copy nature, "but nature in the most perfect and elegant form." This dissociation necessarily implies a larger dissociation between structure and the sympathetic response to be evoked in the reader for a real person with whom he could identify in a particular way. In short, this dissociation defeated any attempt to achieve psychological veracity.

The Critical reviewers, however, invariably associated structure with sympathetic rapport. In his review of The Supposed Daughter, Derrick wrote: "Our author seems to have been a stranger both to order and the art of touching the passions; his books is crowded with adventures of different people, brought in without occasion, and dismissed in the same manner. In perusing some of these, persons who read only for amusement, may be gratified; but let nobody pretend to look for a moral, it was what our author was unacquainted with; tho' he endeavours at something like it."²⁷

²⁷ Critical Review, I (April, 1756), 260.



Though Derrick condemns, he does so within a critical context. The Monthly reviewer merely dismissed the novel for its "Poverty of writing, insipidity of narrative, and inutility of design...which, thanks to the approach of summer, is the last work of this sort, we are like to be troubled with, for some months at least."²⁸

The reviewer of Elizabeth and Richard Griffith's A Series of Genuine Letters Between Henry and Frances also emphasizes the relation between structure and response. He comments that although the two-hundred and ninety-two letters are interspersed with moral and judicious reflections, they are printed without regard to order or time, and thus do not structurally guide the reader's attention and emotional response. "...it would have been more useful had those reflections been methodized; and more entertaining, had the strokes of private history been such as could have interested the passions of the reader."²⁹ The Monthly while emphasizing the general effect of the novel, fails to consider its dramatic relation to form. "...they afford many things fit to instruct and entertain a sentimental Reader; who will be equally affected and pleased with the frequent warm and natur-

²⁸Monthly Review, XIV (May, 1756), 453.

²⁹Critical Review, III (May, 1757), 432.

al expressions of conjugal tenderness, that are interfused throughout the whole."³⁰

The Critical reviewer of The History of Wilhelmina Susannah Dormer more specifically emphasizes the necessity of vivid and credible characterization to evoke sympathetic response.

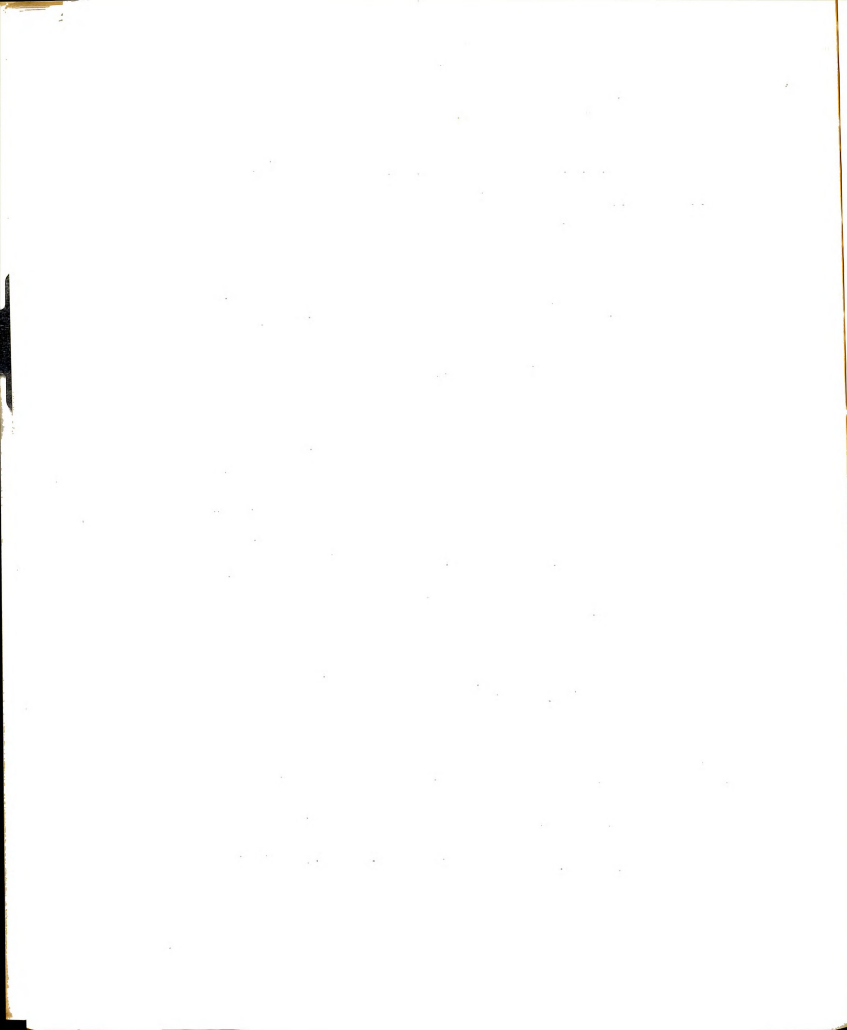
However, while the plot, thus morally conducted, aims at pleasing the judgment, perhaps it fails of captivating our affections; while it instructs, it ceases to interest. We esteem the characters, without being solicitous about their success; and we find them happy in the conclusion without sympathizing in the event.

All this might have been avoided, had the author made his hero somewhat younger, or given his hero a little more beauty; for an intrigue entirely sentimental, must be intolerably frigid to the young and gay, who are always for having flesh and blood come in for a share of the ceremony. Novels are chiefly read by those whose affections are stronger than their judgment; to address such, therefore, with propriety, the writer's chief aim should be to make them solicitous in the catastrophe, even though faultless monsters, as the poet expresses it, ladies all beauty, and men all excellence become the objects of their admiration. Strict morality may seem to veil her rigid appearance: the reader is to be allured, as if in search of pleasure, and it is the writer's fault, if he knows not at least how to surprize him into reformation.³¹

Again, where the Critical placed the novel within a given

³⁰ Monthly Review, XVII (November, 1757), 417.

³¹ Critical Review, VII (January, 1759), 67-68.

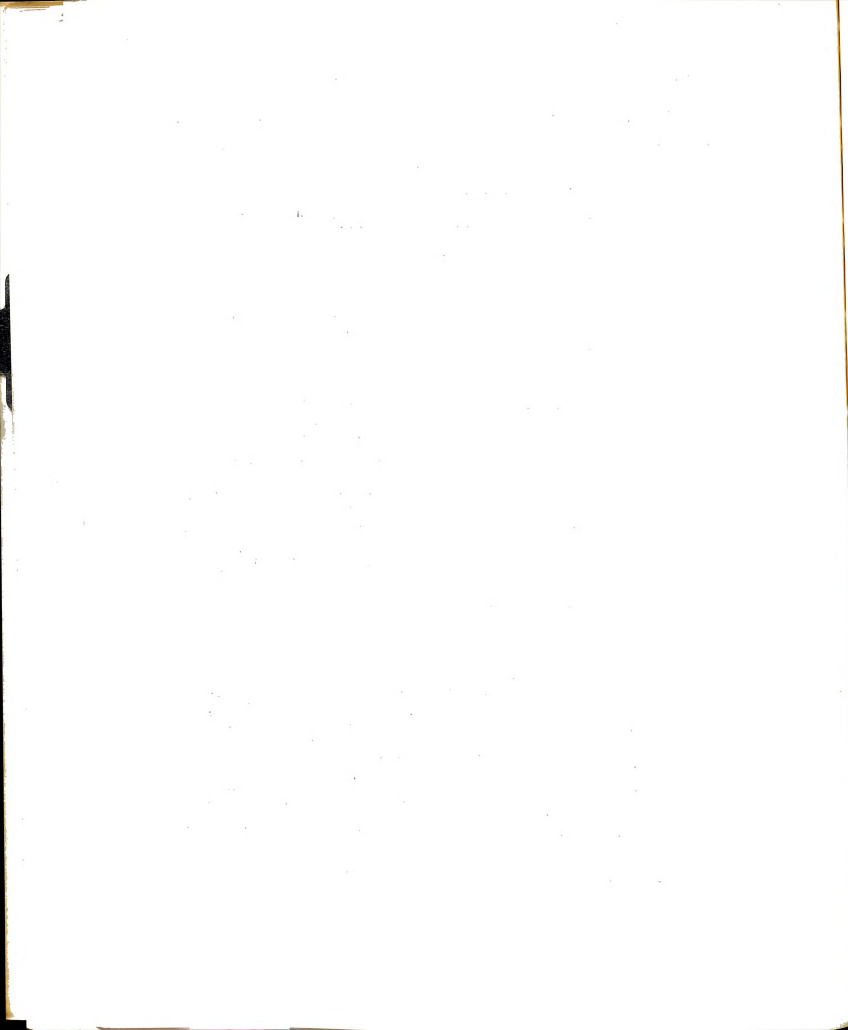


theoretical framework as organic, psychologically conceived and perceived, and structurally aimed at the reader's identification with common experience through a natural association of images and ideas, the Monthly made no attempt at a critical statement. It dismissed Susannah Dormer as "an unintelligible and romantic pamphlet," and added that "...whether the whole tale is the work of his own absurd invention, we are not enabled to say; nor does it seem worth any one's while to enquire."³²

The Critical Review was not only aware of the demands of the novel as a separate literary genre, but of the demands of the modes within the genre. The reviewers distinguished the novel from the drama by citing the difficulty of achieving a structural unity and intensity within the broad framework of the novel. The reviewer of Frances Sheridan's The Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph commended her use of the epistolary form and wrote that

...we must profess ourselves admirers of this kind of dramatic writing; where every character speaks in his own person, utters his feelings, and delivers his sentiments warm from the heart. It admits of an infinity of natural moral reflections, which a true biographer cannot without pedantry and seeking the occasions, introduce. To sustain with propriety all the different personages, to think, to act in their peculiar characters

³² Monthly Review, XX (January, 1759), 80.



thro' a whole life, checquered with prosperity and adversity, requires a truly dramatic genius. If the writer is not confined to the unities of time and place, he labours under other inconveniencies, from which the strict dramatist is exempted. He supports a character through life, the other only through one particular action; he observes probability in the transactions of possibly half a century, the other only of a day; he must rouse the passions, and engage the attention through a variety of unconnected incidents, the dramatist directs his whole strength only to one object; in a word; the memoir writer must be minute, without being tedious; he must study variety, and yet be perfectly simple and natural; he must extend without enervating his characters, rise gradually to his catastrophe, unfold his design slowly, and after running a long course, appear vigorous, fresh, and unexhausted.³³

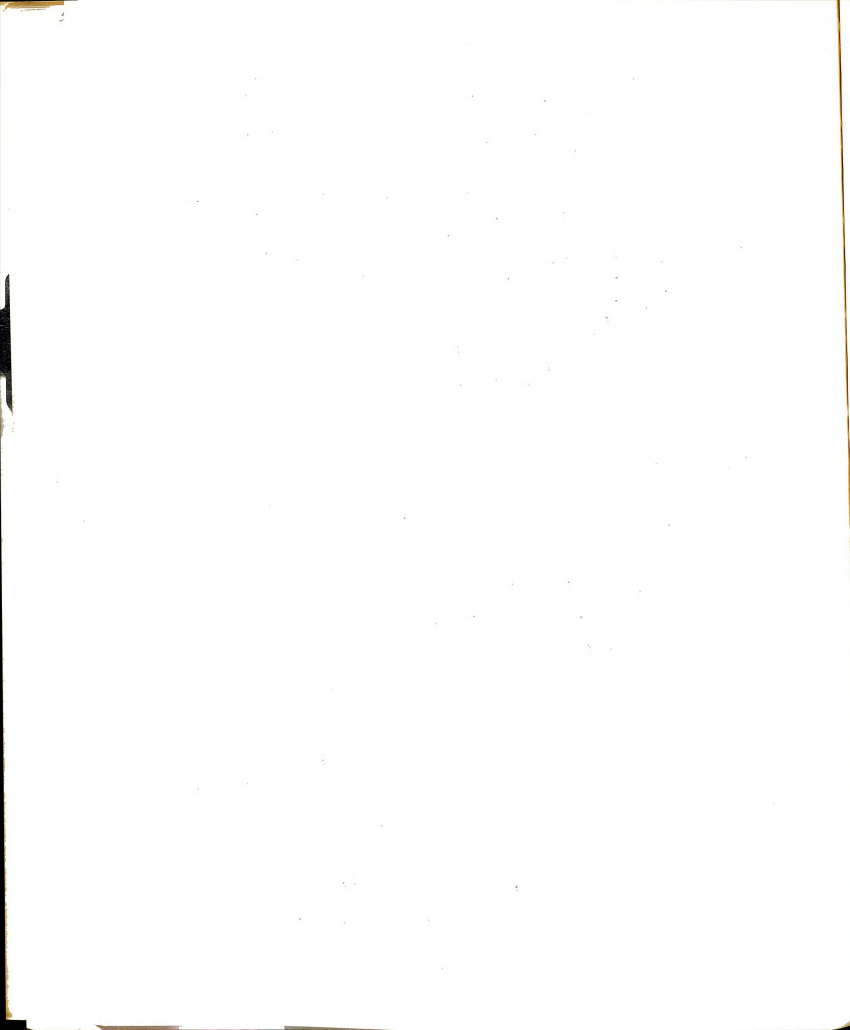
After a ten and a half page sketch of the narrative, the reviewer concluded that

...the whole flows easy, chaste, natural, simple, and beyond measure affecting and pathetic. In a word, as we entertain the highest opinion of the genius, delicacy, and good sense of Mrs. S _____, we cannot but wish she may continue to exert those talents, so honourable to herself, so useful, so entertaining to society, and particularly so beneficial to the republic of letters.³⁴

The reviewer recognized the possibility of the epistolary technique to sustain emotion naturally through the immediacy of sentiment. The Monthly, on the other hand, which rarely extended its commentary on particular novels into a discussion of the genre and its possibilities, condemned the

³³Critical Review, XI (March, 1761), 186.

³⁴Critical Review, XI (March, 1761), 197-198.



"sentimentality" of Mrs. Sheridan's novel by denying its aesthetic and moral efficacy. "...in the Romance now before us, the author seems to have had no other design than to draw tears from the reader by distressing innocence and virtue as much as possible. Now, tho' we are not ignorant that this may be a true picture of human life, in some instances, we are of the opinion, that such representations are by no means calculated to encourage and promote virtue."³⁵

It is probable that Smollett wrote the review of Mrs. Sheridan's novel, since it is one of the few reviews in which the epistolary form is commended. This particular review commends it on the same criteria that Smollett used in his History of England. In the History, Smollett wrote that the epistolary made was

...a species of writing equally new and extraordinary, where, mingled with much superfluity, we find a sublime system of ethics, and amazing knowledge and command of human nature.³⁶

The reviewer wrote that the epistolary form was a "species of writing" which appears "prolix and redundant," but which "admits of an infinity of natural moral reflections...."

³⁵ Monthly Review, XXIV (April, 1761), 260.

³⁶ The History of England, from the Revolution to the death of George II (London, 1790), p. 381.

206

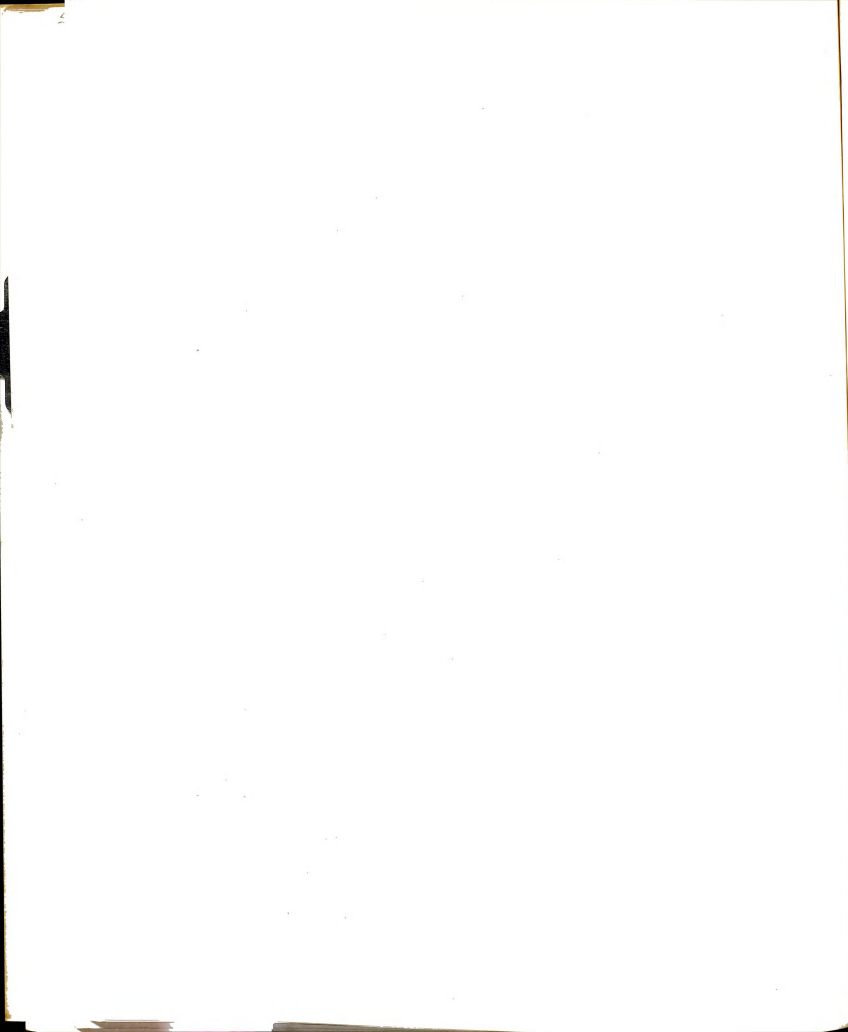
The epistolary form was, in fact, generally frowned on by the Critical. In 1763, the reviewer of The Histories of Lady Frances S_____ and Lady Caroline S_____ wrote: "The story is told after the manner of Clarissa, in a series of letters, a method, in our opinion, liable to many objections; particularly that of involving the history in great obscurity."³⁷ And four years later, the reviewer of The History of Miss Emilia Breville remarked: "This novel is of the epistolary kind; in a manner of writing which proves of infinite service to scanty materials, and a confined invention."³⁸

Other evidence which supports the probability of Smollett's authorship of the review of Sidney Bidulph can be found in the juxtaposition of "delicacy of sentiment" with "propriety of conduct," and "delicacy" with "good sense." Smollett frequently juxtaposed delicacy with some principle of moral or aesthetic discipline, given the particular context. In Sir Launcelot Greaves, he wrote that "decorum is founded upon delicacy of sentiment and deportment," and Jerry Melford comments that Lismahago thought the worship of Cloacina "...a filthy species of idolatry that outraged every idea of delicacy and decorum."³⁹ In reviews for the Critical

³⁷Critical Review, XVI (August, 1763), 108.

³⁸Critical Review, XXIV (October, 1767), 296.

³⁹Shakespeare Head edition (Oxford, 1926), p. 231.



in 1756, Smollett united delicacy with precision, tenderness, and taste, while Francklin juxtaposed delicacy with beauty, and Derrick, with wit and humor.⁴⁰

The review of The Perigrinations of Jeremiah Grant distinguished the novel from the drama in terms of its structural possibilities in much the same way as the review of Sidney Bidulph did. In this review, moreover, Smollett's hand is clearly evident. It is particularly striking in its verbal parallels to Smollett's preface to Ferdinand Count Fathom. In his preface, Smollett writes that

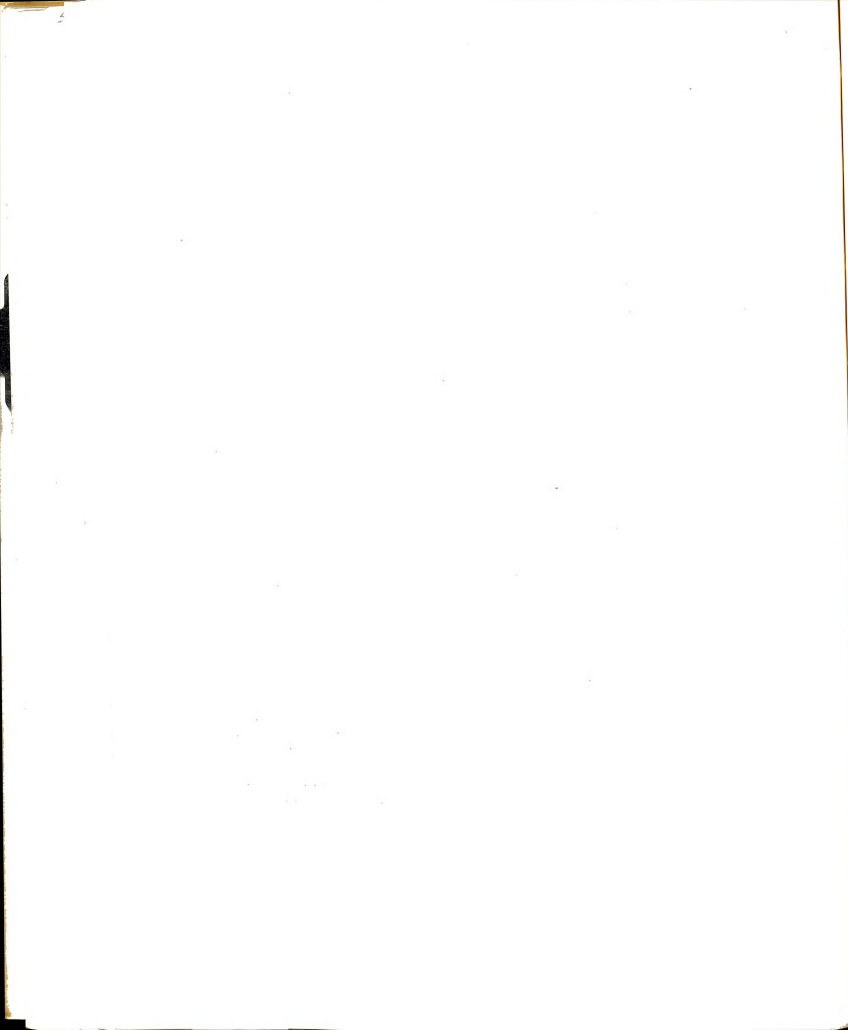
A novel is a large diffused picture, comprehending the characters of life, disposed in different groups, and exhibited in various attitudes, for the purposes of a uniform plan, and general occurrence, to which every individual figure is subservient. But this plan cannot be executed with propriety or success, without a principal personage to attract the attention, unite the incidents unwind the clue of the labyrinth, and at close the scene by virtue of his own importance.⁴¹

The reviewer argues that

This kind of romance is a diffused comedy unrestrained by the rules of the drama, comprehending a great variety of incident and character, referring however, to one principle action and one particular personage, whose importance must not only engage our attention and esteem, but also unite the whole concatenation of scenes and adventures. He must

⁴⁰See Volume I, 387, 479; 123, 126; 431.

⁴¹Shakespeare Head edition, p. 4.

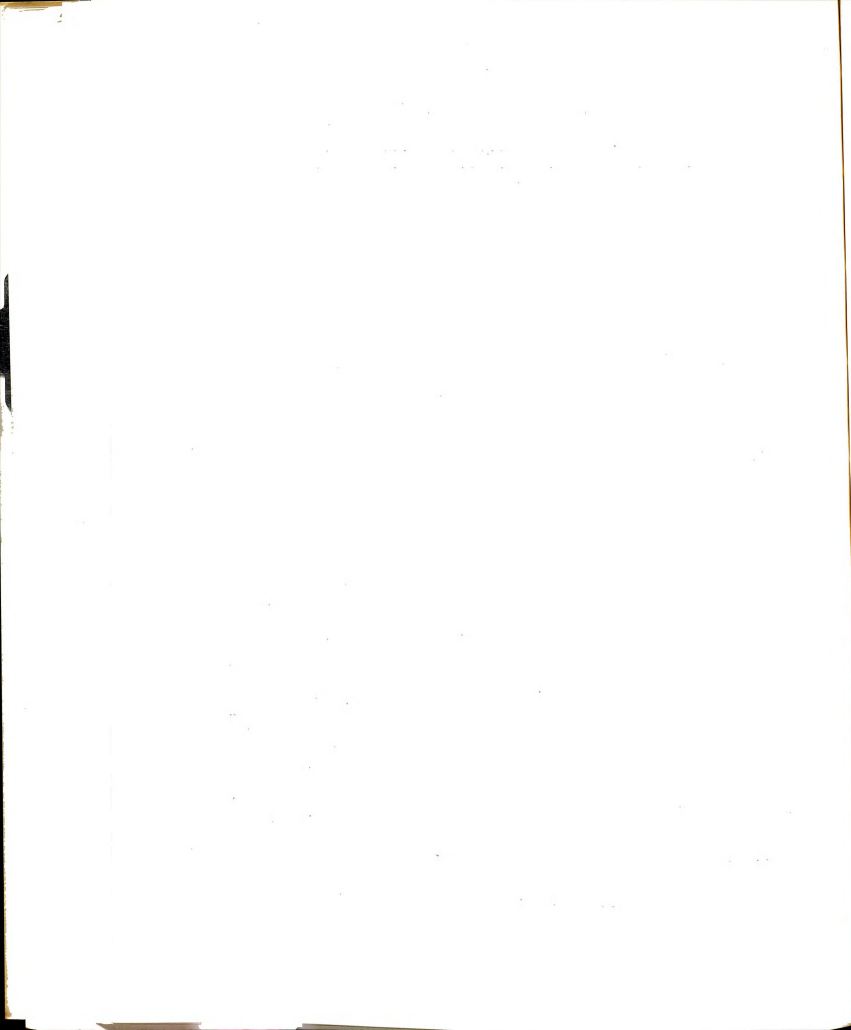


still maintain his dignity, like the chief figure in the foreground in a picture; and the author, as the painter, must take care to preserve a "keeping" in his performance; that is, all the other characters shall be in some measure subservient to the principal, and kept from advancing forwards so far as to rival the chief of the drama, in the attention of the reader.⁴²

The similar use of the painting analogy and the similar logic of the argument suggests a single author. Surely the consonance of idea that the novel is a dramatic vehicle through its emphasis on the importance of the hero as the principle medium through which the structural intensity and sympathetic response was sustained suggests Smollett as that author. It is also possible to attribute this review to him on the basis of the final paragraph. In his editorial capacity Smollett would surely have answered the author's malicious attack on the reviewers. He writes:

So much for Mr. Grant's genius; we shall now beg leave to say a word for his honesty. In the course of his adventures, he assumes the character of a Reviewer; and declares, that the individuals concerned in the Review are a parcel of venal grubs, under the direction and influence of a bookseller, or booksellers, who employ them to vilify or extol new performances, according as the malice of self-interest of the said booksellers is affected; and that the Reviewers prostitute their praise for hire. As our author has made no distinction between the Reviews, this charge of corruption operates equally against both, and indeed strikes a blow at their vitals, because such a work can no longer exist, when the public loses their opinion of its impartiality.

⁴² Critical Review, XV (January, 1763), 13.

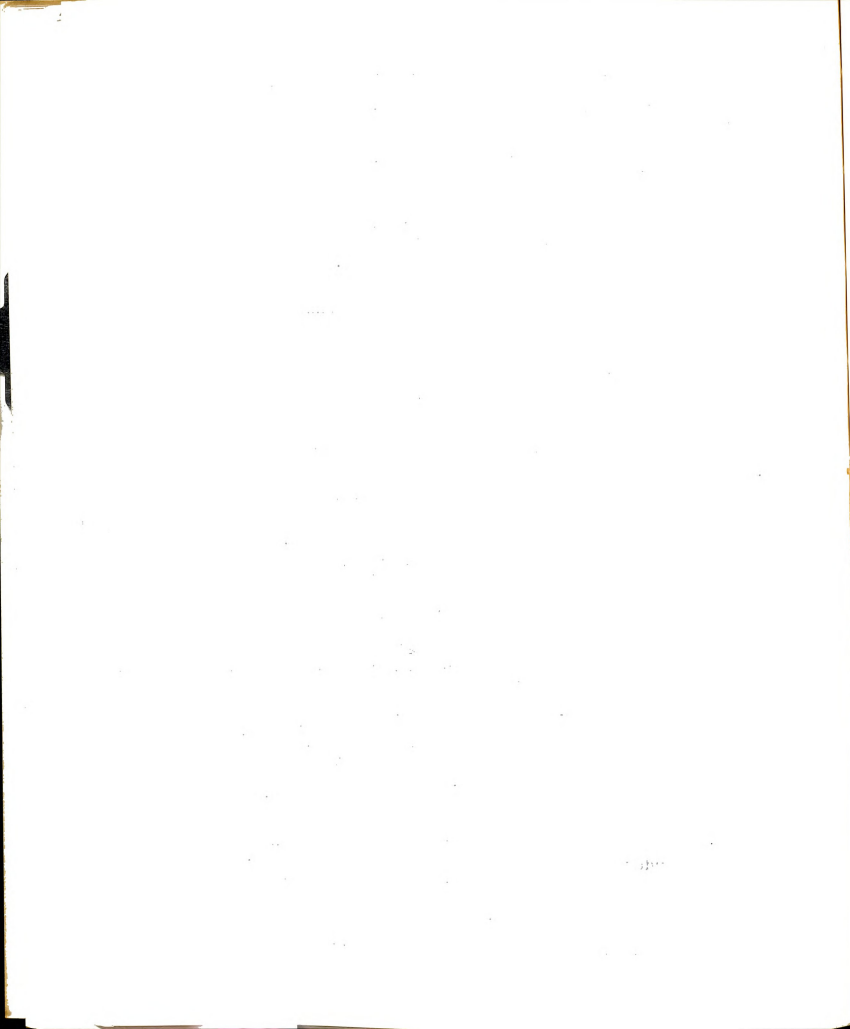


The charge is therefore actionable; and we may find it convenient to direct our attorney to talk with Mr. Grant's publisher on this subject. In the meantime, we not only declare the said charge to be a false and malicious aspersion; but we hereby offer a reward of fifty guineas, to be paid by the printer of this work, to any person who shall prove that the 'Critical Review' was ever under the direction or influence of any bookseller whatsoever; or that any person concerned in this Review, from its first institution, ever received any present or bribe, or other unfair consideration, for any article that it ever contained;----we say "unfair" consideration, because some of the Reviewers have been honestly paid by the proprietors for their labour; and a few books, at their first publication, have been sent as presents, to one or other of the supposed writers of the work.

The review continues in a vein that recalls the reviews of Rasselas and A Description of Millenium Hall.

If the writer has any talent for wit, humour, satire, and description, here he may display it to the best advantage, without being obliged to polish high, or to sow his pearls so thick, as we expect to find them in the epic, the drama, or any species of poetry. A romance writer may slacken the reins of his genius occasionally, without fear of offence, and sport with his subject in a careless manner, which will relax the attention of the reader, and agreeably prepare it for the more interesting parts of the execution....It is the happy faculty of genius to strike off glowing images, to seize the ridicule of character, to contrive incidents that shall engage the passions and affections of the reader, to support the spirit of the dialogue, and animate the whole narration. It is the province of taste to regulate the morals of the piece, to conduct the thread of the story, to make choice of airs and attitudes, to avoid impropriety, to reject everything that is extravagant, unnatural, mean, and disagreeable.⁴³

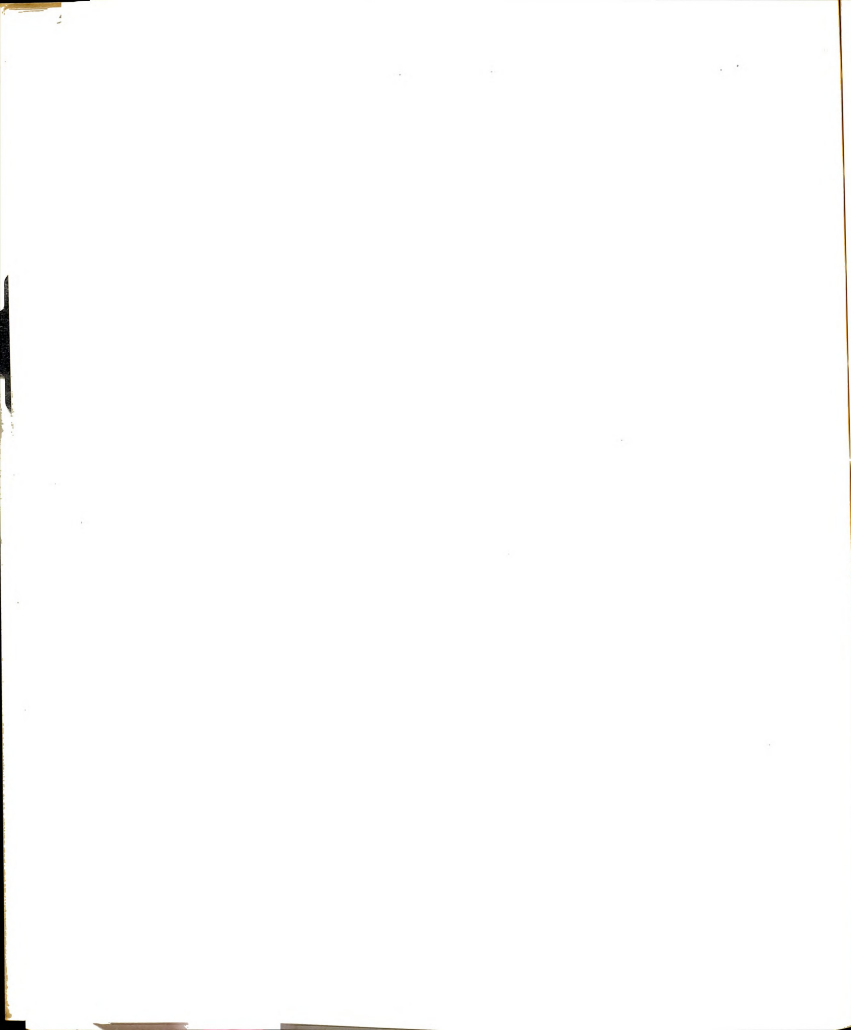
⁴³Critical Review, XV (January, 1763), 13.



The reviewer argues that it is the necessary creative faculty of the author's genius which creates and organizes the incidents that engage the reader's emotional response. We might remember Gerard's definition of genius as the "Grand Architect" whose inventive power springs from the imagination as an example of the critical tradition in which the reviewer is approaching his subject. Again where Beattie wrote that "The greatest liveliness of the imagination will ...avail but little, if it is not 'corrected' and regulated by the knowledge of nature....",⁴⁴ the reviewer argued that it is the author's taste which regulates the morals of the performance, "to conduct the thread of the story, to make choice airs and attitudes, to avoid impropriety, to reject everything that is extravagant, unnatural, mean, and disagreeable." Genius and taste were, then inextricably fused in the regulation and conduct of the novel.

The review of Mrs. Sheridan's novel anticipates the review of Jeremiah Grant by arguing that the imaginative faculty of genius must coexist with some principle of aesthetic and/or moral discipline. In the former, we might recall that the reviewer juxtaposed "genius" with "delicacy and good sense." The reviewer of Armstrong's Sketches argued along similar lines in affirming that genius was a creative power

⁴⁴ See above, p. 43.

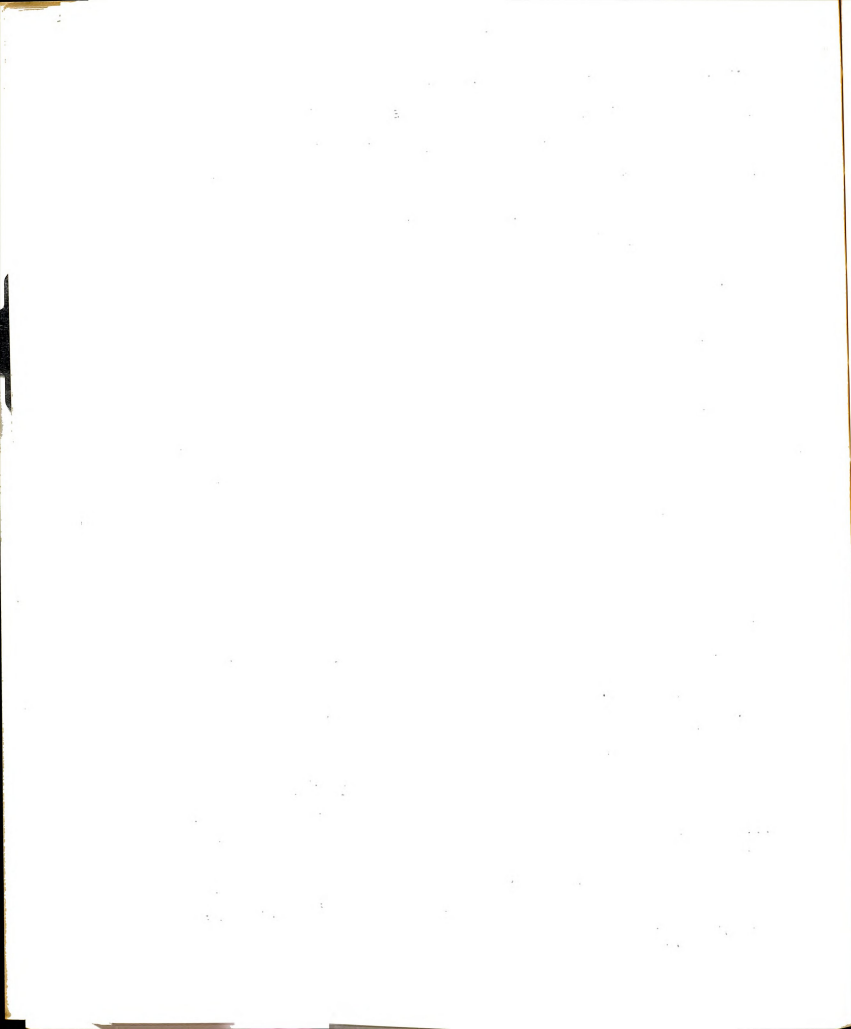


while "taste is merely passive:"⁴⁵ Professor Knapp argues correctly, I think, when he attributes the review of *Sketches* to Smollett on the basis of the reviewer's references to food. The reviewer wrote: "We likewise beg leave to differ from our author's opinion, that mutton has a more delicious flavour than venison; and flounder is preferable to turbut. This, we conceive, is a downright solecism in eating, on which we should be glad to hold a practical conference with Mr. Launcelot Temple." Professor Knapp believes that Smollett was amused by his friend's theory that one could tell a person's literary taste from his culinary preferences. In fact, Knapp continues, Smollett preferred venison to mutton, but conceded in Humphry Clinker, through Matthew Bramble, that "five-year old mutton, fed on the fragrant herbage of the mountains...might vie with venison in juice and flavour."⁴⁶

What is important is that the Critical was consistent with a particular aesthetic, and placed the novel within an organic context. In a good novel, structure, character, and response were indissoluble because they were the fruits of both a genius which sprang from and directed its efforts toward a creative imagination, and of a taste which regulated and disciplined their moral effect. The Peregrinations of Jeremiah Grant obviously did not meet the critical standard,

⁴⁵See above, p. 50.

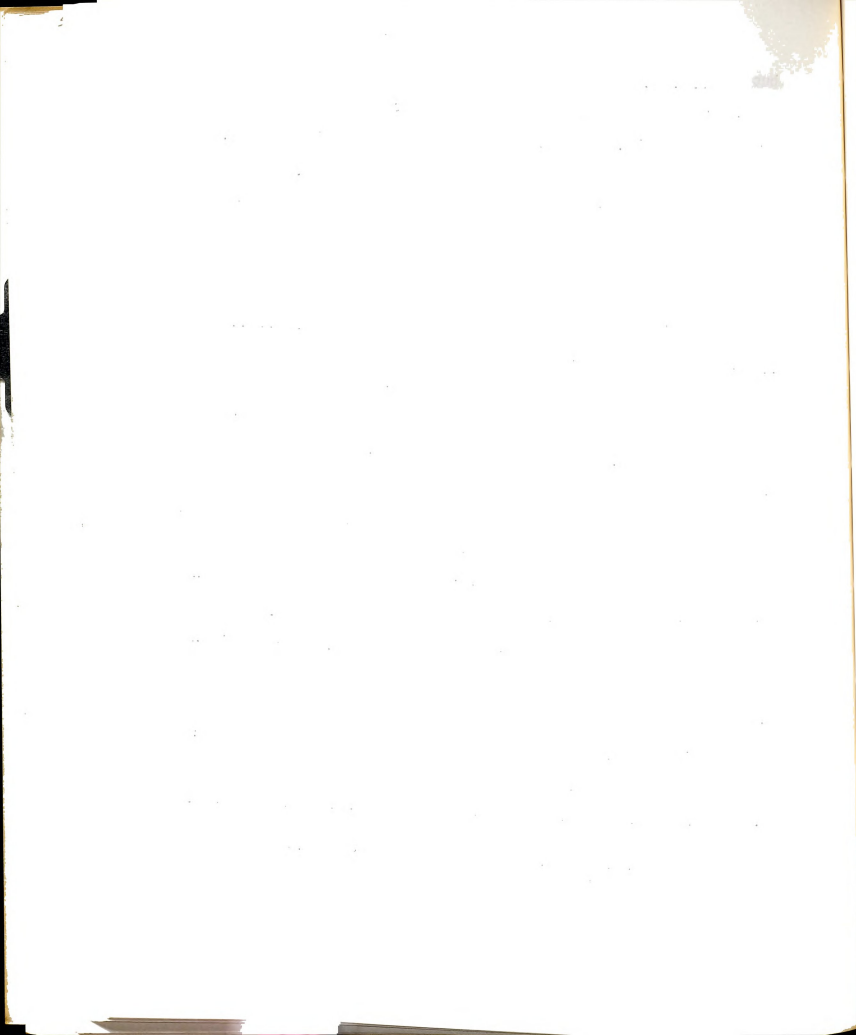
⁴⁶See "Dr. John Armstrong, Litterateur, and Associate of Smollett, Thomson, Wilkes, and other Celebrities," PMLA, LIX (1944), 1037.



but the Monthly merely wrote it off without critical stricture: "The writer of these peregrinations is an ignorant pretender to wit, humour, and learning; whilst in reality, he is totally destitute of the first; for the second, he only shews a turn for ribaldry, such as would hardly pass for humour with a bench of porters at an ale house door; and for the third, he has not yet learned to spell."⁴⁷

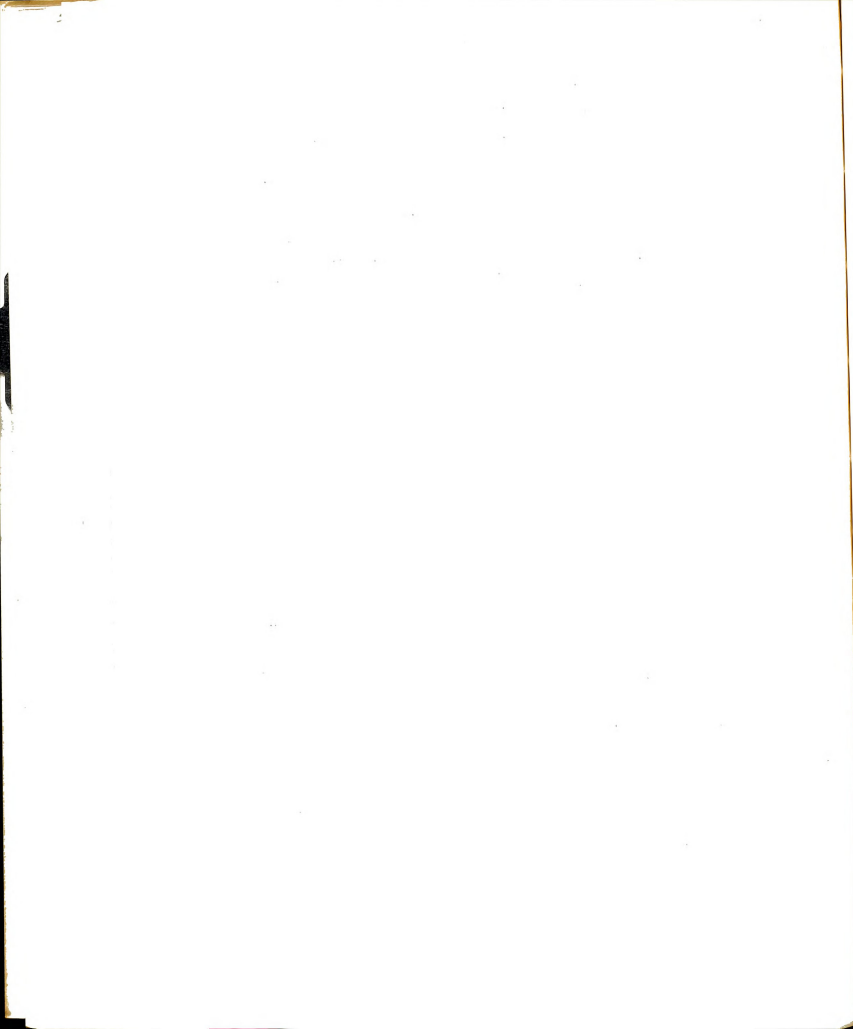
It is interesting that the review of Sir Launcelot Greaves argues for organic unity in terms of the principal character of the novel. Although many reviews merely commented generally on characters who were "well supported" or "well contrasted," the review of Smollett's novel elaborates carefully on the hero's role in the total framework of the novel. The reviewer argues against any separation or distinction between character and structure, but rather suggests a fusion whereby the individual "singly is complete." His individual identity solicits our sympathetic response, and because he governs the structure of the novel, we read without "reflecting upon the contrivance" or contemplating the catastrophe. He thus governs our perception of the novel as an organic whole, and we are "insensibly" led to the author's purpose by a hero who engages our passions.

⁴⁷ Monthly Review, XXVIII (February, 1763), 162.



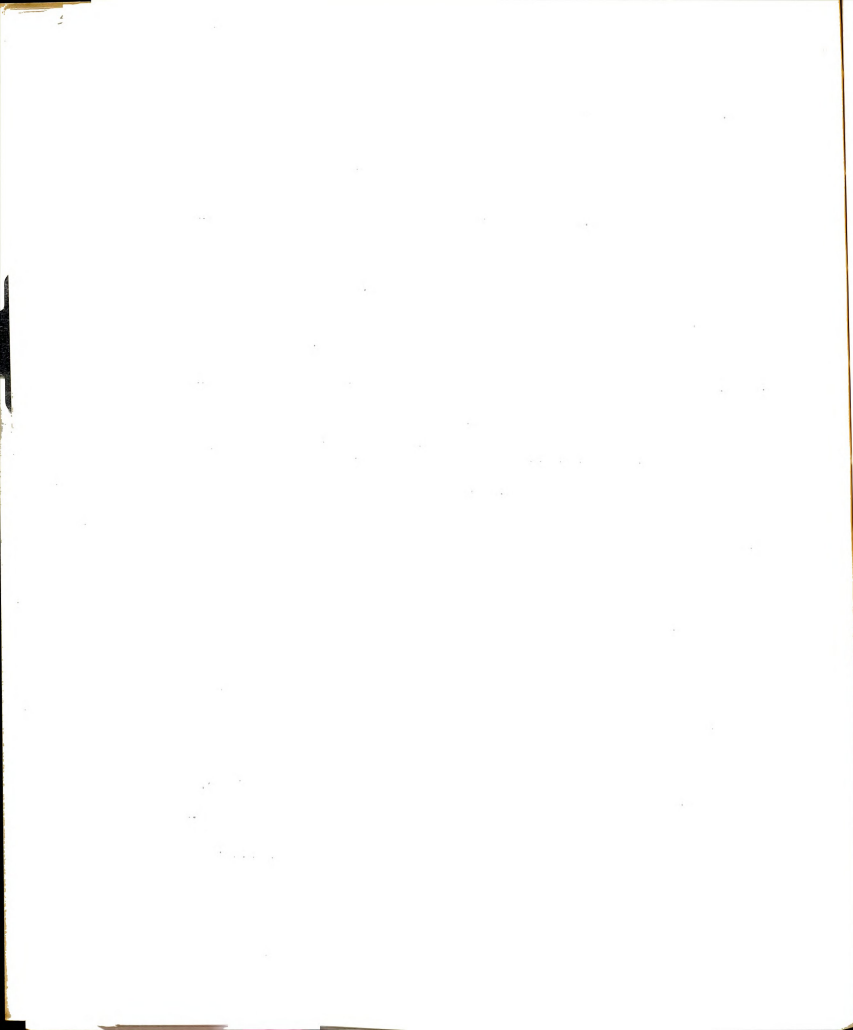
Instances of the "vis comica" are so rarely exhibited on the stage, or in the productions of our novelists, that one is almost induced to believe wit and humour have taken their flight with public virtue. The poets of these days aim at nothing more than interesting the passions by the intricacy of their plots; if a smile is accidentally raised upon the countenance, it rather proceeds from our finding the characters of the drama in some ridiculous or unexpected situation, then from their having said or done something characteristical. In novels especially, the historian thrusts himself too frequently upon the reader. Take a single chapter and it will appear egregiously dull, because the whole joke consists in untying some knot, or unravelling some mystery, and is generally placed in the epigrammatic fashion in the tail. It is the suspense merely, with respect to the issue, that engages the reader's attention. Characters are distinguished merely by their opposition to some other characters; remove that contrast, and you annihilate the personages, just as little wits in conversation are reduced to mere inanimate figures, when you have taken away the fool who drew forth their talents. How different from this is the ridiculous simplicity of Adams, the absurd vehemence of Western, the boisterous generosity of Bowling, the native humour of Trunnion, and the laughable solemnity of Uncle Toby! Each of these characters singly is complete; without relation to any other object they excite mirth; we dip with the highest delight into a chapter and enjoy it without reflecting upon the contrivance of the piece, or once casting an eye towards the catastrophe. Every sentence, and every action, diverts by its peculiarity; and hence it is that the novels in which these characters are found, will furnish perpetual amusement, while other which entertain merely from the nature of the incidents, and the conduct of the fable, are forever laid aside after single perusal; an engaging story will bear relating but once; a humorous character will bear viewing repeatedly.⁴⁸

⁴⁸Critical Review, XIII (May, 1762), 427-428.



This review is particularly interesting in light of Smollett's attempt to invest Sir Launcelot with an extreme set of values with which to confront the world. The review curiously emphasizes the individuality of Adams, Bowling, Commodore Trunnion, and Squire Western as "humours" characters in an effort to justify the conception of Launcelot. What the reviewer fails to note is that the reality of Adams, Bowling, Trunnion, and Western as individuals does not rely on nightly vigils, jousts, and the frail trappings of knight errantry. The review is also important because of its consistency with previous reviews, and if placed along side that of The Peregrinations of Jeremiah Grant, offers a revealing commentary on the Critical's perception of the novel as an artistic genre capable of coming under serious critical discussion.

The extravagances of Launcelot's character make him an incredible model of and for humanity. I have already suggested that human nature was for Smollett as for Hutcheson a fusion of self-concern and social awareness and responsibility. At its root, human nature was inherently good and contained a natural potentiality for sympathy towards humanity, and remained undefiled by the prejudices of imposed values. The Critical Review reflected this same view of human nature. The reviewer of Charles Johnstone's Chrysal, or



The Adventures of a Guinea comments:

Had this author wrote more from nature, and less from reflection, he might deserve a place in the literary list above mediocrity. With solid judgment and some genius, the author would be more regarded had he viewed nature in a more fashionable light. Traffic's character convinces us that he is capable of high colouring; but we are shocked by the enormity of his crimes, so monstrous and disgraceful to the human species. The picture of the Jesuits is strong, but as it exceeds what the utmost villany can effect, the satyrist loses his aim. In a word, we hope for the sake of humanity, that the writer has beheld nature reflected by a false mirror.⁴⁹

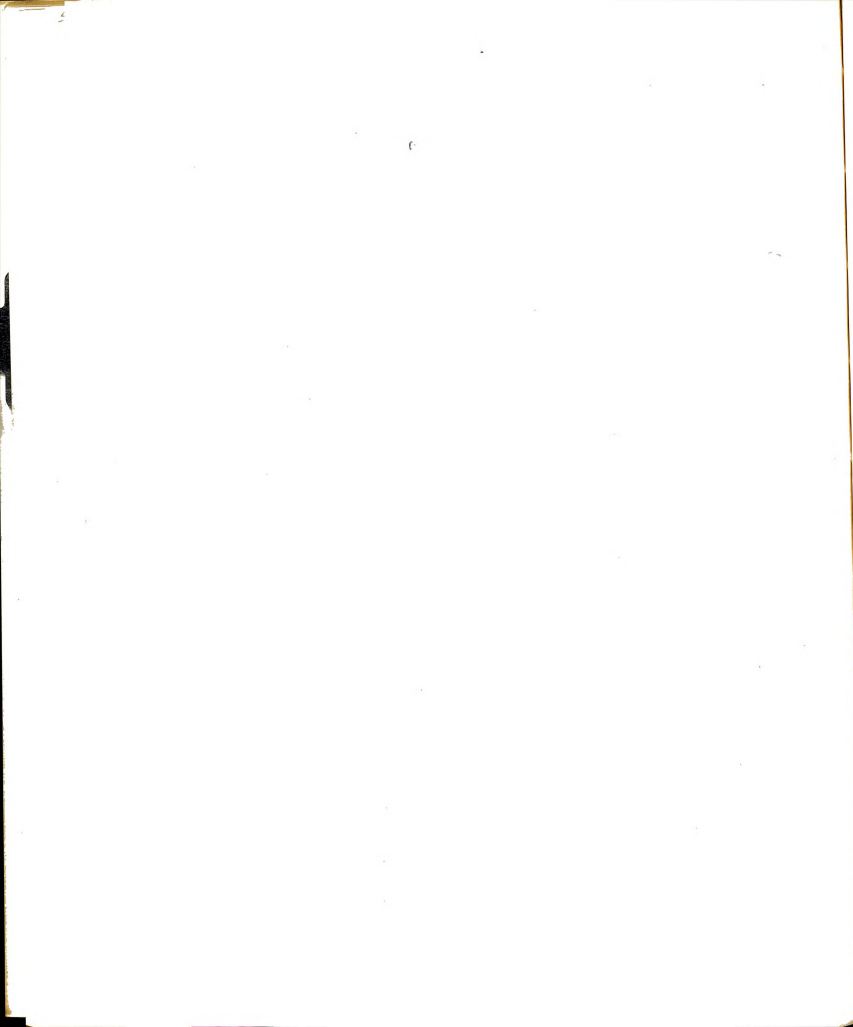
Similar sentiments are displayed in the review of The Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Tsonnonthouan.

The stile seems to be formed on the grave solemn manner of Gervantes, though the author has animated it with the keen satirical strictures which distinguish the works of Swift; nor is it free from those saletes, or filthy circumstances in which the Dean but too much indulged his imagination. There are also impurities which may be deemed so many outrages against decency and decorum; but the most objectionable part of the whole, is the ridicule which is everywhere employed against the modes and rites of religious worship: for, although the scope of the work is a satire on human nature in general, the author seems to aim the shafts of his irony, with peculiar pique, at the mysteries of our holy faith; ⁵⁰ and so far we hold his book as profane and dangerous.

It is probable that Smollett wrote these reviews. James Foster argues that the author of The Adventures of an Atom

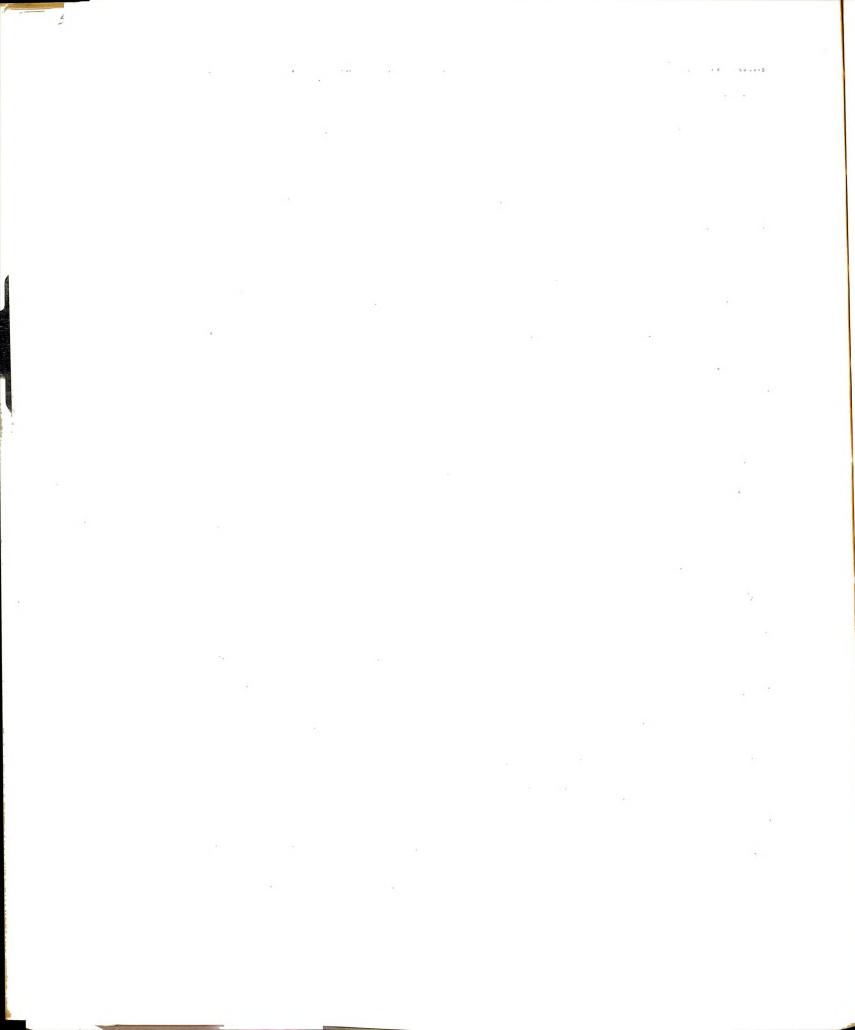
⁴⁹Critical Review, IX (May, 1760), 419.

⁵⁰Critical Review, XV (May, 1763), 378.



was not only familiar with, but borrowed from Chrysal. The spirit of gold and the atom are similar structural vehicles, both speak once in a thousand years, gain their knowledge of persons intuitively, and terrify the wits out of the men to whom they appear.⁵¹ Foster's argument may be valid. My own investigation found that the scenes in which the guinea and atom appear to each author were similar in structure and tone. Each author is alone: the former, awaiting the birth of his child, the latter, meditating. When the essence appears, each author thinks he is going mad. The guinea's host remarks, "a holy terror curdled my blood," while the author of the atom exclaims, "I was now thrown into a violent perturbation of spirit." After explaining the purposes of their respective visits, each essence commands the perceiver to mark his word. The guinea commands, "Listen then in mute attention, nor let a breath disturb the mystick tale; the atom bids his host, "Take up the pen, therefore, and write what I shall unfold." Again, both essences have the power of entering human beings. The gold has "a power of entering into the hearts of the immediate possessors of our bodies, and thus reading all the secrets of their lives," while the atom was digested by a duck, who was in turn eaten by the author's father, who in the process of time, "expanded... into thee, Nathaniel Peacock."

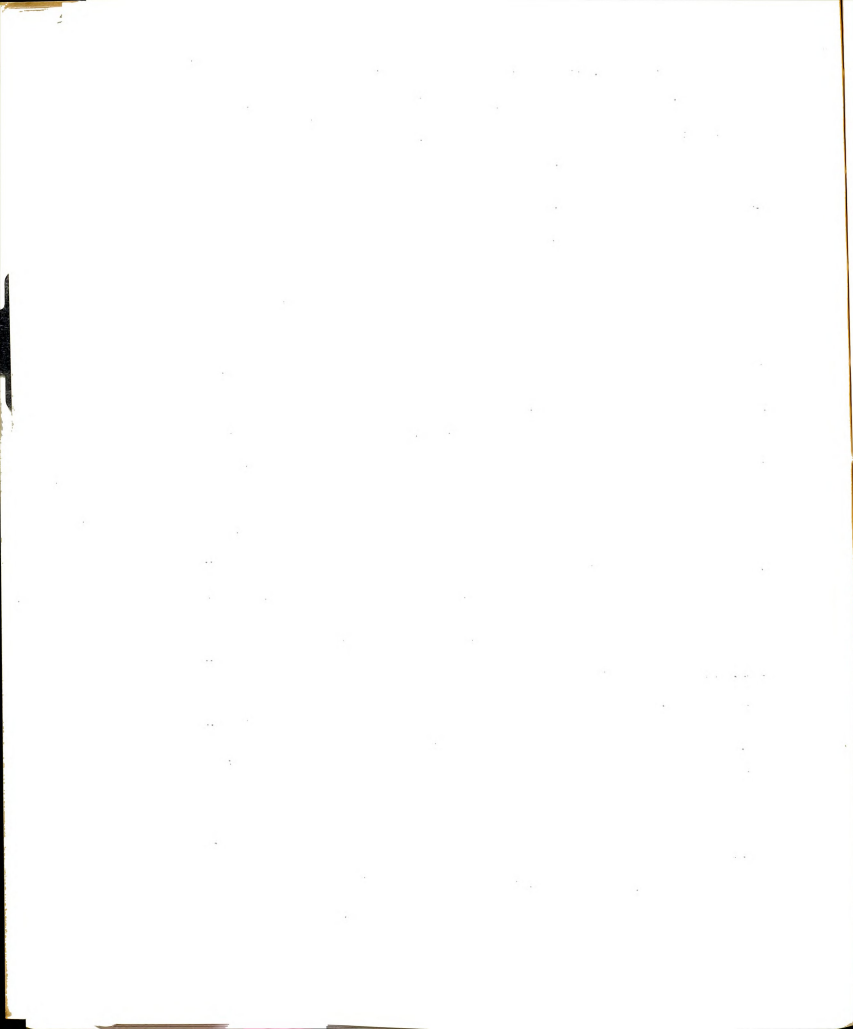
⁵¹"Smollett and the Atom," PMLA, LXVIII(1953), 1032.



Of course, Smollett may have been familiar with Johnstone's book without having reviewed it. However, the reviewer's attitude toward human nature, and particularly his remark on the depiction of the Jesuits suggests Smollett's hand. In fact, this is the first review of a novel in which a Jesuit appears that underplays and criticizes the attack on that order. And this is the first review that condemns an attack on any religious orthodoxy other than that within the Protestant faith. In 1756, Armstrong wrote in his review of the Memoirs of the voluptuous conduct of the Capuchins in regard of the fair sex: "The author calls himself a 'brother of the order' and indeed he seems to breathe the genuine spirit of that 'delicate' society. But if he is really a strayed hog, he had best take care of himself, for it is well known, by those who believe it, that there is no safety even in London, for the most insignificant rascal that ever eloped from Rome."⁵² In March, 1759, the reviewer of The Amorous Friars, or The Intrigues of a Convent remarked: "The best thing we can say of this collection is, that the stories are so short, the reader cannot be tired. It gives, however, such accounts of those 'terrible fellows' the friars, that we, who are Protestants, have great reason to congratulate ourselves, that such vermin have no opportunity of debauching our wives and daughters."⁵³

⁵²Critical Review, I (March, 1756), 144.

⁵³Critical Review, VII (March, 1759), 288.

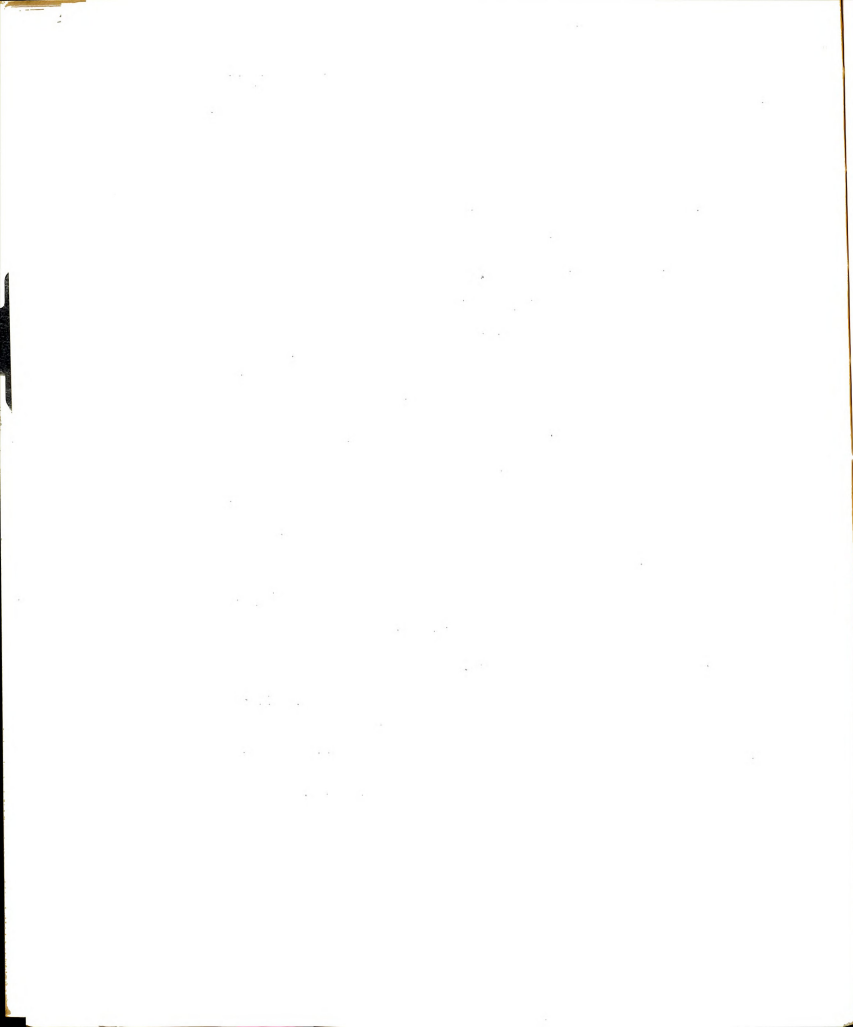


Though Smollett pokes fun at the priest in Roderick Random and the Capuchin in Peregrine Pickle, his attitude toward religious prejudice and human nature is voiced by his most admirable and knowledgable characters. Of Bramble, I have already spoken. In Ferdinand Count Fathom, Don Diego comments on this subject in a vein which anticipates Bramble: " 'You mean,' answered the Castillian, 'the difference of religion, which I am resolved to remove by adopting the Protestant faith; though I am fully satisfied that real goodness is of no particular persuasion, and that salvation cannot depend upon belief, over which the will has no influence.' "⁵⁴ The phrase "...real goodness is of no particular persuasion" finds its political counterpart in Sir Launcelot Greaves, where Smollett argues that "true patriotism is of no party."⁵⁵ For all of Smollett's sallies on priests, his remarks on the abbes serve as a general rule for his satire: "These worthy sons of every community shall be sacred from my censure and ridicule; and while I laugh at the folly of particular members, I can still honor and revere the institution."⁵⁶ In his preface to Roderick Random, Smollett emphasized that satire must "point out the follies

⁵⁴Shakespeare Head edition (Oxford, 1925), Vol. II, 283.

⁵⁵Shakespeare Head edition, p. 96.

⁵⁶Shakespeare Head edition, Vol. I, 130-131.

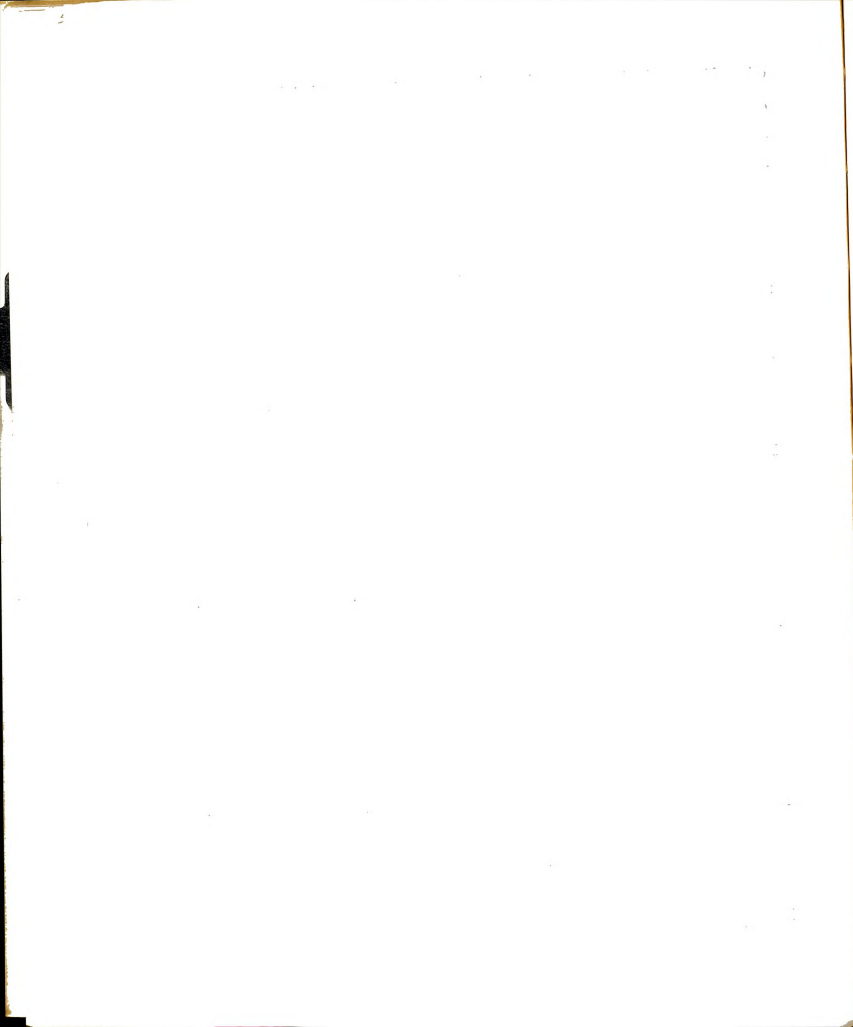


of ordinary life" with "infinite humour and sagacity." In other words, the satirist must operate within the realm of probability or distort the object of his satire and lose his desired effect. This sentiment is also expressed in the review of Johnstone's work.

Similar evidence supports Smollett as the probable reviewer of Tsonnonthouan. The ideas regarding human nature and religious bigotry are consistent with his own, and the style and tone of the review is similar to reviews known to be his. Professor Foster notes the kinship to the satire appearing in the Atom, and argues that the chapter "Of the Indian idiom of Speech" in Tsonnonthouan afforded Smollett material for Humphry Clinker.⁵⁷ Professor Kahrl, however, suggests as sources for the account of Lismahago's life with the Indians, the History of Canada, a serial which ran for over three years in the British Magazine, and the Journal of a Voyage to America by Charlevoix.⁵⁸ Although Smollett probably knew all these sources, I find no similarity between Lismahago's account of the Indian's ornaments and method of punishment with that of Charlevoix's, though Lismahago's account of the worship of the Indians does somewhat structurally resemble the French historian's.

⁵⁷"A Forgotten Noble Savage, Tsonnonthouan," MLQ, XIV (December, 1953), 358-359.

⁵⁸Tobias Smollett, Traveller, Novelist (Chicago, 1945), p. 138.



Lismahago revealed that the Indians

...in general, worship two contending principles; one the fountain of all good, the other the source of evil. The common people there, as in other countries, run into absurdities of superstition; but sensible men pay adoration to a Supreme Being, who created and sustains the universe.⁵⁹

Charlevoix wrote that

Nothing is more certain than that the Indians have an idea of a Supreme Being, though nothing at the same time can be more obscure. They all in general agree in looking upon him as the first spirit, and the governor and creator of the world, but when you press them a little close on this article, in order to know what they understand by the sovereign spirit, you find no more than a tissue of absurd imagination, of fables so ill contrived, of systems so ill-digested and so wild....⁶⁰

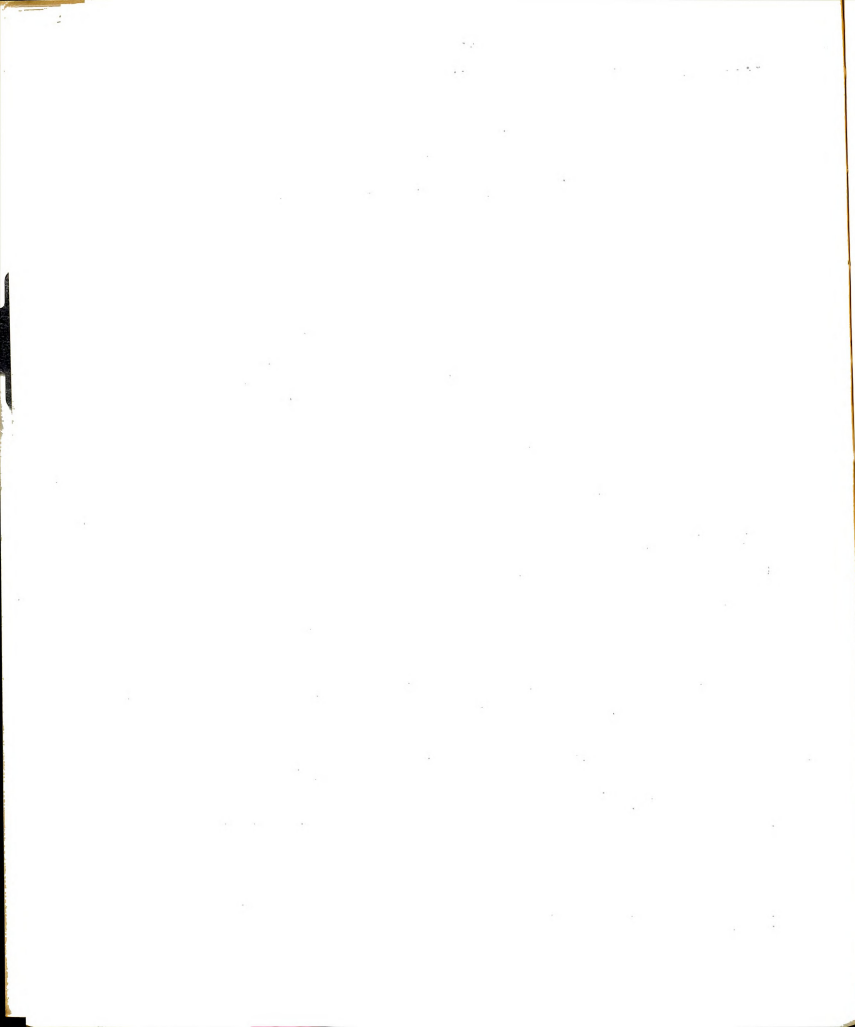
This evidence is insufficient for attributing the source to Charlevoix, and lends credence to Foster's argument, which deserves further study.

Smollett is far more caustic in his comments on the defamation of human nature in his review of Candide.

The incidents are a heap of crude Galemathias, "vana insomnia," the ravings of a delirious poet, strung together without order, or the least shadow of verisimilitude, invented and introduced with a view

⁵⁹Modern Library edition, p. 235.

⁶⁰Journal of a Voyage to North America (Chicago, 1923), p. 130.



to disgrace human nature, by representing her in a false light and distorted attitude: just as if a ruffian, meeting with a paragon of beauty, should slit her nose, knock out an eye, begrime her countenance, and then reproach her as an ugly b--ch.⁶¹

The word "Galemathias" is unusual, but Smollett used it in an article known to be his in 1756 in an identical manner. In his "Reply to a Letter in the General Evening Post," he wrote:

We are assuredly grieved to see some ill-natured wag has subscribed that venerable name to such a heap of galemathias.⁶²

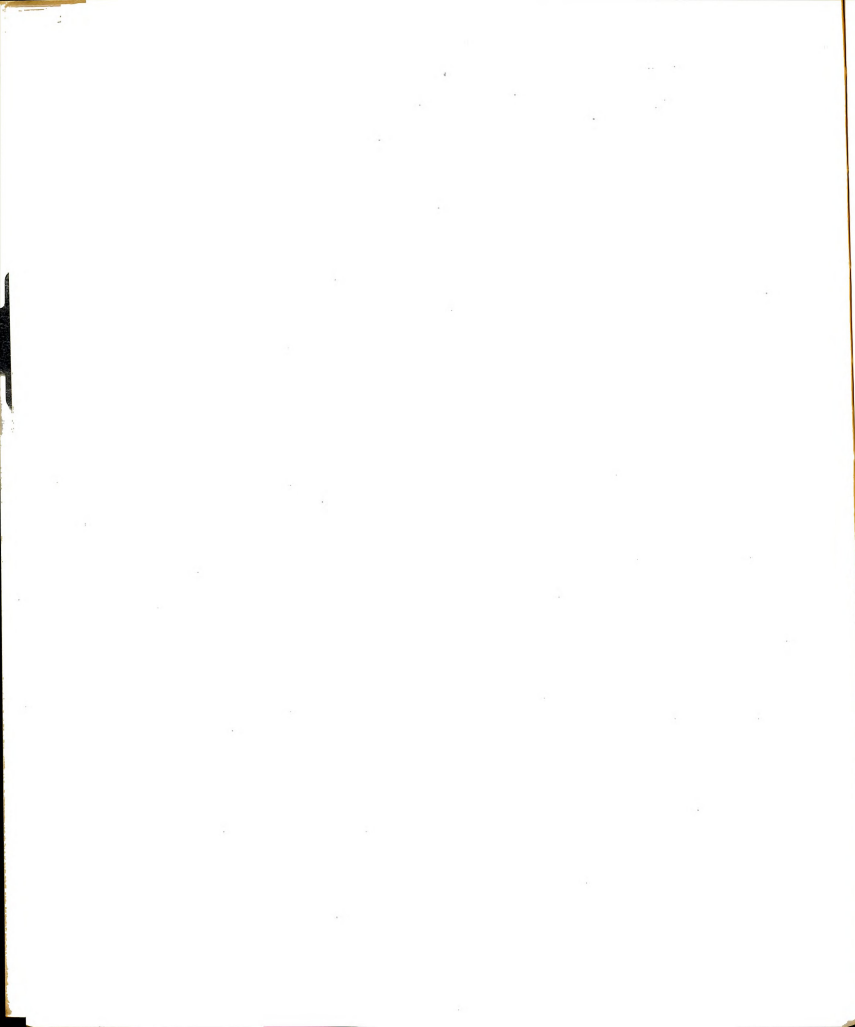
The similarities between Smollett's notes to his edition of Candide and this review suggest that he wrote the review himself, and supports Eugene Joliat's contention that Smollett edited the prose of Voltaire while Francklin edited the drama and poetry. A brief comparison between the review and Smollett's notes are revealing. The reviewer writes:

That restless genius...has now published a satire upon the Creator of the Universe; for such we take to be the design of this optimisme, if he had any design at all, in writing this performance. His avowed intention is to ridicule the maxim, "that everything happens for the best.

Smollett's first note to Candide reads:

⁶¹ Critical Review, VII (June, 1759), 551.

⁶² Critical Review, II (September, 1756), 189.



The principal design of this performance, if the author had any other design but that of amusing his readers, is to ridicule that maxim in ethics, that everything which happens, is the best calculated to answer the wise ends of providence; but it likewise contains a very severe satire on the morals, manners, and customs of mankind.

Consistent with the review's sentiments concerning human nature, Smollett writes:

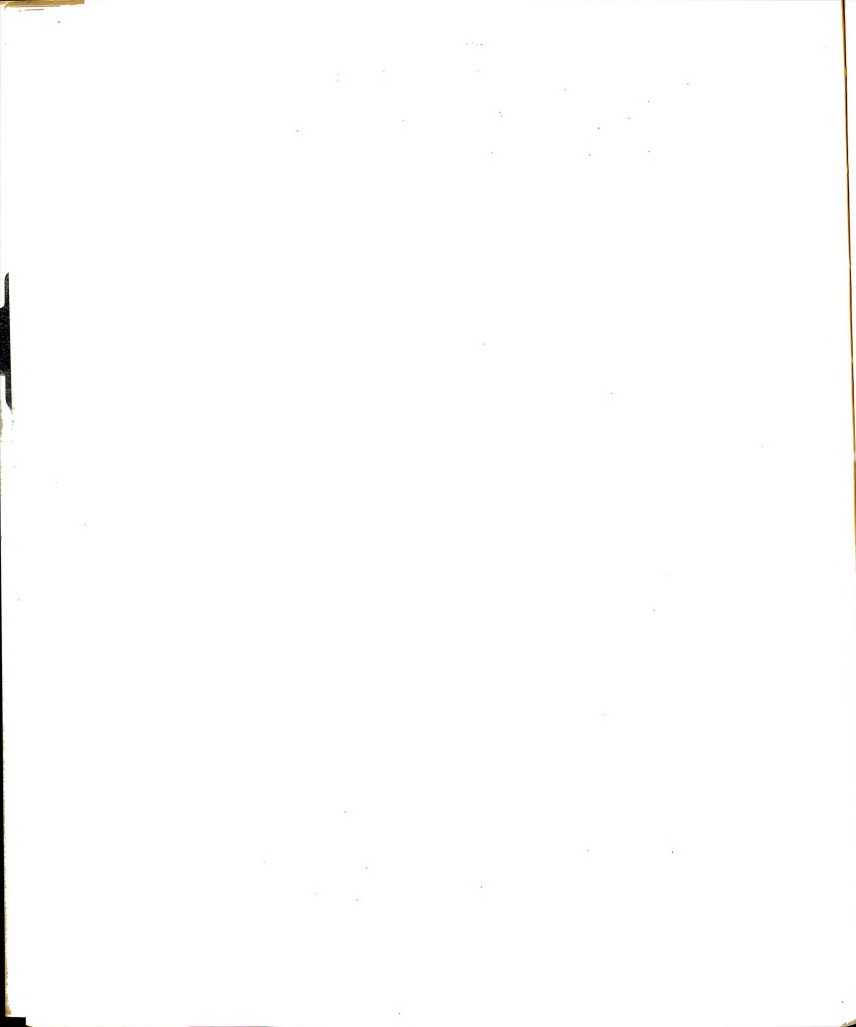
This is too just a reproach upon those Christian powers, who, for the thirst of lucre, shamefully patronize, and supply the barbarians of Africa with the means of gratifying their rapacity, and of exercising cruelties which are a disgrace to human nature.

There is a similarity between the review's condemnation of Voltaire's exaggeration of plan and character and Smollett's note in the edition of Candide. Smollett's note reads:

There is a species of probability or verisimilitude adapted for every sort of narration, the neglect of which renders a performance disagreeable and disgusting to readers who have any justness of taste or apprehension. These accounts of Eldorado, of Candide's wealth and simplicity, of the skipper's villainy, and the magistrate's extortion, are, in our opinion, such extravagancies as rather shock than entertain the imagination.

The reviewer comments:

There is not such a character in nature as that of his Candide who is the hero of this performance; and all the other personages that that make any figures on the scene, are so extravagantly delineated, that they are not like unto anything in the heaven's above, nor in



the earth beneath, nor in the waters under the earth; they would not even serve as caricatures upon an Aegyptian temple.

Smollett also probably wrote the review for the 1761 translation of Candide, for it contains one of his pet phrases, "the milk of human kindness." The reviewer writes that

Nothing could be more cutting and severe than those sarcasms which he throws out against the Jesuit authors of the Journal de Trevoux, and other nibblers of his reputation; but we could wish to see Mr. de Voltaire's wit seasoned with a greater share of the "milk of human kindness."⁶³

In Ferdinand Count Fathom, Smollett writes:

...she abounded with the milk of human kindness, which flowed plentifully among her fellow creatures.⁶⁴

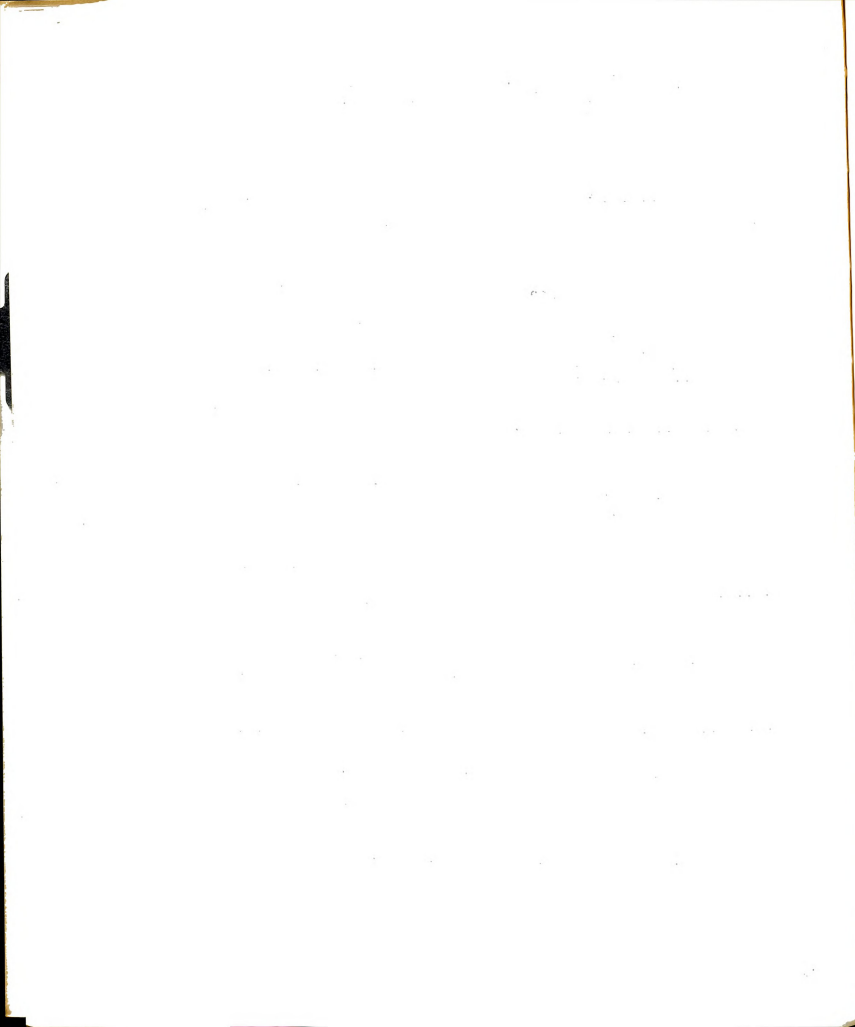
We find the following passage in his review of An Essay on Waters in 1756:

Such is the doctor's philanthropy or milk of human kindness, that he has celebrated the agreeable Molly Laurence, whose fair hands diffuse the water to the drinkers in the pump-room at Bath.⁶⁵

⁶³ Critical Review, XII (August, 1761), 138.

⁶⁴ Shakespeare Head edition, Vol. I, 10.

⁶⁵ Critical Review, I (April, 1756), 344.



And in his review of A Full Account of the Siege of Minorca in that same year, Smollett writes:

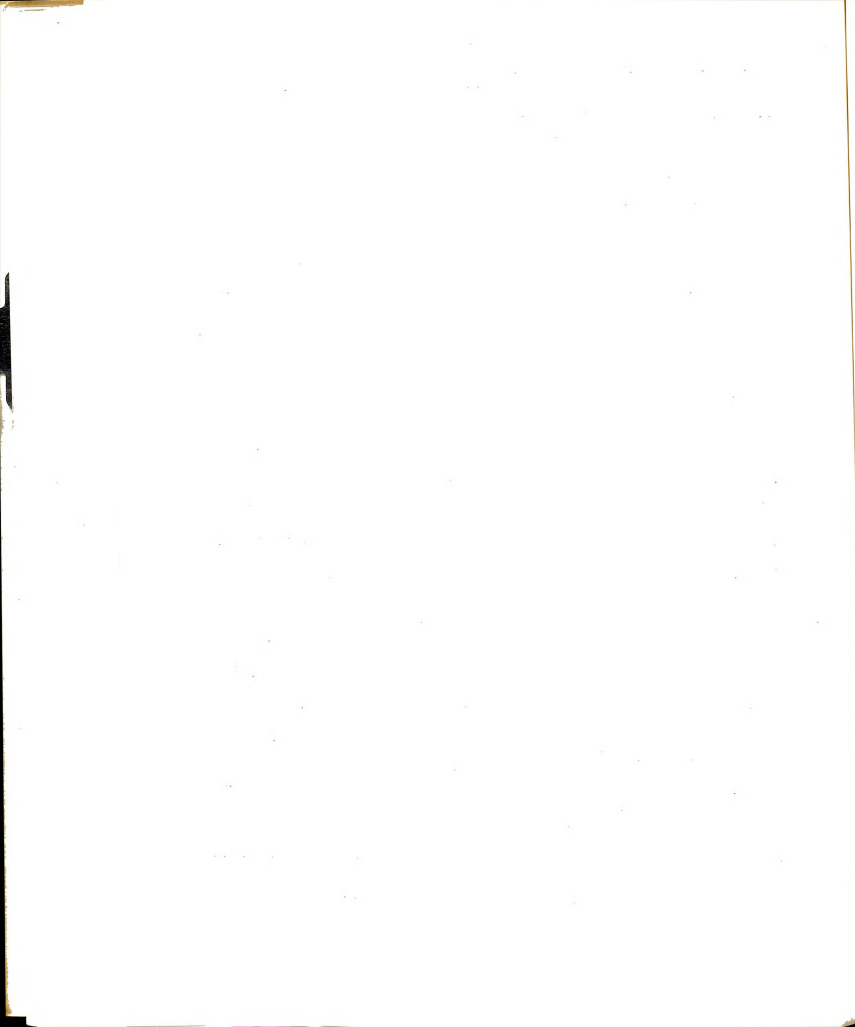
The author of this tract seems to have been rather too impatient to appear in print; but perhaps this impatience was the effect of his philanthropy or milk of human kindness.⁶⁶

I believe that these remarks can be seen in a more comprehensive context when we consider Jerry Melford's contention that "kindness" is the "essence of good nature and humanity," a point which supports my idea that Smollett was concerned with, and reflected a consistent ethical system.

The review of Charles Johnstone's The Reverie, or The Flight to the Paradise of Fools provides the most concise statement on "human nature" in terms of the satirist's role of inspiring the reader "with a contempt for individuals, without diminishing his respect for the species."

It is no easy matter for a writer of any genius to represent human action in a ridiculous light, that we are astonished our sensible author did not resign the field to the buffoon, whose sole talent consists in discovering the ludicrous parts of the gravest characters. A man of virtue ought besides to reflect, that to render mankind dissatisfied with the species, is to commit a real injury to society. To unmask hypocrisy, and correct vice, we allow to be highly useful; yet when a writer has all human nature before him, we should expect him to select examples of imitation as well as objects of aversion. This would preserve the balance, inspire the reader

⁶⁶Critical Review, II (October, 1756), 278.

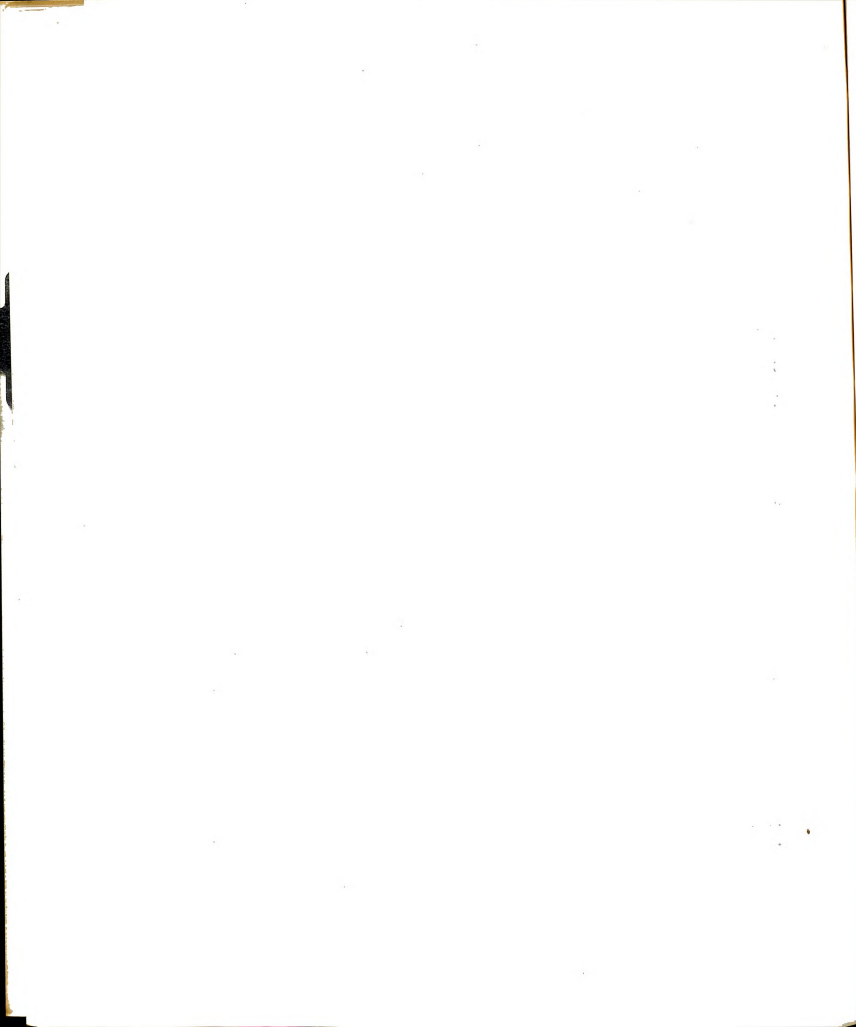


with a contempt for individuals, without diminishing his respect for the species, rouse his detestation of vice, and quicken his sensibility to whatever is beautiful in moral conduct. What especially gives disgust in these ill natured writings is, that they convey an idea of the author's self sufficiency, and supposed superiority, which few are willing to confess without retaliation. Hence it is, that we perceive general satirists are universally detested and despised, as vermin who breed in the sores of society, or hypocrites who insinuate their own purity, by aspersing and defiling the rest of mankind.⁶⁷

This review reiterates the sentiments expressed in that of Chrysal and in Smollett's preface to Roderick Random, and more importantly emphasizes that the reader must be presented with that which is admirable in humanity "and quicken his sensibility to whatever is beautiful in moral conduct," just as Smollett balanced Fathom with Melvil to achieve this goal. Even Greaves, whose satiric barbs were levelled against a malicious society, remarked to Aurelia that his services have been "rather the duties of common humanity."

The reviewer's remarks on Johnstone's "self-sufficiency and supposed superiority" are peculiarly Smollettian, since Smollett invariably juxtaposed self-conceit or self-love with petulance, affectation or ostentation of learning. We find this amply illustrated in the reviews of Tristram Shandy, which clearly appear to be Smollett's.

⁶⁷ Critical Review, XIV (December, 1762), 440.



A spirit of petulance, and air of self-conceit, and an affectation of learning, are diffused through the whole performance, which is likewise blameable for some gross expressions, impure ideas, and general want of decorum.⁶⁸

Here we find the same unconnected rhapsody, the same rambling digression, the eccentric humour, the peculiar wit, petulance, pruriency, and ostentation of learning, by which the former part was so happily distinguished.⁶⁹

We need look no further than Peregrine Pickle, Sir Launcelot Greaves, and Ferdinand Count Fathom for similar references. Dr. Pallett accuses the physician of "self-conceit and affectation of learning,"⁷⁰ while Aurelia Darnel despises Sycamore for his strange combination of "rapacity and profusion, absurdity and good sense, bashfulness and impudence, self-conceit and diffidence, awkwardness and ostentation"⁷¹ Ferdinand distinguishes between the templar and the abbe: "...both are distinguished by an air of petulance and self-conceit, which holds a middle rank betwixt the insolence of a first rate buck and the learned pride of a supercilious pedant."⁷²

Again, the reviewer's sentiments on the role of the

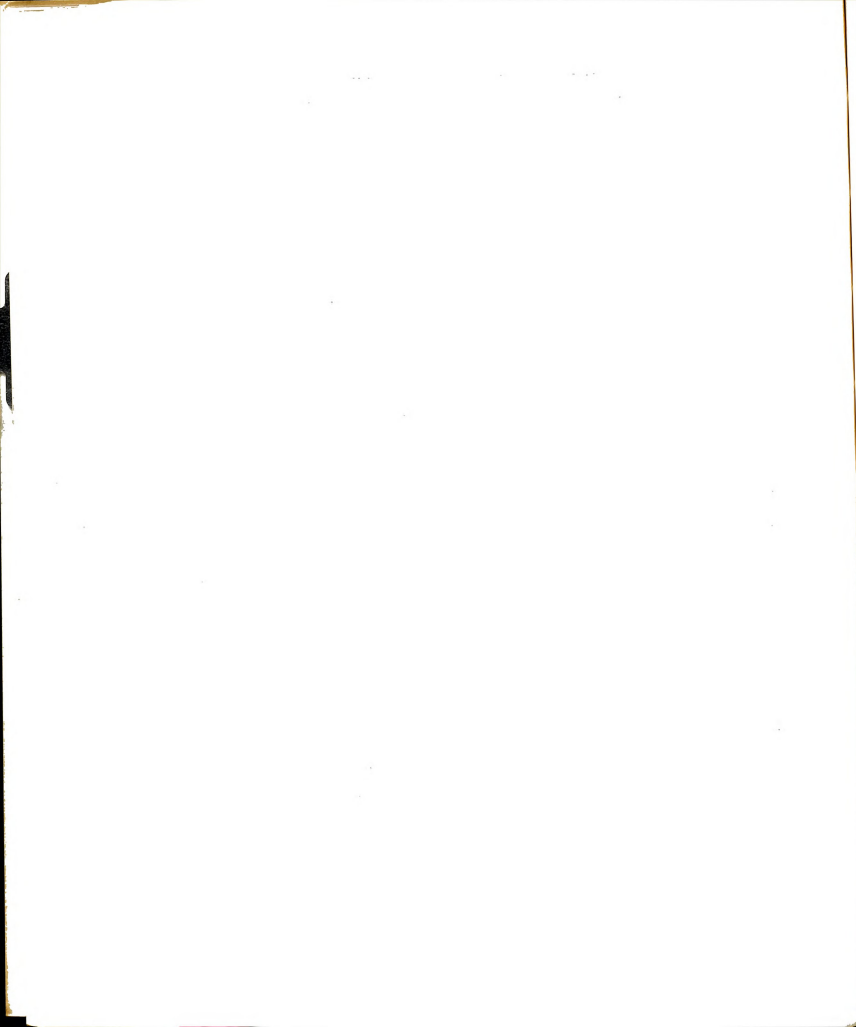
⁶⁸ Critical Review, XI (April, 1761), 317.

⁶⁹ Critical Review, XII (January, 1762), 66.

⁷⁰ Everyman's Library edition, Vol. I, 244.

⁷¹ Shakespeare Head edition, p. 157.

⁷² Shakespeare Head edition, I, 130.



buffoon are similarly treated in the review of Tristram Shandy and in Peregrine Pickle. The following passage appears in the former:

...grotesque and buffoonery...deserve to be held illegitimate, because they either desert nature altogether, in their exhibitions, or represent her in a state of distortion.⁷³

Smollett writes that Peregrine's

satirical disposition was never more gratified than when he had an opportunity of exposing grave characters in ridiculous attitudes.⁷⁴

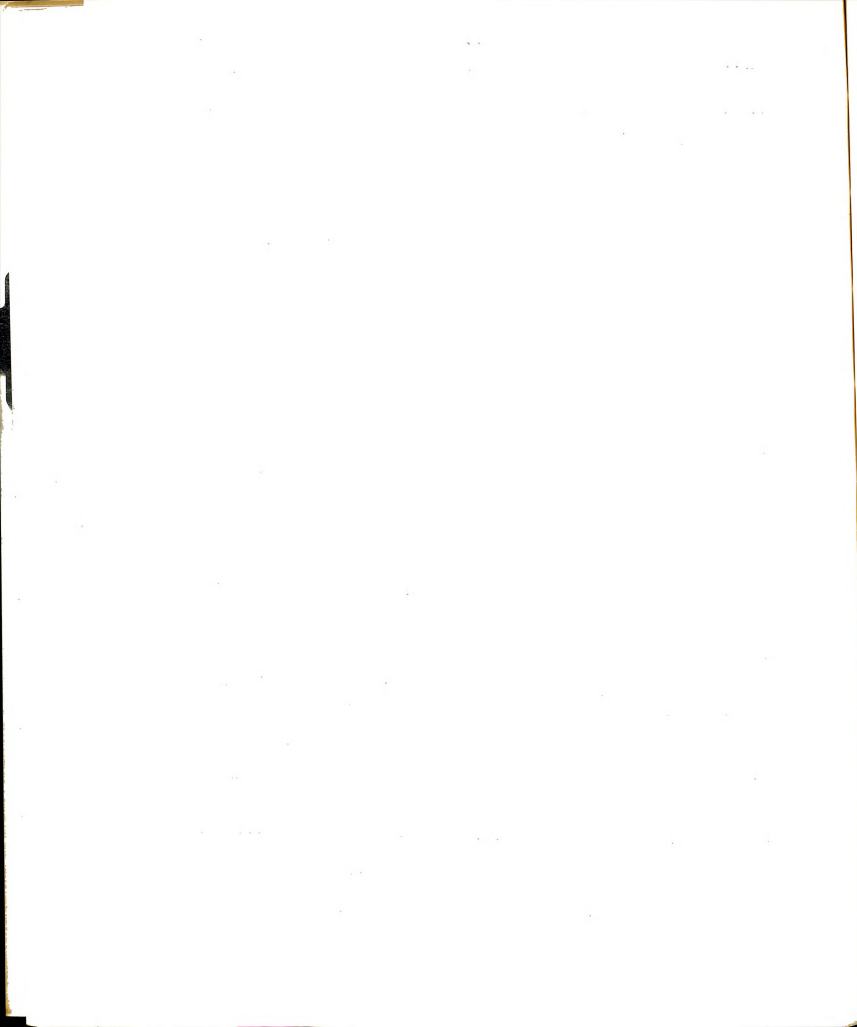
The reviewer combines both thoughts:

It is no easy matter for a writer of any genius to represent human action in a ridiculous light, that we are astonished our sensible author did not resign the field to the buffoon, whose sole talent consists in discovering the ludicrous parts of the gravest characters.

The implications of the Critical's attitude toward human nature are reflected in its comments on party prejudice and religious hypocrisy. The review of Charlotte Lennox's Henrietta emphasizes that "Tho' the reputation of Henrietta is chiefly founded on her steady adherence to the principles of the Protestant religion; that preference is given with a delicacy, that not the most bigotted Roman-Catholic could be offended at; the heroine no where betrays

⁷³Critical Review, XI (April, 1761), 314.

⁷⁴Everyman's Library edition, Vol. I, 105.



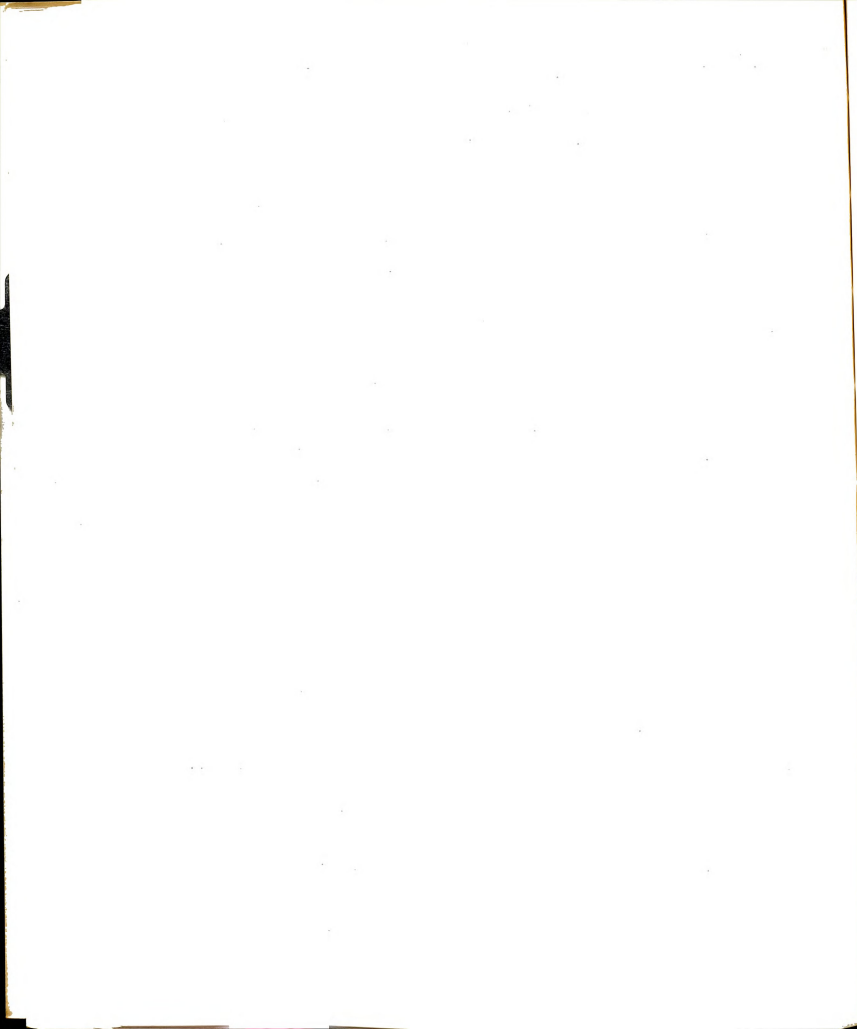
the rudeness of party, or the malevolence of religious attachment."⁷⁵ We need only recall the disguised priest whom Roderick meets, Don Diego's remark, and Sir Launcelot's conviction that "true patriotism is of no party." This attitude is consonant with Smollett's and the Critical's own impartial political policy between 1756-1763.⁷⁶ In fact, one of Smollett's qualifications for managing the Briton in 1762 was his freedom from party affiliation.

The Critical's most comprehensive position on such matters is found in its review of Goldsmith's The Memoirs of a Protestant Condemned to the Gallies of France for his religion, which is clearly reminiscent of Roderick's argument against absolute monarchy, and echoes once again Smollett's sentiments against the prejudices of "narrow systems."

Those who have been deceived into an admiration of an absolute monarchy, from the magnificence and splendor conspicuous in a slavish court, may learn to correct their false judgments, and to set up a high value upon the inestimable blessing of liberty, from a perusal of this performance, which in a striking manner discovers the iron teeth of despotic power. We are here presented with a sincere narrative of the most shocking barbarities, exercised upon innocents by a nation that piques itself upon humanity and politeness....

⁷⁵Critical Review, V (February, 1758), 130.

⁷⁶See Derek Roper, "The Politics of the 'Critical Review', 1756-1817," Durham University Journal, LIII (1961), 117-122.



The attention of the reader is continually kept up by the variety of incidents, which are narrated with great perspicuity and modesty by the author, whose chief design seems to have been to expose the horrid nature of tyranny, and unchristian spirit of the Popish superstition. ⁷⁷

I would like to conclude this chapter with a discussion of one of the Critical's most revealing commentaries on a novel. In the lengthy review of Rousseau's Eloisa, the reviewer displays a liberality in condoning Rousseau's style that looks ahead to the end of the century in its defense of sentiment, feeling, and enthusiasm. He does not, however, neglect the dramatic function of form in illustrating the aesthetic principles which the Critical consistently adhered to in its treatment of the genre. Though the Critical Review generally condemned French novels because it thought them a disgrace to English taste and an insult to English decency, the reviewers occasionally recognized a novel's merit. For the most part, insipid translations from the French were condemned in reviews in the "Foreign Articles" section, and the warning often repeated that most translations might better have been left in the original.

The first notice given Rousseau's La Nouvelle Heloise was in the "Foreign Articles" section for January, 1761. It was in an article which reviewed the French original,

⁷⁷

Critical Review, V (April, 1758), 300-301.

Lettres de Deux Amans in which the reviewer commented on Rousseau's paradoxical existence---living as a philosophical recluse and as a painter of life with a luxuriant imagination and bewitching art. Because Rousseau himself admitted Richardson as his model, the reviewer concluded with the following comparisons: "It is natural to compare a copyist with the original; and do both justice, they each separately excel. The Englishman is more natural because more simple; the philosopher of Geneva affects simplicity, but we can see that it is affected. Our countryman raises a stronger interest in the breast; his imitator, on the contrary, excels in the art of unfolding his plot; thinks more deeply, and reasons like a philosopher."⁷⁸

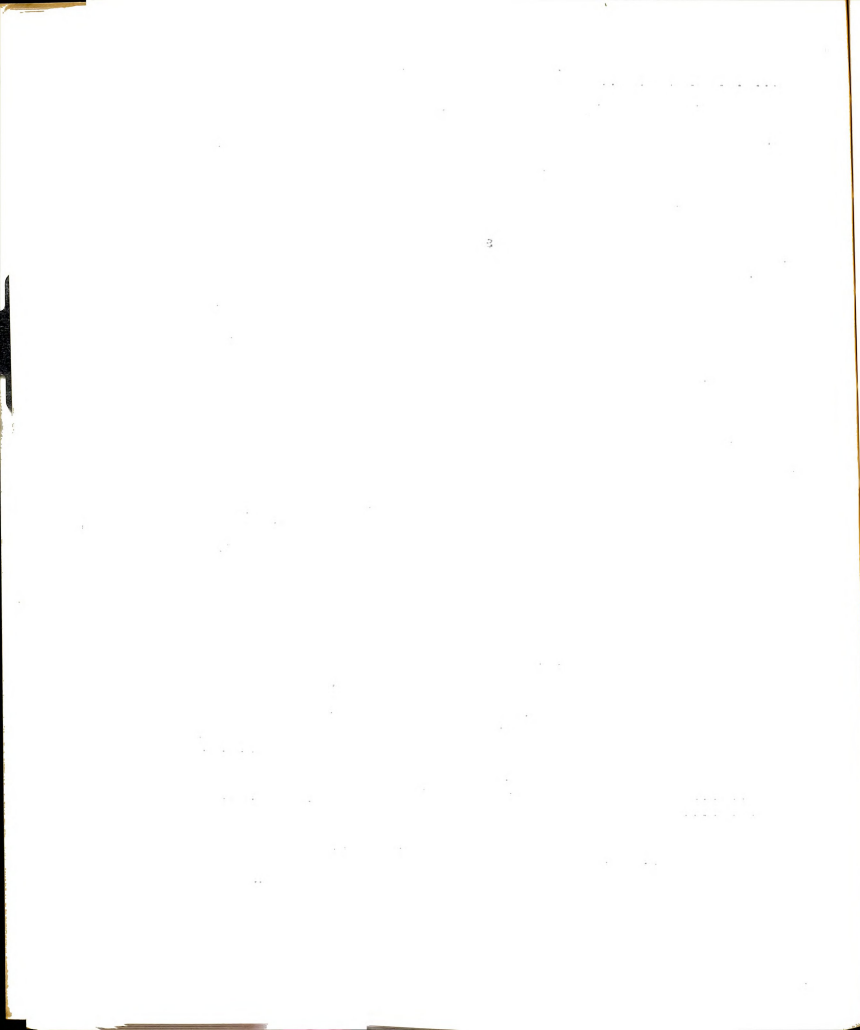
In September of the same year came a longer, eight-page review of the translation which extended the comparison between Rousseau and Richardson.⁷⁹ Some idea of the favor with which this article was received may be gained from noting that the Journal Étranger, a French literary miscellany, published in Paris from 1754-1762, printed in translation all of the Critical's article, except for the quotations and two short concluding paragraphs. The Journal Étranger republished the Critical Review article in its

⁷⁸

Critical Review, XI (January, 1761), 65.

⁷⁹

Critical Review, XII (September, 1761), 203-211.

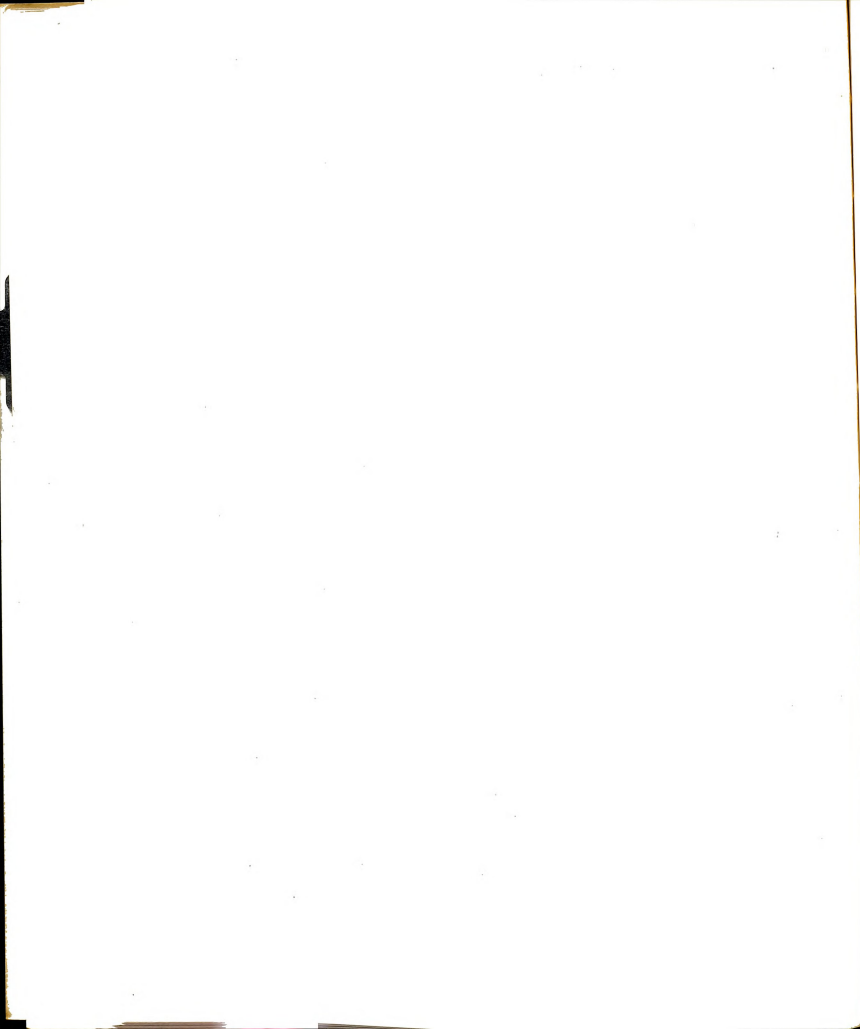


issue for December, 1761, and a month later the same magazine printed Diderot's Eloge de Richardson.

The review of Eloisa is built upon an extensive comparison between Rousseau and Richardson whom, as we have seen, the Critical held in high regard. The reviewer acknowledges the necessity of ideal presence for emotional response through association of ideas and the delineation of human nature as intrinsically beneficent and worthy of esteem and sympathy.

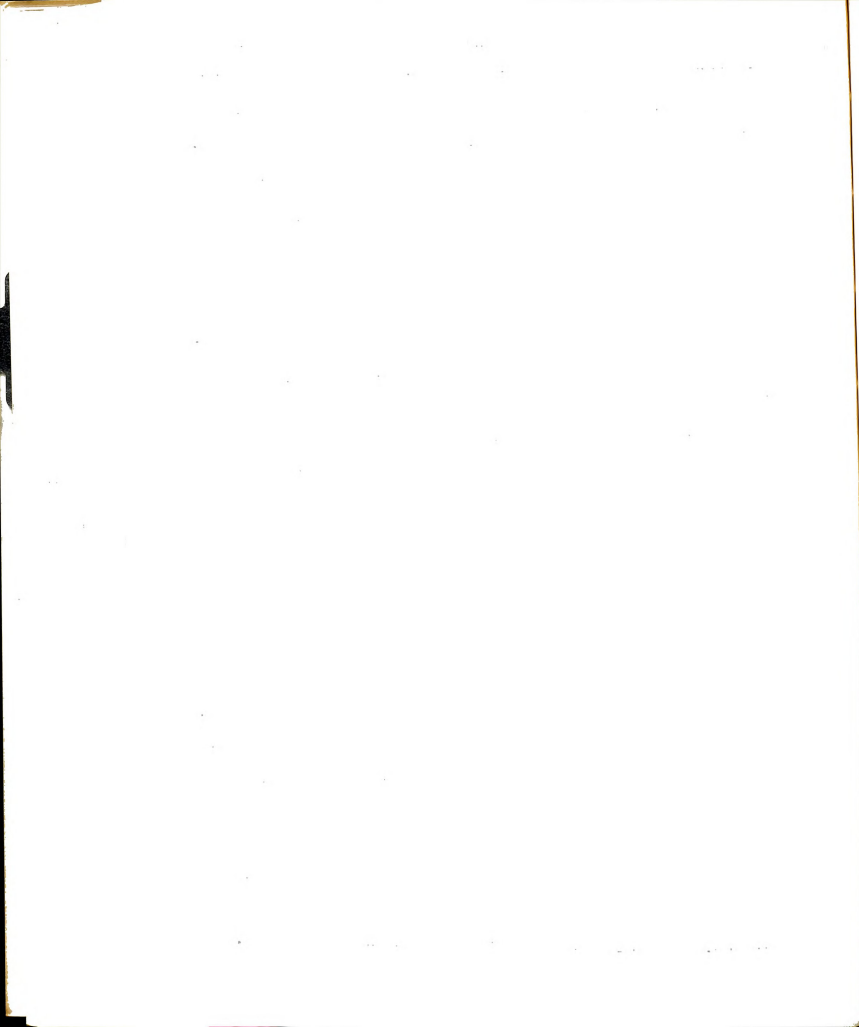
Rousseau, the reviewer begins, "despises the common aids of plot, incident, and contrivance, and effects all his purposes by more strength of genius and variety of colouring." Although "his attitudes are common," they are "painted" with such energy and grace, as cannot fail of striking with all the force of novelty." The reviewer then acknowledges resemblances between the distinguishing features of Eloisa and Clarissa.

Eloisa is a less perfect Clarissa, Clara a Miss Howe, as fervent in her friendship, as witty and charming, but less humorous; merely because the Swiss writer is an intire stranger to the talent we express by the word humour. It is, indeed, the highest ecomium on Mr. Richardson, that he has been deemed worthy the imitation of a writer of Rousseau's eminence, and that he still remains unrivalled in copying nature, though he may perhaps be greatly ecelled in deep reflection, the finer tints that discriminate genius, and certain magic powers peculiar to Rousseau, of conjuring into a single expression the substance of volumes.

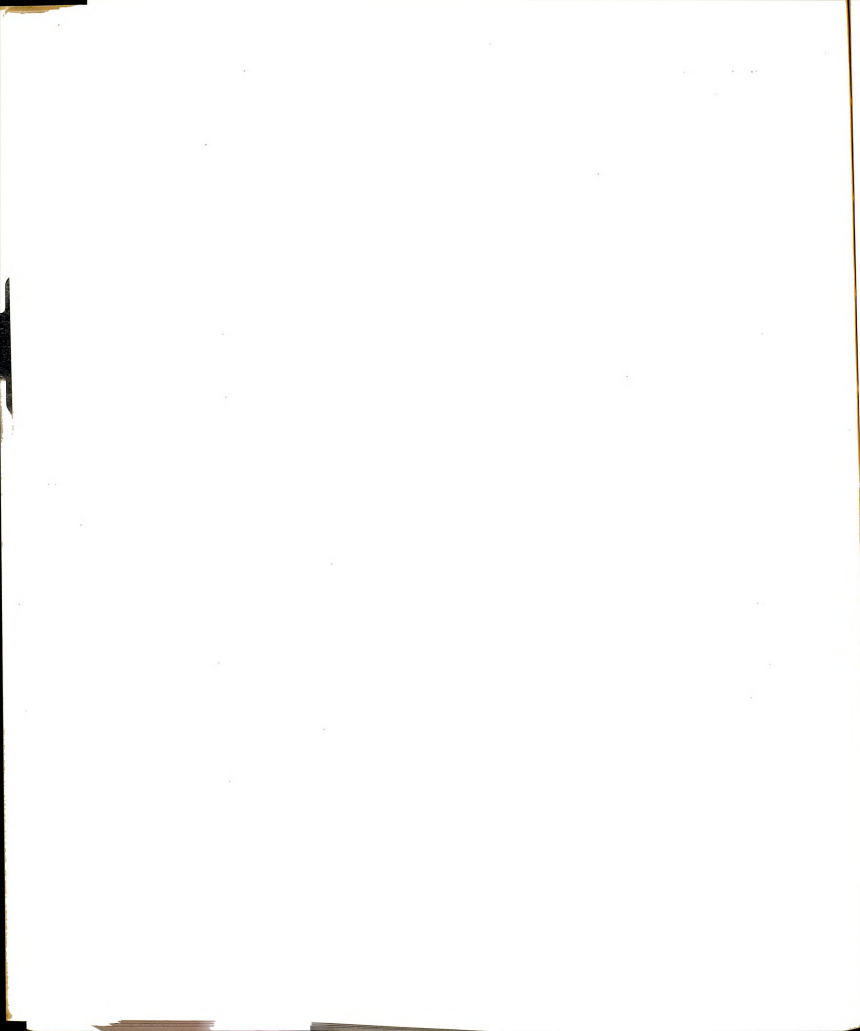


The reviewer argues that Rousseau furnished the more useful instruction, because he has taught us "the means of retrieving the esteem of mankind, after a capital slip in conduct." Even though Richardson arms his heroine against temptation, and thereby proposes a perfect pattern for the imitation of her sex; Rousseau describes Eloisa as "subject to human frailty, lest by elevating virtue too high, we should be discouraged from attempting to climb the steep ascent...." The reviewer finds Eloisa "infinitely more sentimental, animated, refined, and elegant," while Clarissa is more "natural, interesting, variegated, and dramatic." Thus he concludes that where Rousseau appeared the easy, Richardson was the masterly, writer: "Rousseau raises your admiration; Richardson solicits your tears; the former is sometimes obscure, the latter too minute."

It is noteworthy that the reviewer acknowledges that the relation between structure and response to character can be realized not only in terms of the psychological veracity of that individual within the total design of the novel, but that they are indissoluble in terms of their imaginative organization. He continues: "Richardson unfolds his characters by a variety of slight touches and circumstances, which appear trivial unless your regard his design; while Rousseau, by a felicity of genius, lays naked the heart at a single stroke, and interests you in the fate of his personages, before you can be said to know them. By a simple motion of his pen, the whole group is assembled in the imagination,



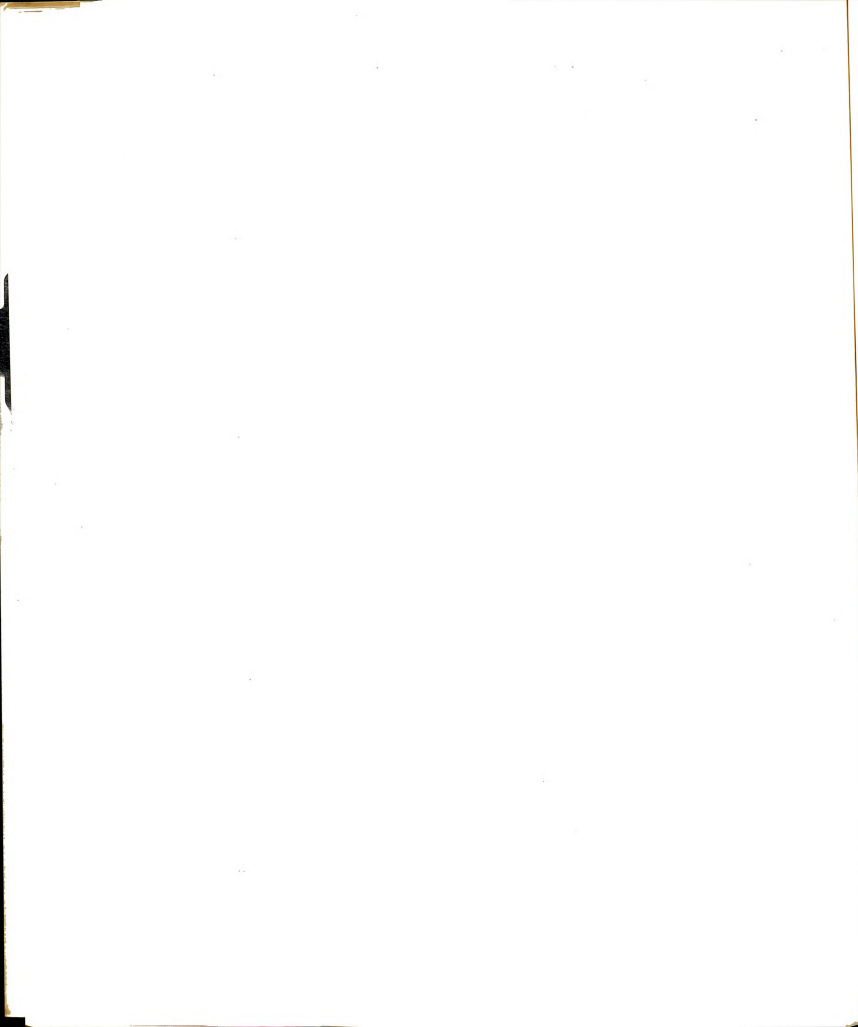
and engages the attention in proportion as they are connected with Eloisa." In this statement the reviewer clearly argues in terms of a psychological foundation for the genre, whereby the author's genius imaginatively creates a heroine who governs the structure of the novel by her psychological veracity as a human being, and who can thus evoke our emotional response to her cause. He adds, however, that although the impression is strong, "...it is evanescent; like the fleeting pictures of a dream. They strongly agitate for a time, and are afterwards forgot; while those of Richardson imprint the mind more durably, because the stroke is more frequently reiterated." He argues here in terms of the psychological theory of associational response, whereby the images called up to engage our passions must be strong and affect our memory in order to banish reflection on the formal presentation or other extraneous attractions which are not germane to the organic texture of a unified work of art. Indeed, he remarks that Richardson's "stroke" is reiterated through "strong ideas which arise by association," while Rousseau's ideas "flash like lightning, illuminate every surrounding object," are original, rapid, impetuous, unconnected, and scarce deducible from what preceded, or the subject in question." Smollett affirmed the aesthetic efficacy of associational response in his review of Fulke and Francis Greville's Maxims, Characters, and Reflections. He wrote: "We are rationally delighted with those objects on account of the association of ideas which they produce."



The Critical's review of Eloisa is, then, particularly revealing in its commentary. The reviewer commends a work "without a single interesting event," though one in which "we are deeply engaged in every situation, and are equally delighted with the narrative of the historian and the lectures of the philosopher," because of the author's original genius which is "incapable of speaking or thinking in the common beaten track." This review is ample evidence of the Critical's concern with the novel as a serious genre which could operate effectively within a given critical framework based on the principles of psychological criticism. No clearer illustration can be given than to compare this review with the Monthly's reception of Rousseau's work. William Kenrick and John Berkenhout's review in the Monthly was essentially an abstract, with very few of the "critical animadversions" which it promised. Following is a sampling of its remarks:

There appears a barrenness of invention in the story; nor are the adventures, simple as they are, very happily chosen, or artfully connected. The characters, again, are unequally supported; nor are their sentiments and conduct always very natural, or consistent with their possessed principles and known situation.... As to style and sentiment; the former is often quaint and affected; and the latter too frequently far-fetched and paradoxical.

...Rousseau has displayed great knowledge of mankind, and treated a variety of interesting subjects in an entertaining and instructive manner. There prevails, also, an air of truth and nature in the conduct of the work, which insensibly engages the attention, and interests the heart, of the reader.



In a word, though Mr. Rousseau falls short in many respects of Mr. Richardson, whose manner he has imitated, yet in others he so far excels himself, as to appear himself an inimitable original....We will ourselves venture to pronounce, that by whomsoever the romance bearing that title is read with profit or delight, this of *Eloisa* will be no less so.⁸⁰

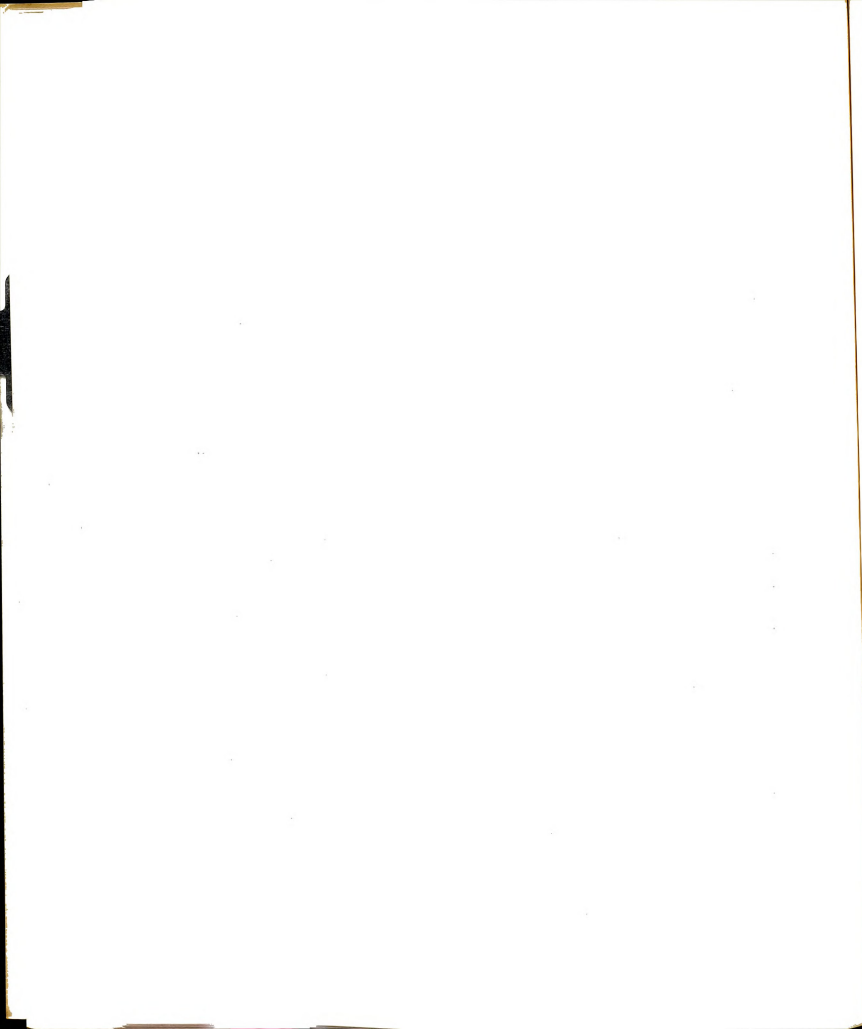
It is probable that Smollett wrote the review of *Eloisa* for the *Critical*. Certainly, the importance of the document and the sophistication of the review itself immediately suggest his hand. The one true echo from Smollett's known work is the reviewer's allusion to the author of *Clarissa* as the "amiable Mr. Richardson," and the reference to his "amiable simplicity." In his letter to Richardson on August 10, 1756, Smollett refers to the author's "amiable Benevolence."⁸¹ I would, however, suggest that the reviews of *Eloisa* and *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph* were written by a single author. Where the reviewer of *Eloisa* calls Richardson's work in *Clarissa* "natural, interesting, variegated, and dramatic," the reviewer of Mrs. Sheridan's novel outlines the merits of the epistolary form on these same criteria.⁸²

But the probability or improbability of Smollett's

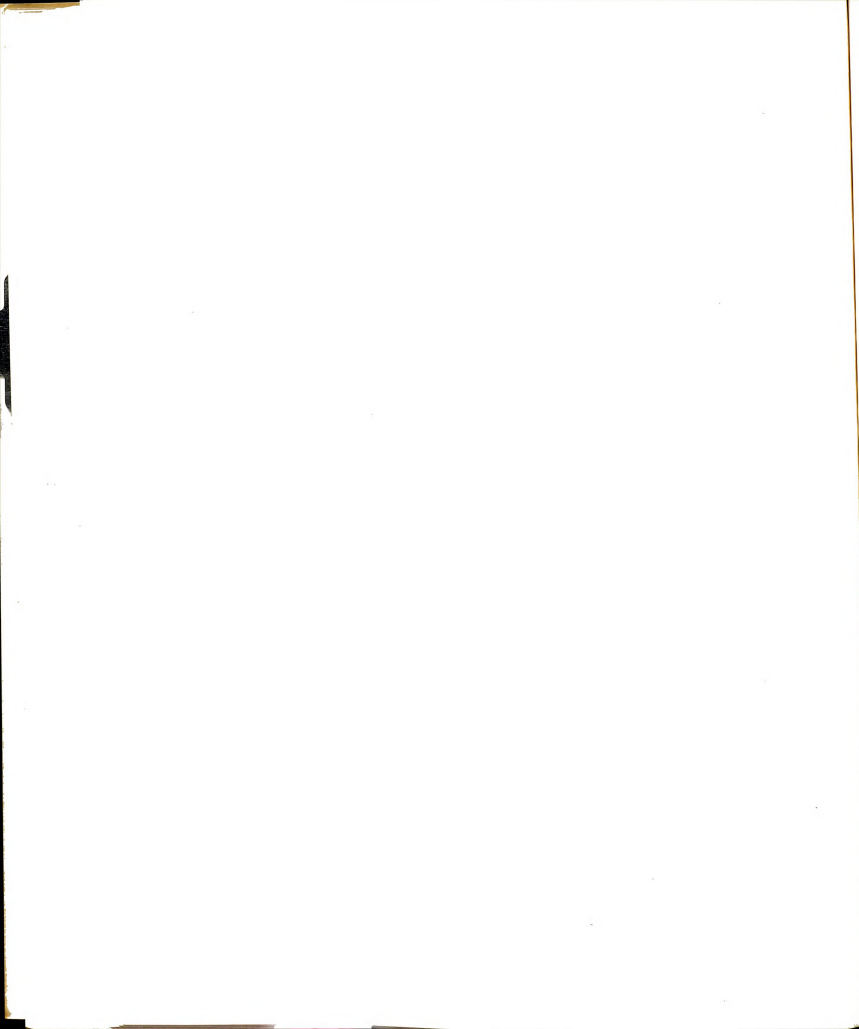
⁸⁰*Monthly Review*, XXV (October, 1761), 259-260.

⁸¹Noyes, *Letters*, p. 40

⁸²See above, pp. 106-107



hand in this review cannot overshadow the fact that the very ideas at work here which forecast the romantic principles later in the century were at once a part of his personal and cultural ties with the Scottish moralists and aestheticians, his response to shifting critical tastes, and his own concept of the novel as an artistic genre. In the preceding reviews which I have attributed to Smollett, or in which I have suggested the probability of his hand, these ideas are reiterated too consistently to allow denial of the possibility of his authorship and/or influence. In these terms, it is possible to suggest that Smollett's influence on the criticism of the novel in the Critical Review was that of establishing a critical context within which the novel could be discussed as a serious aesthetic genre. This is perhaps the most fruitful criterion for discerning his influence. It is rooted in his own work, and establishes an evident theoretical relationship between his concept of the novel and its ethical concern and that of the Critical Review's during the years of his editorship.

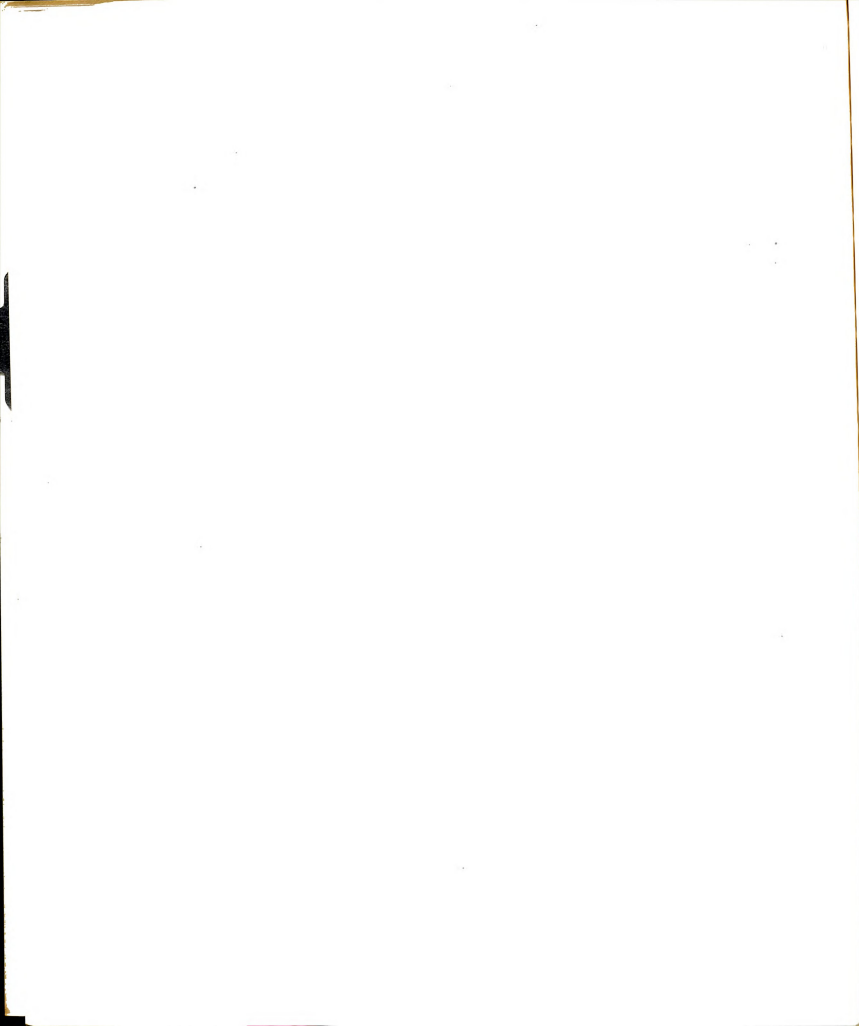


CONCLUSION

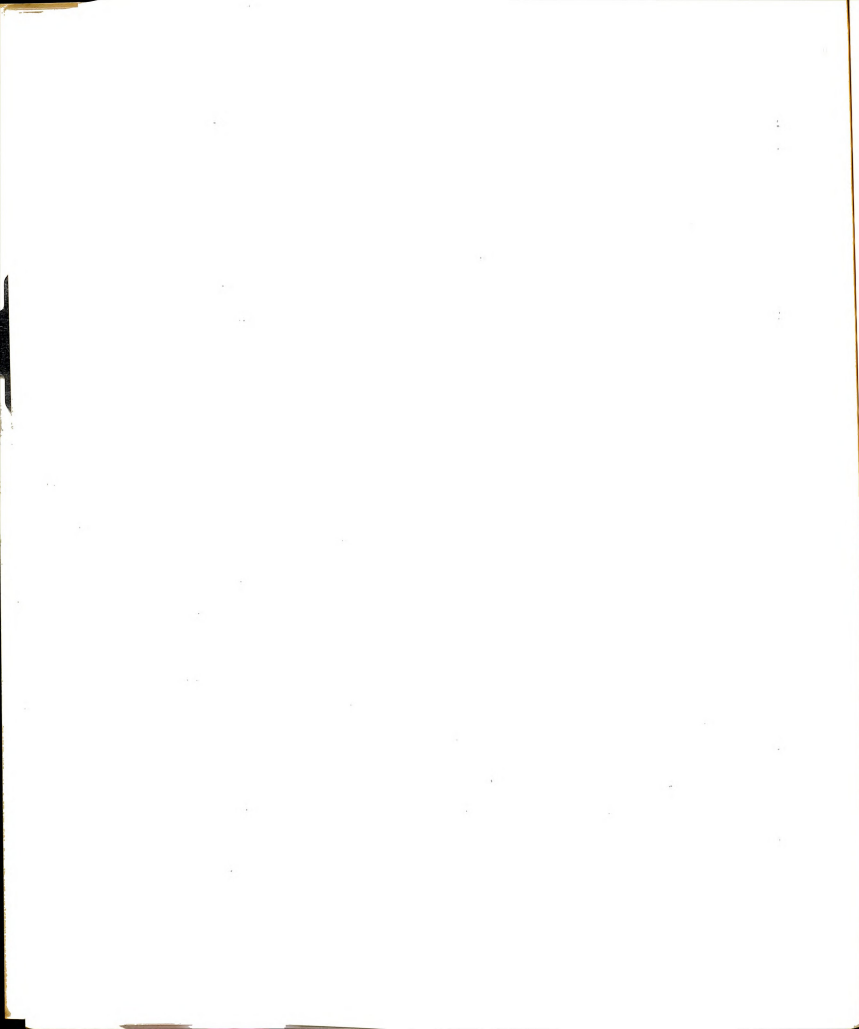
CONCLUSION

It is now apparent that the Critical Review discussed the novel within a critical context which distinguished the periodical from its contemporaries, the Monthly Review and the Gentleman's Magazine, the latter of which merely listed new novels in its "Register of Books" or simply summarized the contents of the work. The fact that the critical context was psychological, and one which affords us an observable link between neo-classic and romantic criticism, provided the rationale by which the novel could be treated as an aesthetic entity, socially, morally, and artistically complete. Although the Monthly acknowledged Smith's moral principles and the aesthetics of Gerard and Kames, it failed to apply their ethical or aesthetic formulae in terms of specific literary problems. The Monthly's refusal to commit itself beyond generality is reflected in its comments on Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments in the number for July, 1759. The reviewer writes: "The principle of sympathy, on which he founds his system, is an unquestionable principle in human nature; but whether his reasonings upon it are just and satisfactory or not, we shall not take upon us to pronounce:"¹

¹Monthly Review, XXI (July, 1759), 2. The full review of Smith's work runs from pages 1-18.



Smollett's influence on the critical policy of the Review is also apparent. Because he was personally and culturally involved with and aware of the movement toward a psychological aesthetic in Scotland, it would be difficult to imagine that his and the Critical's affirmative response to that aesthetic was coincidental, since Smollett's dominating personality was, in a sense, an organic part of the Review's. Certainly, the possible presence of Smollett's pen in reviews of important novels between 1759-1763, and the reflection of his own ethical preferences and critical point of view in other reviews between those years and in some earlier reviews, clearly suggest his stature in terms of the general response of the periodical. It is, again, a response which I feel cannot be divorced from Smollett's awareness of those attitudes prevailing north of the Tweed which received attention in England during the second half of the eighteenth-century. Where Smollett echoed Hutcheson's sentiments of universal benevolence based on a community of men whose nature was essentially good, though many times disguised by self-interest, the Critical also asked the novelist as a "painter" of society not to distort the nature of humanity by representing it in a "false light," but to evoke a sympathy for society and its representatives through the novel's organic presentation, which at once unified the novel as a work of art and directed the reader's sensibility toward moral awareness through imaginative response.



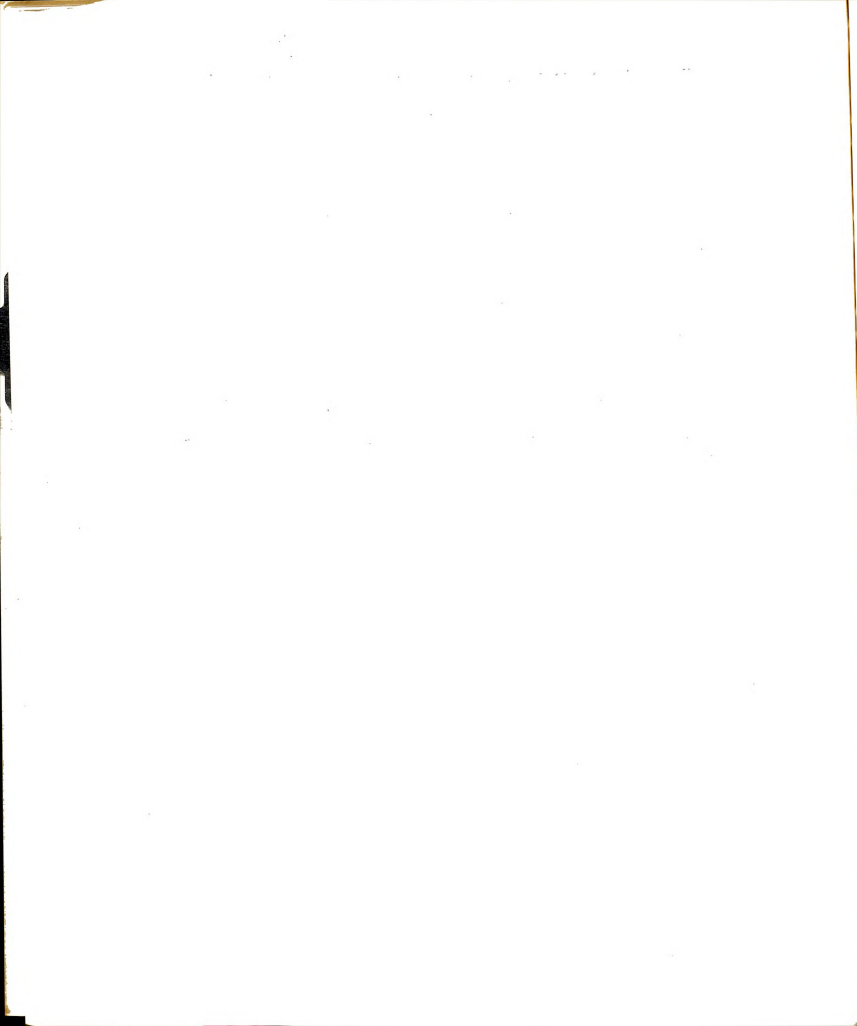
APPENDIX A

NOVELS REVIEWED

IN THE

'CRITICAL REVIEW,' 1756-1763

In my introduction, I suggested that this discussion might urge more questions than provide answers. They are questions which may now lead to studies of Smollett as a serious novelist with a profound concern for the artistic possibilities of his craft, and toward an acknowledgment of the Critical Review as a critical vehicle which looks ahead to the end of the century in its emphasis on an artistic order that is internal and imaginative rather than external and functioning solely on the level of artifice. These studies in themselves would not only continue to affirm the ties between Smollett and the Critical Review, but establish more precisely their achievement in the milieu of eighteenth-century English literature.



APPENDIX A

NOVELS REVIEWED IN THE 'CRITICAL REVIEW,' 1756-17631756Vol. I

The Fortune Teller, or Footman Ennobled, (January-February), 53-56. (reviewed by Derrick).

L'Empire des Passions: The Empire of the Passions (January-February), 92-93. (reviewed by Derrick).

Emily; or The History of a Natural Daughter (March), 122-125. (reviewed by Derrick).

The Adventures of Jack Smart (March), 125-129. (reviewed by Derrick).

The Wife (March), 129-133. (reviewed by Derrick).

The Husband (March), 133-135. (reviewed by Derrick).

The History of Henry Dumont, Esq. and Miss Charlotte Evelyn (March), 136-138. (reviewed by Derrick).

The Affecting Story of Lionel and Arabella (April), 253-262. (reviewed by Derrick).

The Supposed Daughter, or Innocent Imposter (April), 260-262. (reviewed by Derrick).

The Rational Being (April), 286. (reviewed by Derrick).

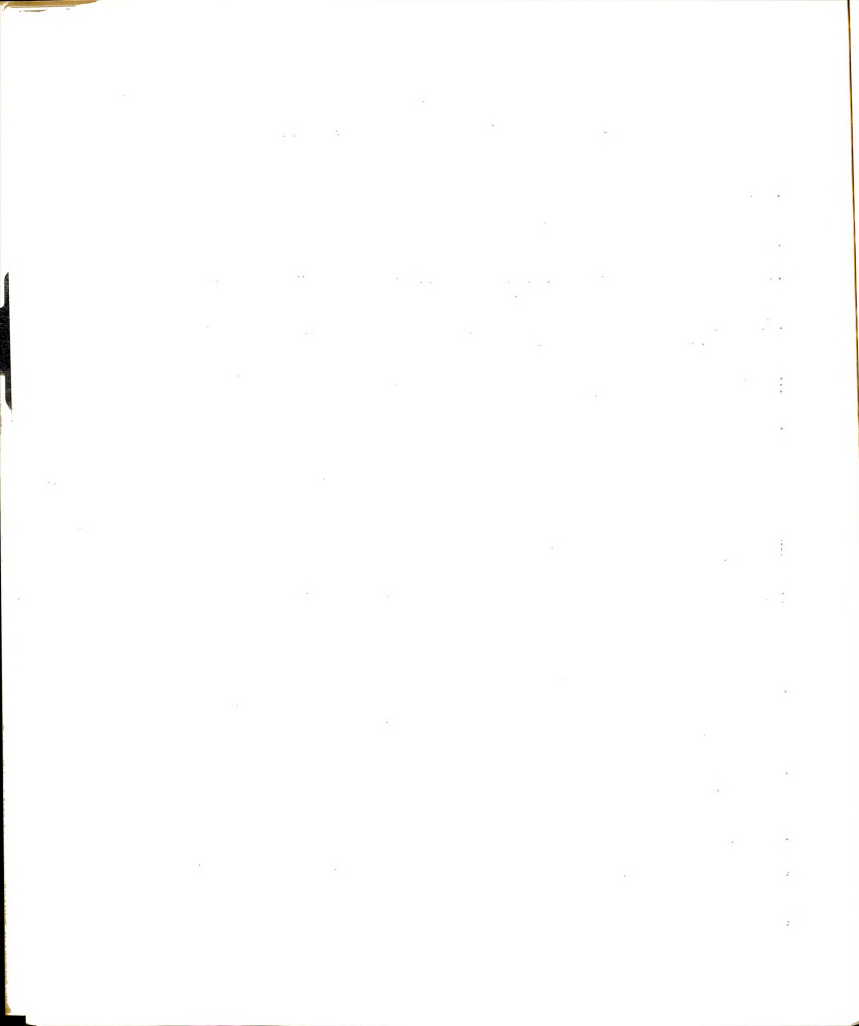
The Memoirs of the Countess of Berce (May), 312-314. (reviewed by Derrick).

The Paths of Virtue Delineated (May), 315-316. (reviewed by Derrick)

Vol. II

The Life and Memoirs of Mr. Ephraim Tristram Bates (September) 138-143. (reviewed by Derrick).

The Life of John Bunclie Esq. (October), 219-227. (reviewed by Francklin).



Memoirs of the Noted Buckhorse (October), 275-276. (reviewed by Francklin).

The Jilts; or, Female Fortune-Hunters (October), 276. (reviewed by Francklin).

Polydore and Julia (October), 283-284. (reviewed by Derrick).

The History of Two Orphans (November), 340-343. (reviewed by Derrick).

The Life and Surprising Adventures of Crusoe Richard Davis (November), 351-357. (reviewed by Derrick).

The Juvenile Adventures of David Ranger, Esq. (November), 379. (reviewed by Francklin).

Northern Memoirs; or, The History of a Scotch Family (December), 448-451. (reviewed by Derrick).

1757

Vol. III

The Apparition, or Female Cavalier (January), 31-34.

Du Plessis's Memoirs (February), 113-118.

Memoirs of Miss Kitty N (February), 177.

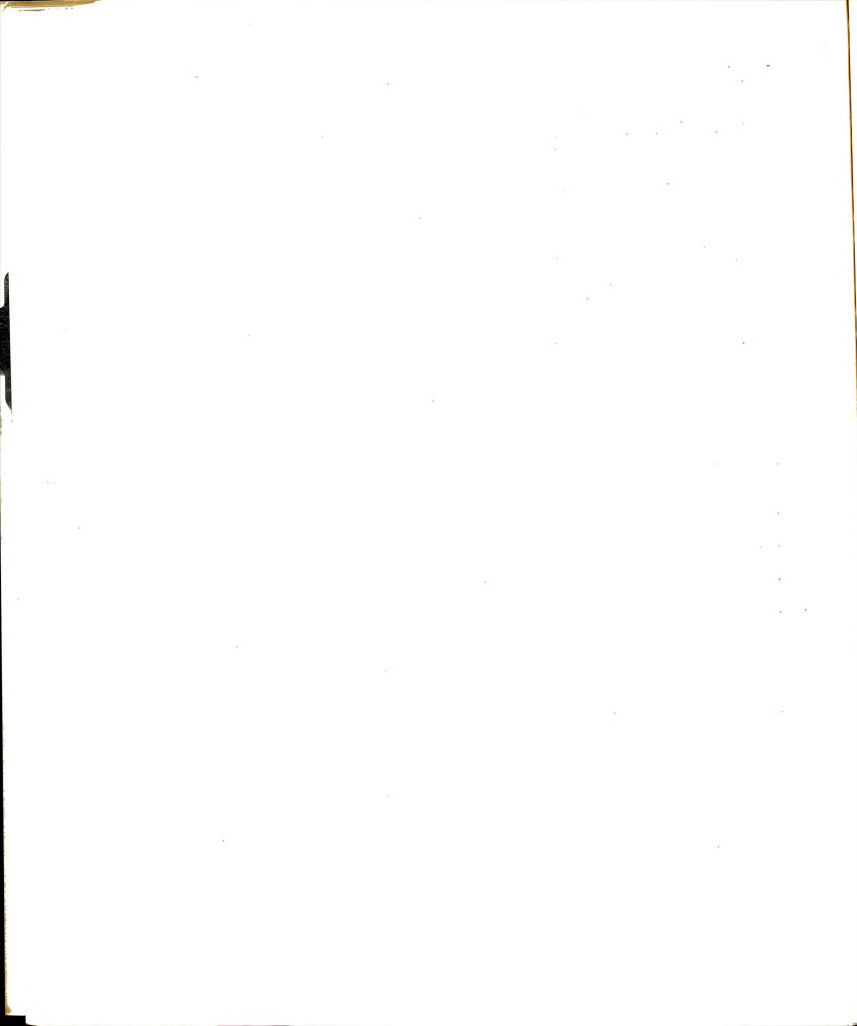
The Bubbled Knights; or Successful Contrivances (February), 187.

The Fortunate Villager, or The Adventures of Sir Andrew Thomson (February), 187.

Memoirs of a Young Lady of Quality, a Platonist (March), 252-258.

Memoirs of the History of Madame de Maintenon, and of the Last Age (April), 347-361.

A Series of Genuine Letters between Henry and Frances (May), 428-432.



True Merit, True Happiness (May), 467-469.

The Life of Mr. John Van (May), 476.

Love and Friendship, or The Fair Fugitive (May), 476-477.

The Anti-Gallican (May), 477.

Vol. IV

The Mother in-Law, or The Innocent Sufferer (July), 95.

The Memoirs of Harriet and Charlotte Meanwell (July), 95.

The Fair Citizen, or The Real Adventures of Miss Charlotte Bellmour (July), 95.

The School of Friendship (L'Ecole de L'Amitie) (September), 274.

Memoirs of Sir Thomas Hughson and Mr. Joseph Williams (November), 460-461.

The Unfortunate Beauty; or, Memoirs of Miss Anna Maria Soames and Lord Bruce (November), 461.

The History of Cleanthes and Celemene (November), 461.

The Impetuous Lover, or The Guiltless Parricide (November), 461.

The History of Two Modern Adventurers (November), 464.

Nine, a novel (December), 539-543.

Memoirs of Sir Roger and his son Joe (December), 552.

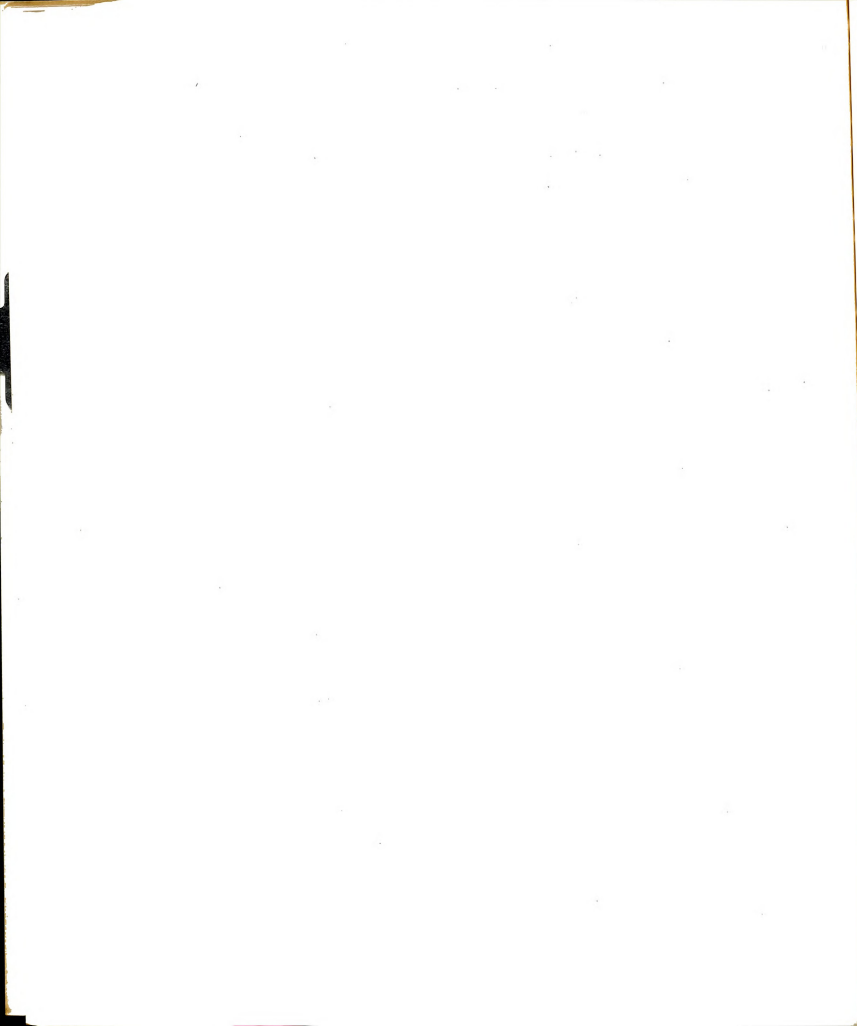
1758

Vol. V

The History of Miss Sally Sable (January), 28-32.

Henrietta (February), 122-130.

Memoirs of a Young Lady of Family (February), 170.



The History of Amanda (February), 172-173.

Chiron: or The Mental Optician (March), 244-248.

The Memoirs of a Protestant Condemned to the Gallies Mof
France for his religion (April), 300-308.

A Collection of Novels...containing (1) Fatal Charity,
(2) The Unfortunate Little French Pastry Cook, (3) The
Comical Doctor, (4) The Professor: An Oriental Tale, (5)
Sophia, or The Double Escape (April), 349.

1759

Vol. VII

The History of Wilhelmina Susannah Dormer (January), 65-68.

The Campaign (January), 78-79.

The Brothers (January), 79.

Memoirs of Field Marshal Keith (January), 81.

A Description of Millenium Hall (January), 81.

Memoirs of the Celebrated Miss Fanny M _____ (January), 87.

The Happy Orphans (February), 174-175.

The Intriguing Coxcomb (February), 184.

The Novitiate of the Marquis De _____, or The Apprentice
turned Master (March), 278-279.

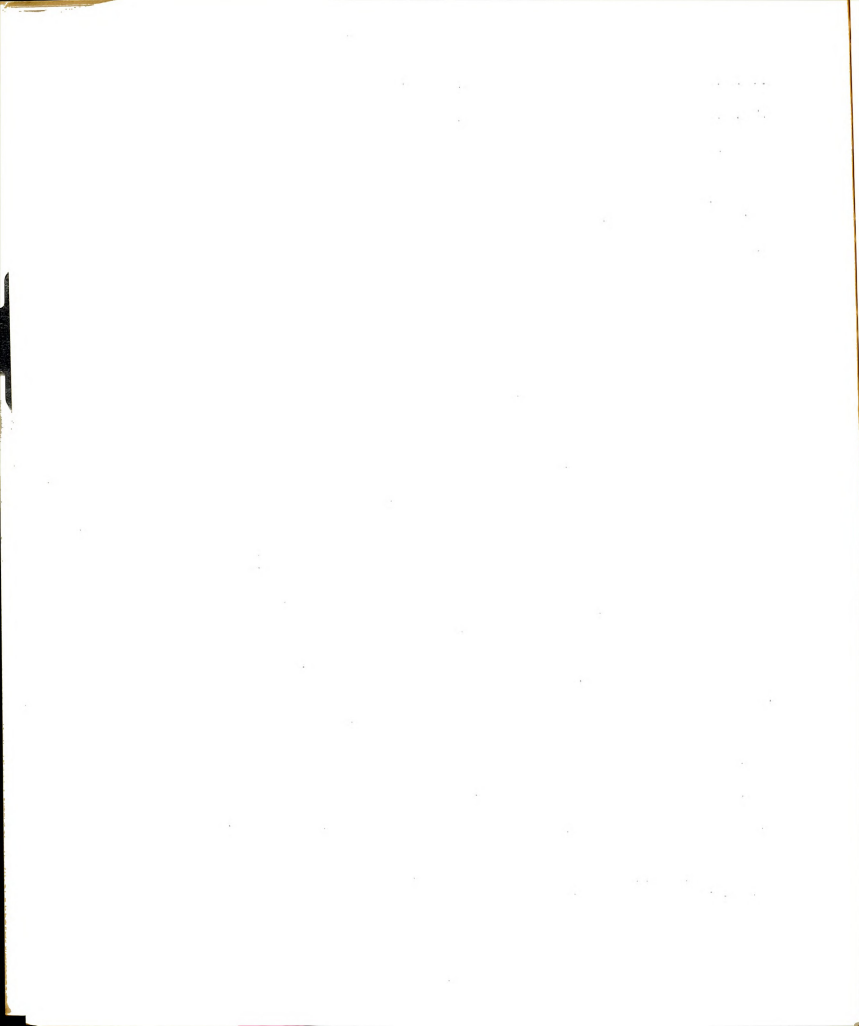
The Life and Real Adventures of Hamilton Murray (March),
282-283.

The History of Benjamin St. Martin (March), 285.

The Adventures of a Turk (March), 287.

The Amourous Friars, or The Intrigues of a Convent (March),
288.

The Cloister: or, The Amours of Sainfroid, a Jesuit, and
Eulalia, a Nun (March), 288.



*The Prince of Abyssinia, a Tale (April), 372-375.

The History of the Countess of Delwyn (April), 377-378.

The History of Portia (April), 382.

The Bracelet; or The Fortunate Discovery (April), 382.

The Mother; or The Happy Distress (May), 409-413.

Abbessai. An Eastern Novel (May), 460.

The Genuine History of Ambrose Guys (May), 463.

Candide (June), 550-554.

The Castle Builders, or The History of William Stephens (June), 558.

The Juvenile Adventures of Miss K____y F____r (August), 176.

Vol. VIII

Jemima and Louisa (August), 165-166.

Female Banishment; or, The Woman Hater (October), 302-307.

Agenor and Ismena; or The War of the Tender Passions (November), 408.

The Adventures of a Rake (November), 408.

The Auction (December), 452-458.

1760

Vol. IX

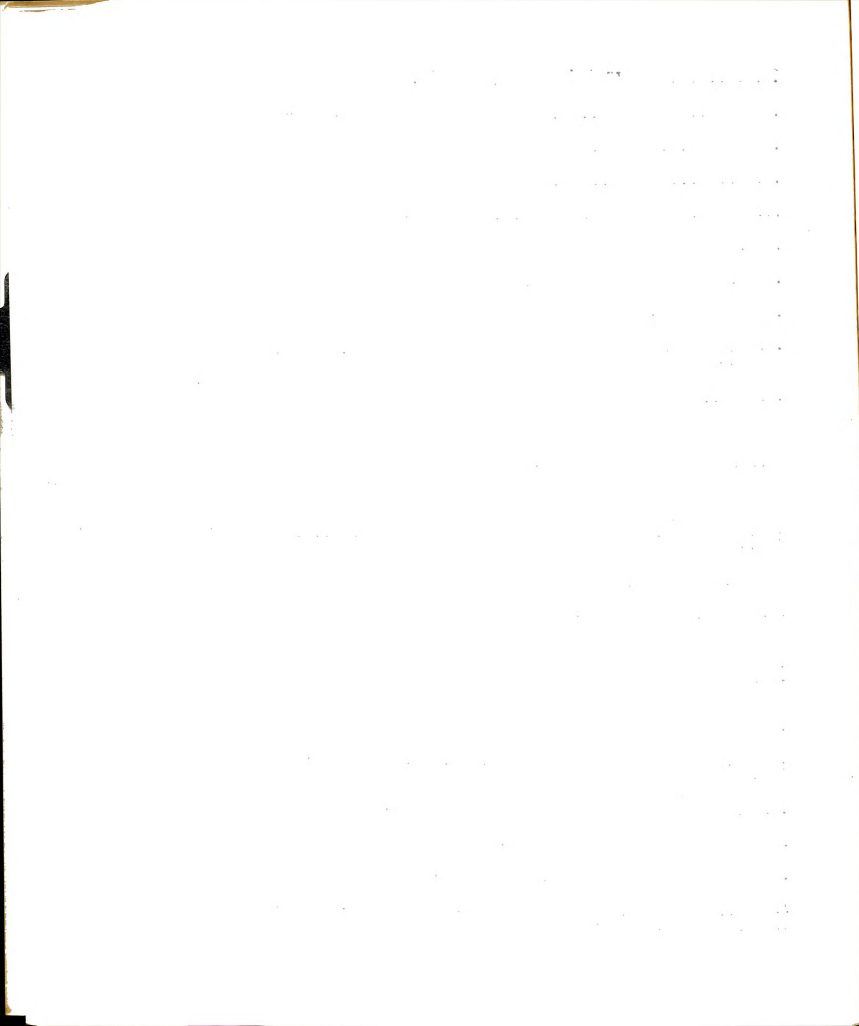
The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Vols. I, II (January), 73-74.

Memoirs of the Chevalier de *** (January), 77.

The History of Ophelia (April), 318.

Louisa; or Virtue in Distress (April), 318-319.

Explanatory Remarks on the Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy (April), 319-320.



The Life and Heroic Actions of Balbe Berton, Chevalier de Grillon (May), 342-353.

Chrysal; or The Adventures of a Guinea (May), 419.

Letters from Juliet Catesby to her friend Lady Henrietta Campley (May), 420.

The Life and Adventures of a Cat (May), 420.

The History of Tom Fool (June), 494.

The Adventures of a Black Coat (June), 499.

Vol. X

The Life and Opinions of Miss Sukey Shandy (July), 72.

The Life and Opinions of Jeremiah Kunastrokius, Doctor of Physic (July), 79.

The History of Sir Charles Grandison Spiritualized in Part, a Vision (July), 79.

The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman, Vol. III (September), 237-238. ----a fraud.

The Romance of a Day; or, An Adventure in Greenwich Park Last Easter (September), 241-242.

Genuine Memoirs of the Celebrated Miss Nancy D _____n (October), 327.

The Rake of Taste (October), 327.

The Imposter Detected; or The Life of a Portugese (November), 405.

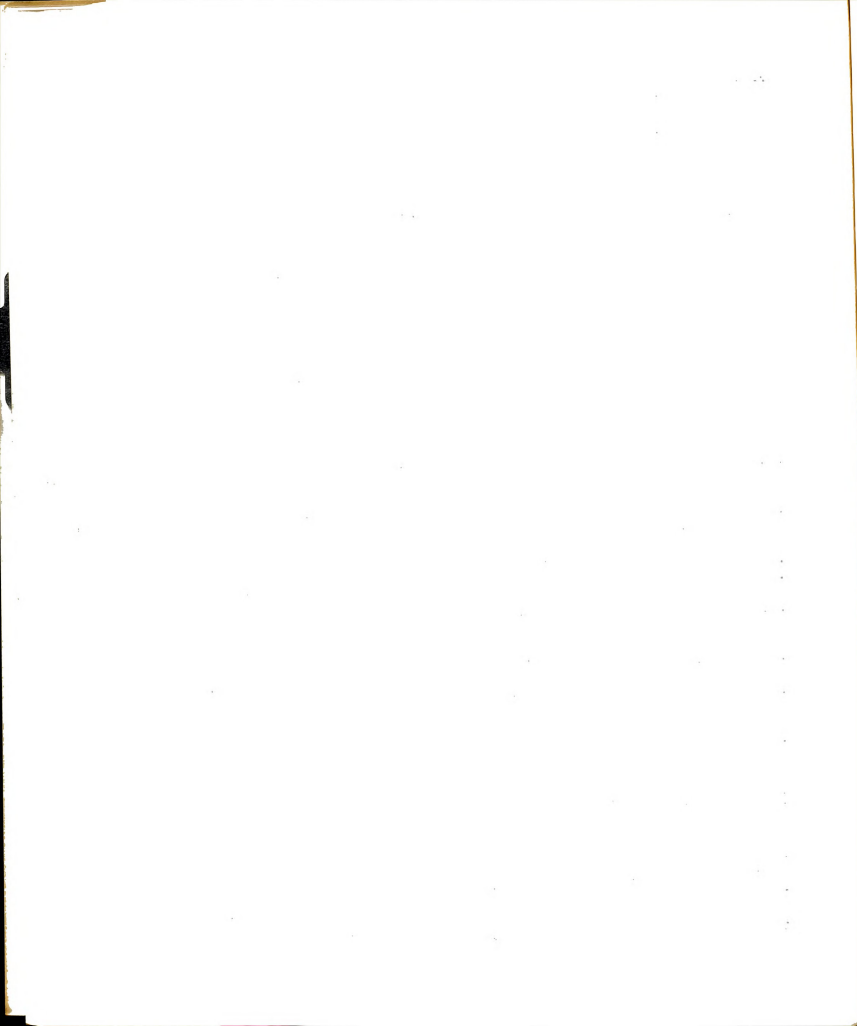
The Adventures of Sylvia Hughes (December), 486.

1761

Vol. XI

Lettres de Deux Amans (January), 65.

The Life and Adventures of an Animal; or The Secret History of the Count du M _____p _____n; etc. (January), 78.



The Wise Ones Bubbled, or Lovers Triumphant (February), 163.

Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph (March), 186-198.

The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Vols. III, IV (April), 314-317.

Chrysal; or The Adventures of a Guinea (April), 336.

Lycoris; or, The Grecian Courtezan (April), 338.

The Life and Opinions of Bertram Montfitchet (May), 393-395.

The Life of Miss Fanny Brown (May), 418.

The History of James Lovegrove (May), 420.

Almorán and Hamet (June), 469-474.

Vol. XII

Candide (August), 131-138.

Eloisa (September), 201-209.

The Kept Mistress (October), 310-311.

Memoirs of Lady Harriet Butler (November), 363-370.

Hau Kiou Choan. The Pleasing History (November), 373-381.

Almira (December), 480.

Memoirs of Mr. Charles Guilford (December), 480.

1762

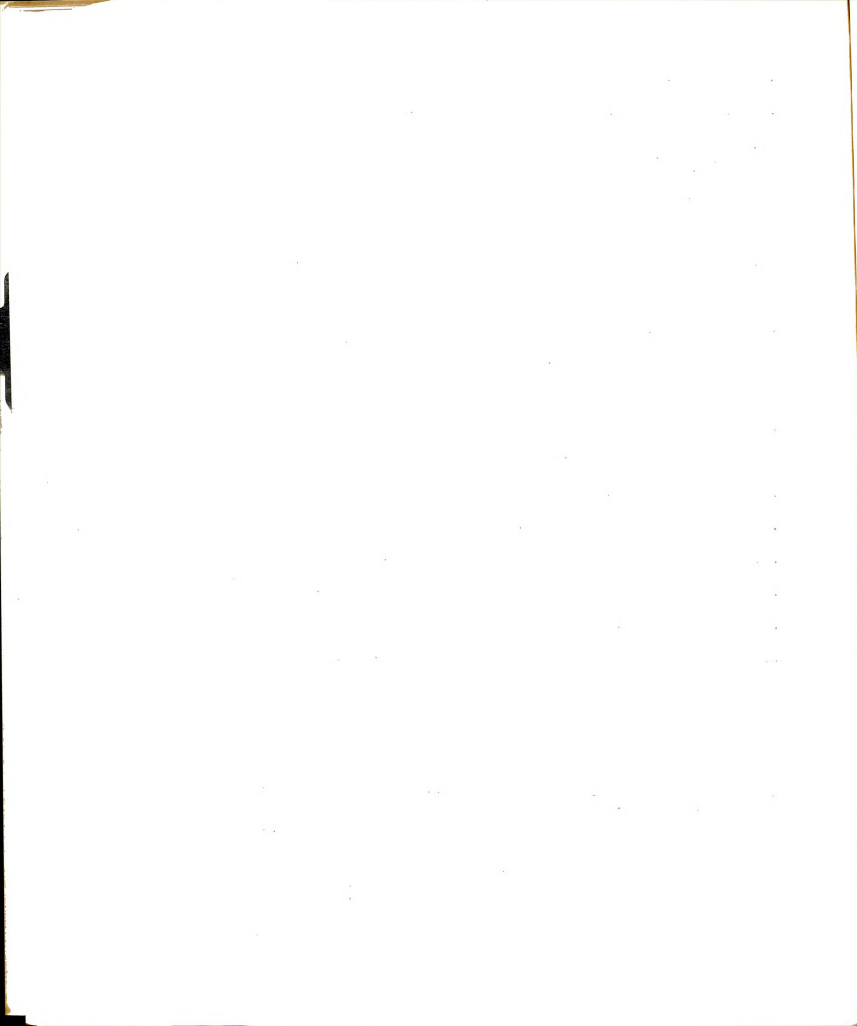
Vol. XIII

The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Vols. V, VI, (January), 66-69.

The Life and Amours of Hafen Slawkenburgius (January), 76.

Solyman and Alméná (February), 148-154.

Letters between Emilia and Harriet (February), 159.



Longsword, Earl of Salisbury; An Historical Romance (March), 252-258.

The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves (May), 427-429.

Sophia (May), 431-435.

Vol. XIV

The Country Seat; or, Summer-Evening Entertainments (August), 156.

The Romance of a Night; or, A Convent Garden Adventure (October), 319.

The Reverie; or, A Flight to the Paradise of Fools (December), 440-445.

1763

Vol. XV

The Peregrinations of Jeremiah Grant (January), 13-21.

Letters from Sophia to Mira; containing the Adventures of a Lady (January), 77.

The School for Wives (February), 130-135.

The Adventures of Mark the Rambler (April), 322.

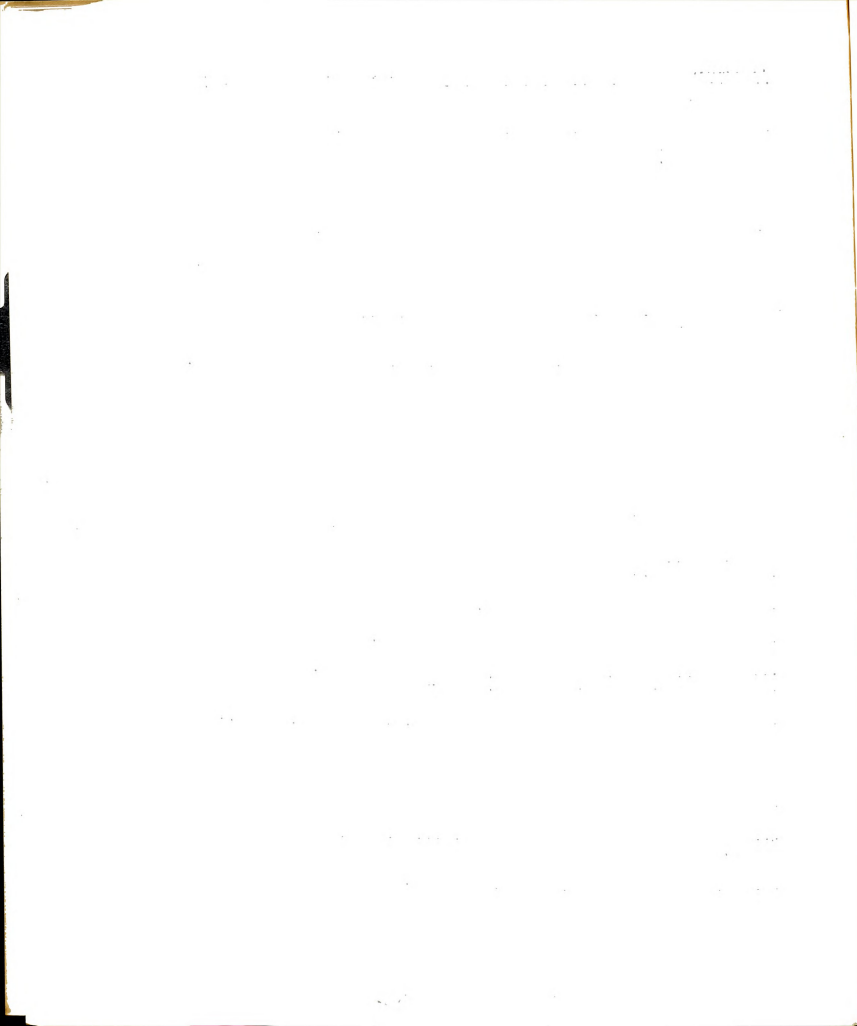
The Dramatic History of Master Edward, Miss Ann, Mrs. Llwhuddwhydd, and others (May), 373-377.

Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Tsonnonthuon (May), 378-388.

Vol. XVI

The Letters that Passed between Theodosius and Constantia (July), 11-16.

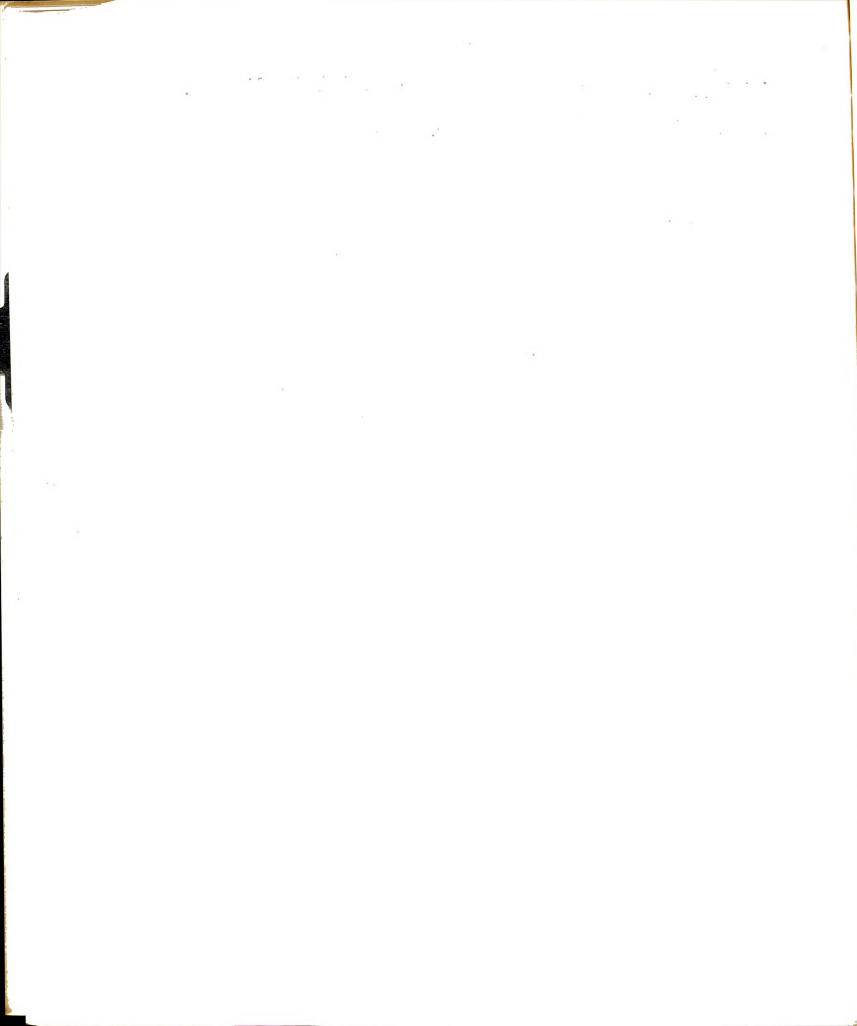
History of Lady Julia Mandeville (July), 41-45.



The Histories of Lady Frances S _____, and Lady Caroline S _____
August), 108-117.

Each Sex in their Humour (December), 449-452.

- * Although not a "novel," I have included Rasselas because of its importance to my discussion.



APPENDIX B

REVIEWS WRITTEN BY AND ATTRIBUTED TO SMOLLETT
IN THE
CRITICAL AND MONTHLY REVIEWS

151A

APPENDIX B

REVIEWS WRITTEN BY AND ATTRIBUTED TO SMOLLETT IN THE CRITICAL AND MONTHLY REVIEWS

I. Reviews known to have been written by Smollett:

Marked copies of Volumes I and II of the Critical Review in the University of Oregon Library reveal that Smollett reviewed the following works.¹

Vol. I: January-July, 1756

A. Cornelius Celsus, De Medicina, trans. James Grieve. 10-23.

Thomas Birch, History of the Royal Society of London. 41-53.

William Borlase, Observations on...the Islands of Scilly. 56-65.

Arthur Murphy, The Apprentice, a Farce. 78-82.

Samuel Foote, The Englishman return'd from Paris. 83-85.

John Shebbeare, A Third Letter to the People of England. 88-90.

Richard Rolt, A New...History of South America. 97-106.

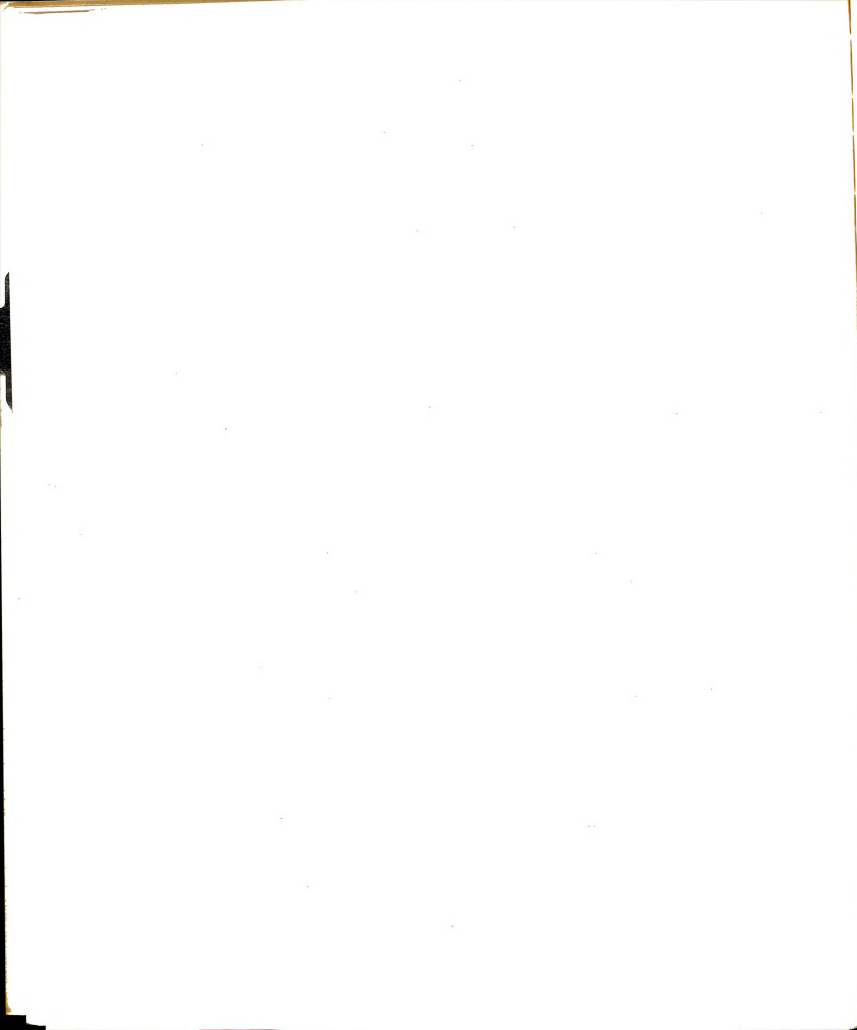
Francis Home, Experiments on Bleaching. 106-114.

Charles Marsh, The Winter's Tale...alter'd from Shakespear. 144-145.

H. Dell, The Spouter; or the Double Revenge. 146.

Charles Lucas, An Appeal to the Commons and Citizens of London. 169-170.

¹The following list appears in Derek Roper's article, "Smollett's Four Gentlemen: The first Contributors to the 'Critical Review'," RES, X (1959), 38-44.



A Fair Representation of his Majesty's Right to Nova Scotia. 170-171.

Robert Taylor, Oratio Anniversaria in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensium. 172-175.

A Letter from Monsieur de Voltaire to the French Academy. 181-184.

A Letter from an Englishman to the Authors of the Journal Encyclopedique. 184-185.

Fulke and Francis Greville, Maxims, Characters, and Reflections. 220-226.

Joseph Warton, An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope. 226-240.

Sir Richard Manningham, Aphorismata Medica. 242-246.

Hyrops, Disputatio Medica. 246-248.

Letters on Mr. Hume's History of Great Britain. 248-253.

The Occasional Patriot. 258-259.

The Important Question Concerning Invasions. 259-260.

John Duncombe, Poems. 262-263.

The Manner of Securing...Buildings from Fires. 263.

Deliberate Thoughts on...our Late Treaties. 263-265.

An Address to the Great. 265-266.

Frances Brooke, Virginia, A Tragedy. 276-279.

Charles Lucas, An Essay on Waters. 321-345.

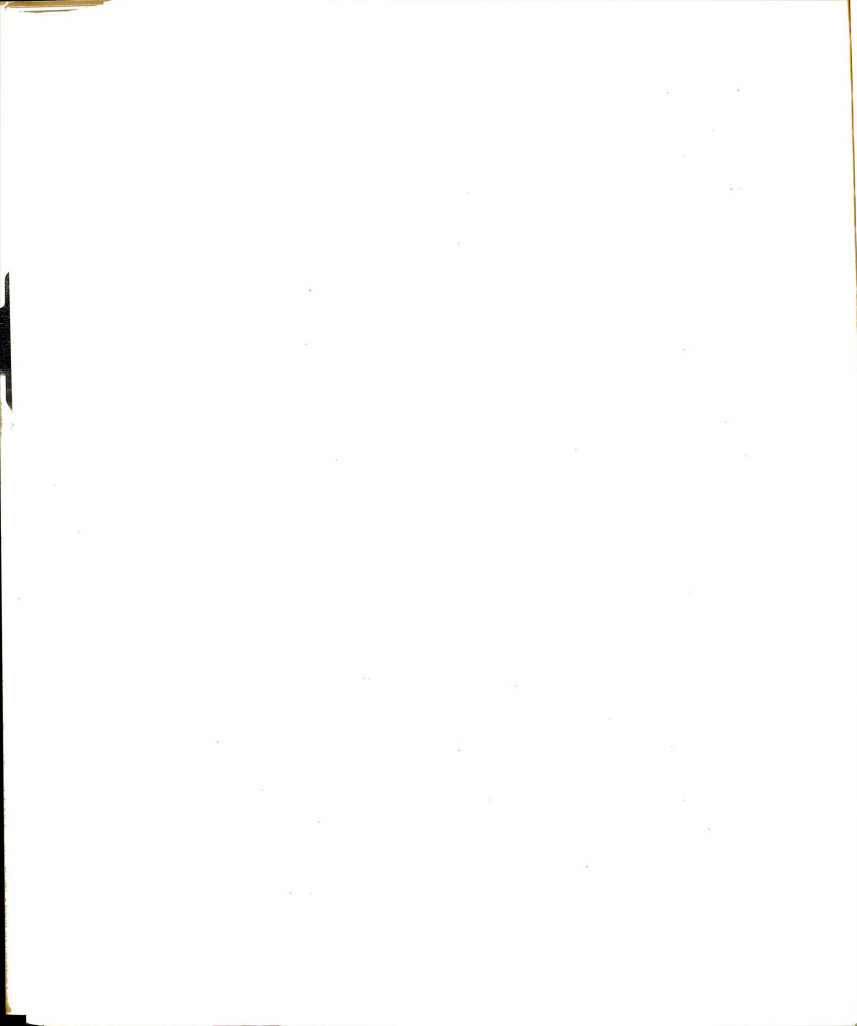
Patrick Browne, Civil and Natural History of Jamaica. 389-409.

Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary. 409-419.

The Target. 438-443.

A Plain Account of the Cause of Earthquakes. 457-458.

M. Mooney, A Dissertation on...the Venereal Disease. 459-462.



Essays Pastoral and Elegaic. 482-483.

James Ferguson, Astronomy Explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles. 511-521.

Philosophical Transactions...for the Year 1755. 528-536.

Vol. II: August-December, 1756.

Philosophical Transactions, continued, 13-35.

A Fourth Letter to the People of England. 35-44.

Diedrick W. Linden, A Treatise on the Waters at Llandrin-dad. 97-109.

A Serious Defence of Some Late Measures. 121-126.

Philosophical Transactions, concluded. 126-135.

Thomas Rutherford, Institutes of Natural Law. 160-181.

Frederic L. Norden, A Voyage to Egypt and Nubia. 186-188.

The Cadet, A Military Treatise. 244-251.

A Letter...relative to the Case of Admiral Byng. 251-257.

P. J. Terrasse des Billons, Fabularum Aesopiarum Libri Quinque. 269-270.

The Grand Objections to Inoculation Considered. 278.

A Full Account of the Siege of Minorca. 278-279.

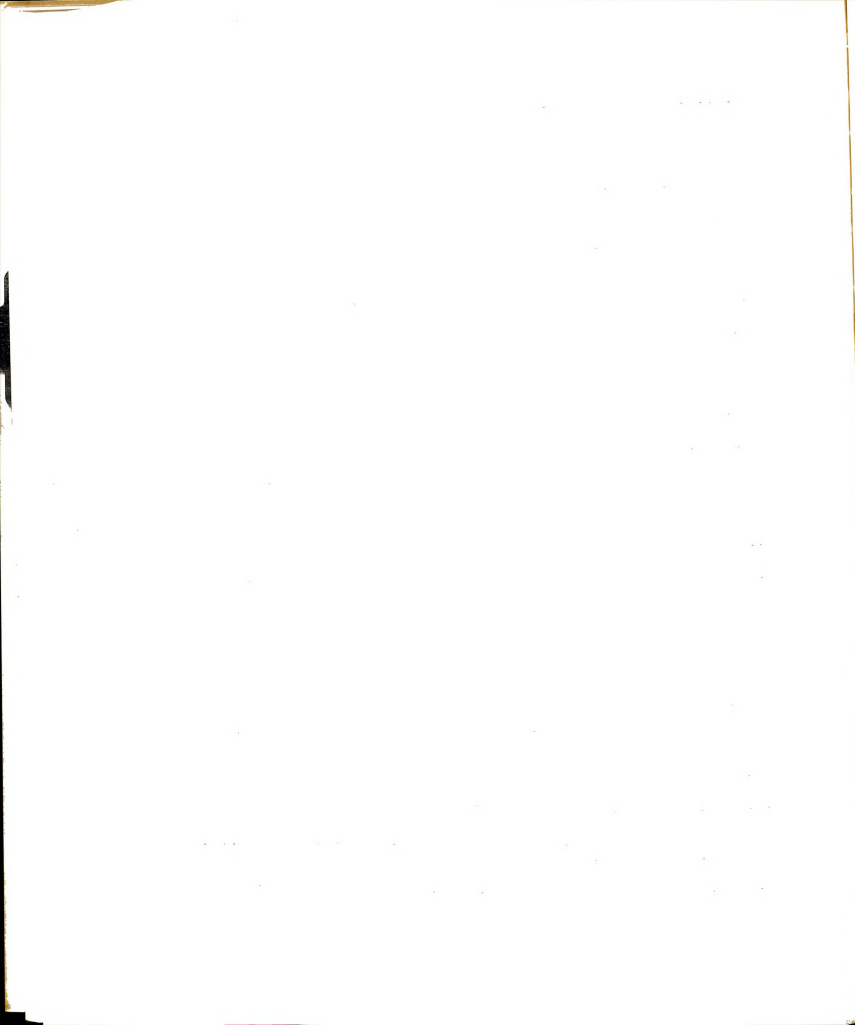
A Full and Particular Answer to...A Fourth Letter to the People of England. 279-280.

The Sham Fight: or Political Humbug. 280.

A Letter from New Jersey. 280-281.

George Thompson, An Account of what passed between Mr. George Thompson...and Dr. John Burton. 281.

An Appeal to the People concerning Admiral Byng. 285.



A Letter to Ad----l B---g. 285-286.

Thomas Rutherford, Institutes of Natural Law, continued.
299-315.

Four Pieces, containing a Full Vindication of His
Prussian Majesty's Conduct. 315-326.

The Monitor: or, British Freeholder. 343-348.

Charles Jenty, Structurae Humanae Demonstratio. 373-374.

A Letter to ...William Pitt concerning Admiral Byng.
375-376.

The Conduct of the Ministry Impartially Examined. 376.

David Hume, History of Great Britain, Vol. II. 385-404.

Malachy Postlethwayt, Great Britain's True System. 432-448.

The Genius of Britain ie. Pitt. An Iambic Ode. 470-471.

An Address to the Electors of England. 471-472.

Some Further Particulars concerning Admiral Byng.
472-473.

"Demost", Three Letters relating to the Navy, Gilbralter,
and Portmahon. 481.

II. A Chronological list of reviews attributed to Smollett in
the "Critical Review:"

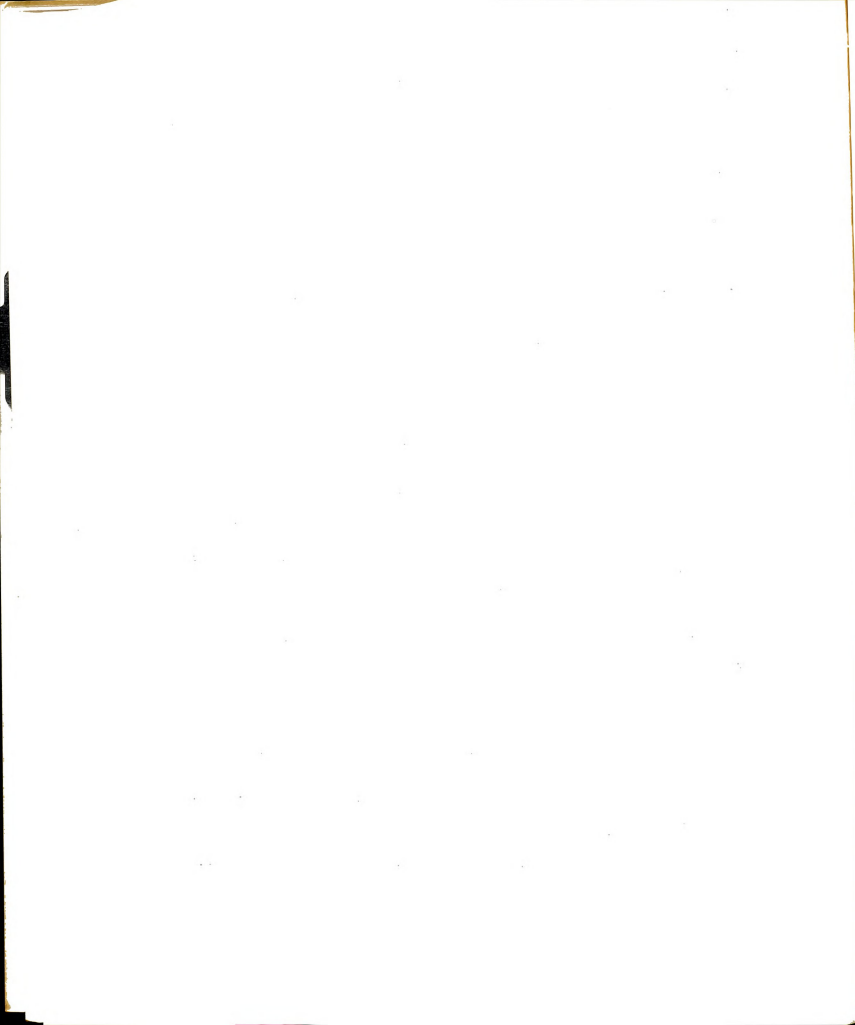
Richard Rolt, A New...History of South America. (March,
1756), 97-106.

Edward S. Noyes, The Letters of Tobias Smollett
(Cambridge, 1926).

The Winter's Tale...alter'd from Shakespeare. (March, 1756),
144-145.

Noyes, Letters.

George Kahrl, "The Influence of Shakespeare on
Smollett," Essays in Dramatic Literature: The Parrott
(Princeton, 1935).



Catharine and Petruchio...alter'd from Shakespeare's Taming of the Shrew. (March, 1756), 145-146.

Kahrl, "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett."

The Tempest, an Opera. (March, 1756), 147-148.

Kahrl, "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett."

Edmund Burke, A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of the Sublime and Beautiful. (April, 1757), 361-374.

My attribution. See above pp. 99-100.

Jonas Hannay, A Journal of Eight Days' Journey from Portsmouth to Kingston-Upon-Thames. (July, 1757), 1-7.

Kahrl, "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett."

A Letter to the Author of the Critical Review. (August, 1757), 149-152.

Kahrl, "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett."

William Battie, Treatise on Madness. (December, 1757). 509-516.

Richard Hunter and Ida MacAlpine, "Smollett's Reading in Psychiatry," Modern Language Review, LI (1956), 409-411.

John Monro, Remarks on Dr. Battie's Treatise on Madness. (March, 1758), 224-228.

Hunter and MacAlpine, "Smollett's Reading in Psychiatry."

John Armstrong, Sketches. (May, 1758), 380-386.

Lewis Knapp, "Dr. John Armstrong, Litterateur, and Associate of Smollett, Thomson, Wilkes, and other Celebrities," PMLA, LIX (1944), 1019-1058.

My attribution. See above p. 113-114

The Conduct of Admiral Knowles on the Late Expedition set in a true light. (May, 1758), 438-439.

Noyes, Letters.

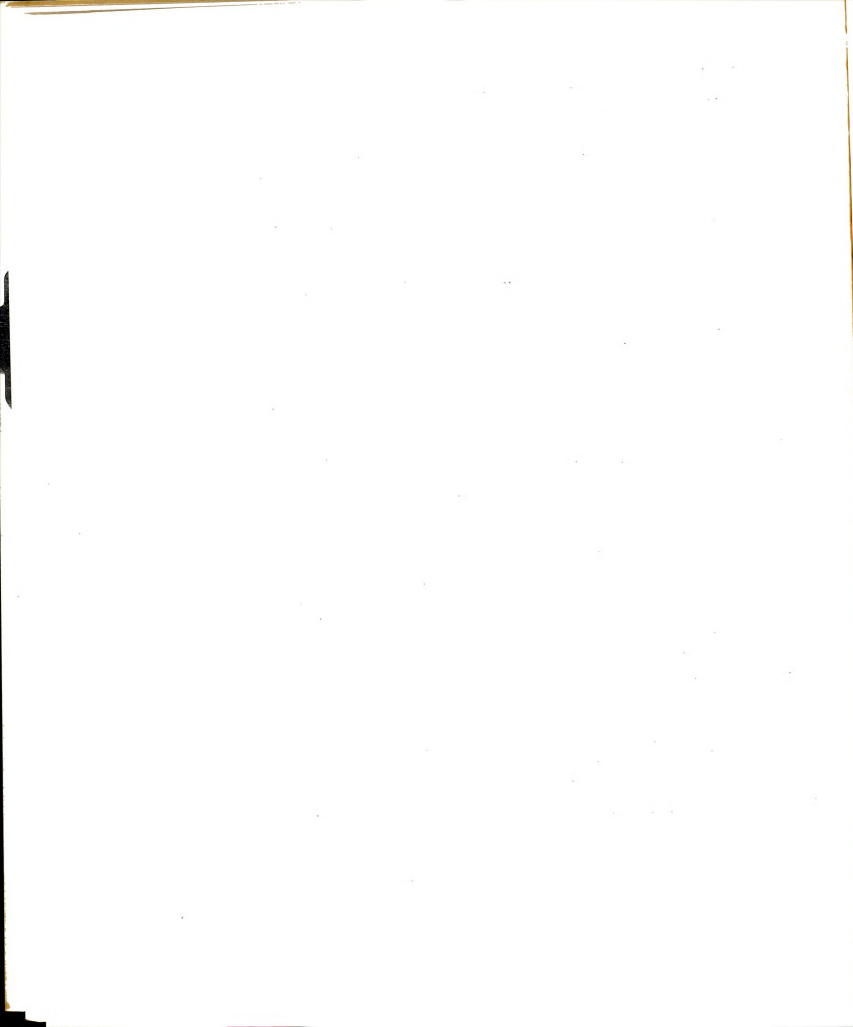
James Grainger, Translation of the Elegies of Tibullus. (December, 1758), 475-482.

Noyes, Letters.

A Letter to Tobias Smollett, M.D....by Dr. Grainger. (February, 1759), 141-158.

Noyes, Letters.

Kahrl, "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett."



A Scrutiny: or the Critics Criticised. (February, 1759).
160-167.

Kahrl, "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett."

Samuel Johnson, Rasselas. (April, 1759), 372-375.

My attribution. See above pp. 96-99.

Adam Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments. (May, 1759),
383-399.

My Attribution. See above p. 98.

Alexander Gerard, Essay on Taste. (May, 1759), 440-447.

My attribution. See above pp. 98-99.

Voltaire, Candide. (June, 1759), 550-554.

My attribution. See above pp. 123-126.

Charles Johnstone, Chrysal, or The Adventures of a Guinea.

My attribution. See above pp. 118-122.

James Foster, "Smollett and the Atom," PMLA LXVIII
(1953), 1032-1046.

Frances Sheridan, The Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph.

(March, 1761), 186-198.

My attribution. See above pp. 108-110.

Archibald Bower, History of the Popes, Vol. V. (March, 1761),
217-233.

Noyes, Letters.

Laurence Sterne, Tristram Shandy, Vols. III, IV. (April, 1761),
314-317.

My attribution. See above pp. 128-129.

Voltaire, Candide. 1761 translation. (August, 1761), 131-138.

My attribution. See above pp. 126-127.

Jean Jacques Rousseau, Eloisa. (September, 1761), 203-211.

My attribution. See above p. 138.

Laurence Sterne, Tristram Shandy, Vols. V. VI. (January, 1762),
66-69.

My attribution. See above p. 129.

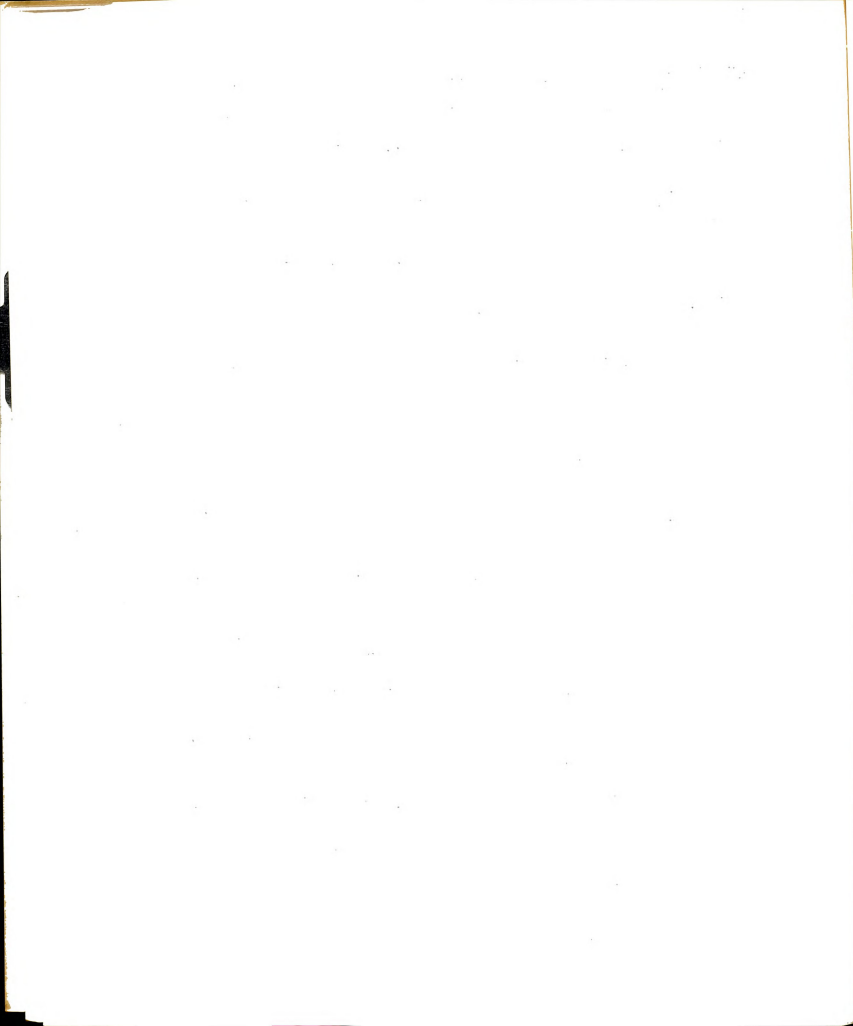
Florizel and Perdita; or, The Winter's Tale. (February, 1762),
157-158.

Noyes, Letters.

Kahrl, "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett."

The Quack Doctors. A Satire. (April, 1762), 363.

Kahrl, "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett."



An Epistle on Poetical Composition. (April, 1762), 363.
Kahrl, "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett."

Charles Johnstone, The Reverie, or The Flight to the Paradise of Fools. (December, 1762), 440-445.
My attribution. See above pp. 128-130.

The Perigrinations of Jeremiah Grant. (January, 1763), 13-21.
My attribution. See above pp. 110-112.

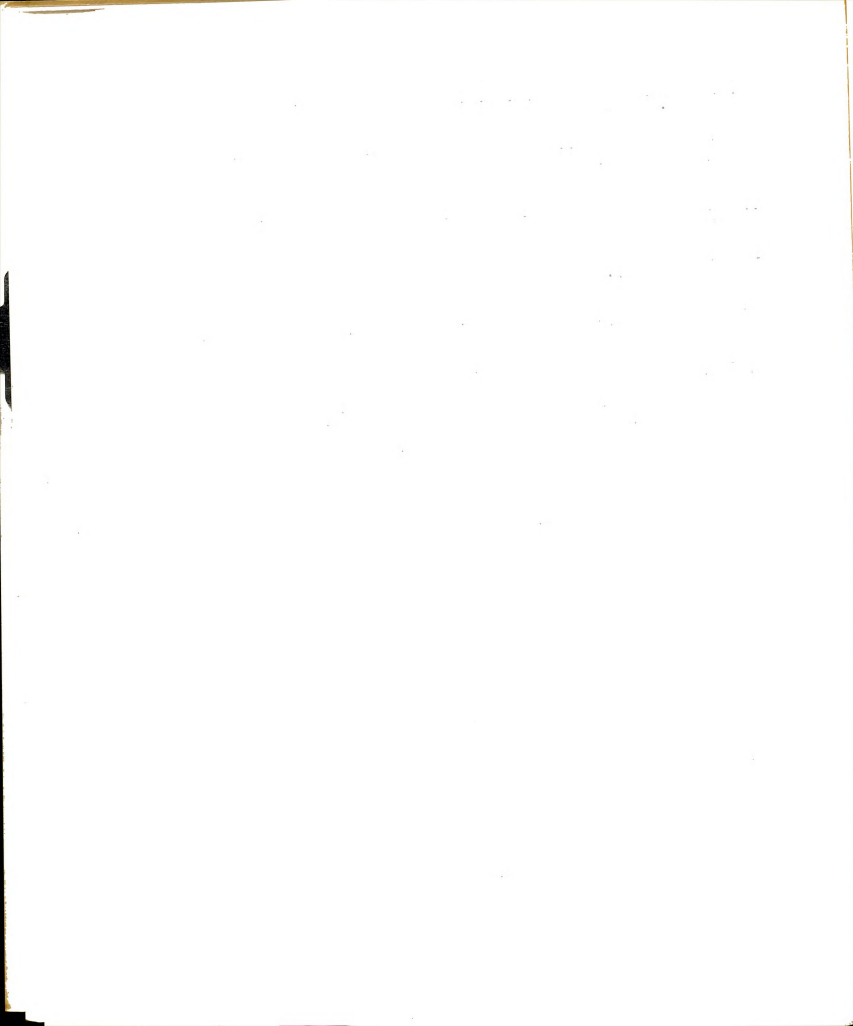
The Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Tsonnonthuoan.
(May, 1763), 378-388.
My attribution. See above pp. 122-123.
James Foster, "A Forgotten Noble Savage, Tsonnonthuoan," MLQ, XIV (December, 1954), 348-359.

III. Reviews known to be Smollett's in the "Monthly Review."

John Cleland, Memoirs of a Coxcomb. Vol. V (October, 1751), 385.

William Smellie, Theory and Practice of Midwifery.
Vol. V (December, 1751), 465-466.

John Pringle, Observations on the diseases of the Army.
Vol. VII (July, 1752), 52-56.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Addison, Joseph, The Spectator. 8 vols. London, 1893.
- Armstrong, John. The Poetical Works of Armstrong, Dyer, and Green. ed. George Gilfillan. Edinburgh, 1858.
- _____. "Sketches." Augustan Reprint Society publication No. 30. Los Angeles, 1951.
- The Autobiography of Alexander Carlyle. London and Edinburgh, 1910.
- Baker, Ernest. The History of the English Novel. 10 vols. London, 1924-1939.
- Ballie, John. "An Essay on the Sublime." Augustan Reprint Society publication No. 43. Los Angeles, 1953.
- Bate, Walter Jackson. From Classic to Romantic: Premises of Taste in Eighteenth-Century England. New York, 1961.
- _____. "Imagination in English Criticism," ELH, XII (1945), 144-164.
- Beattie, James. The Works of James Beattie. 5 vols. Philadelphia, 1809.
- Benjamin, Lewis. The Life and Letters of Tobias Smollett. Boston, 1927.
- Benjamin, Philip. The 'Critical Review,' 1756-1790, A Study. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1934, Princeton University Library.
- Charlevoix, Pierre Francois Xavier de. Journal of a Voyage to North America. Chicago, 1923.
- Cooper, John Gilbert. "Letters Concerning Taste." Augustan Reprint Society publication No. 30. Los Angeles, 1951.
- "Critical Remarks on Sir Charles Grandison, Clarissa, and Pamela." Augustan Reprint Society publication No. 21 (Series IV, #3). Los Angeles, 1950.
- Critical Review. Vols. 1-XVI. London, 1756-1763.



Derrick, Samuel. A General View of the Stage, by Mr. Wilkes.
pseud. London, 1759.

_____. "Preface to d'Argens Memoirs of the Count
du Beuval." Augustan Reprint Society publi-
cation No. 32. Los Angeles, 1952.

Fielding, Henry. Joseph Andrews. Modern Library edition.
New York, 1950.

Fielding, Sarah. The Adventures of David Simple. London,
1744.

Foster, James. "A Forgotten Noble Savage, Tsonnonthuoan,"
MLQ, XIV (December, 1954), 348-359.

_____. History of the Pre-Romantic Novel in Eng-
land. New York, 1949.

_____. "Smollett and the Atom," PMLA, LXVIII
(1953), 1032-1046.

Francklin, Thomas, The Earl of Warwick. Dublin, 1767.

_____. Matilda. A Tragedy. Dublin, 1775.

_____. The Plays of Sophocles. London, New York,
1886.

Gentleman's Magazine. Vols. 26-33. London, 1756-1763.

Gerard, Alexander. An Essay on Taste. ed. Walter J. Hipple,
Jr. Gainesville, 1963.

Goldberg, Homer. "Comic Prose Epic or Comic Romance; The
Argument of the Preface to Joseph Andrews,"
PQ, XLIII (April, 1964), 193-215.

Goldberg, Morris. Smollett and the Scottish School. Al-
buquerque, 1959.

Hannay, James. "Tobias Smollett," Quarterly Review.
London, 1858, 66-108.

Hipple, Walter J. The Beautiful, The Sublime, and The Pic-
turesque in Eighteenth-Century British
Aesthetic Theory. Carbondale, 1957.

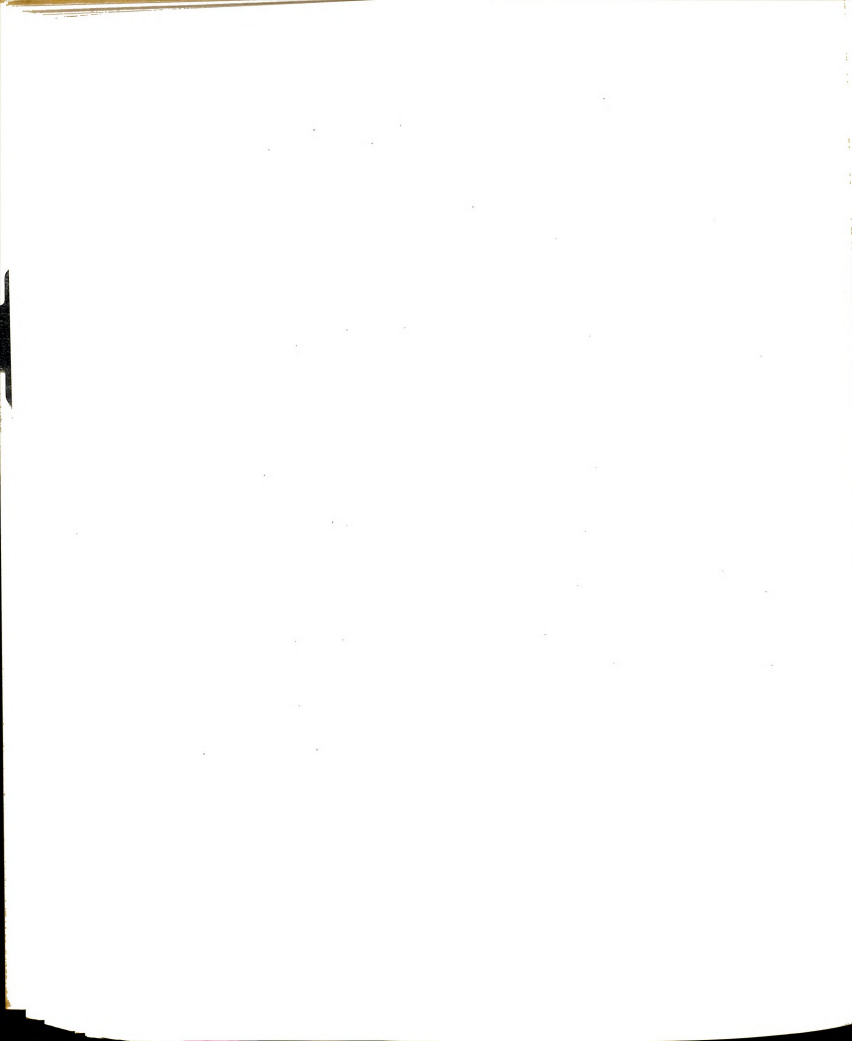
Home, Henry (Lord Kames). Elements of Criticism. New York,
1829.



- Hume, David. The Letters of David Hume. ed. J.Y.T. Grieg. 2 vols. Oxford, 1932.
- _____. A Treatise of Human Nature. Oxford, 1955.
- Hunter, Richard and MacAlpine, Ida. "Smollett's Reading in Psychiatry," MLR, LI (1956), 409-411.
- Hutcheson, Francis. An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections. London, 1728.
- _____. A System of Moral Philosophy. London, 1755.
- Johnson, Samuel. The Rambler. 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1781.
- Johnstone, Charles. Chrysal; or The Adventures of a Guinea. London, 1767.
- Joliat, Eugene. Smollett et la France. Paris, 1935.
- Jones, Claude. "The 'Critical Review's' First Thirty Years (1756-1785)," N&Q, 78-80.
- _____. "The English Novel: A Critical View, (1756-1785)," MLQ, XIX (1958), 147-159; 213-224.
- _____. "Smollett Studies," University of California Publications in English. 9 (1942), 31-133.
- Kahrl, George. "The Influence of Shakespeare on Smollett," Essays in Dramatic Literature: The Parrot Presentation Volume. Princeton, 1935. 399-420.
- _____. Tobias Smollett, Traveler-Novelist. Chicago, 1935.
- Kettle, Arnold. An Introduction to the English Novel. 2 vols. New York, 1960.
- Kinghorn, A. M. "Literary Aesthetics and the Sympathetic Emotion. A Main Trend in 18th Century Scottish Criticism," Studies in Scottish Literature, I (July 1963), 35-47.
- Knapp, Lewis. "An Important Smollett Letter," RES, XII (1936), 75-77.



- _____. "Dr. John Armstrong, Litterateur, and Associate of Smollett, Thomson, Wilkes, and other Celebrities," PMLA, LIX (1944), 1019-1058.
- _____. "Smollett's Letter to Philip Miller," TLS, (June 24, 1944), 312.
- _____. Tobias Smollett, Doctor of Men and Manners. Princeton, 1949.
- McKenzie, Gordon. "Critical Responsiveness: A Study of the Psychological Current in later Eighteenth-Century Criticism," University of California Publications in English. 20 (1949).
- McKillop, Alan. Early Masters of English Fiction. Lawrence, 1956.
- Martz, Louis L. The Later Career of Tobias Smollett. New Haven, 1942.
- Mayo, Robert D. The English Novels in the Magazines, 1740-1760. Evanston, 1962.
- Meikle, Henry W. "New Smollett Letters," TLS, (July 31, 1943), 372.
- The Memoirs of Percival Stockdale, 2 vols. London, 1809.
- Monthly Review. Vols. XIV-XXIX, London, 1756-1763.
- Nangle, Benjamin. Monthly Review First Series 1749-1789; Indexes of Contributors and Articles. Oxford, 1934.
- Nichols, John. Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth-Century. 3 vols. London, 1812.
- Noyes, Edward S. "Another Smollett Letter," MLN, XLII (1927), 231-235.
- _____. The Letters of Tobias Smollett. Cambridge, 1926.
- "Proposals for Publishing Monthly the Progress or Annals of Literature and the Liberal Arts," Public Advertiser. (December 30, 1755).



"Proposals for Publishing Monthly the Critical Review, or Annals of Literature," Public Advertiser. February 2, 1756).

Richardson, Samuel. "Clarissa; Preface, Hints of Prefaces, and Postscript." Augustan Reprint Society publication No. 103. Los Angeles, 1964.

_____. Pamela. 2 vols. London, 1747.

_____. Pamela. 2 vols. Everyman's Library edition. New York, 1959.

Roper, Derek. "The Politics of the 'Critical Review', 1756-1817," Durham University Journal, LIII (1961), 117-122.

_____. "Smollett's Four Gentlemen: The First Contributors to the 'Critical Review,'" RES, X (1959), 38-44.

Smith, Adam. Theory of Moral Sentiments. London, 1875.

Smollett, Tobias. The Adventures of an Atom. Shakespeare Head edition. Oxford, 1926.

_____. Ferdinand Count Fathom. 2 vols. Shakespeare Head edition. Oxford, 1925.

_____. The History of England from the Revolution to the death of George II. 5 vols. London, 1790-1793.

_____. Humphry Clinker. Modern Library edition. New York, 1929.

_____. Peregrine Pickle. 2 vols. Everyman's Library edition. New York, 1956.

_____. Roderick Random. Everyman's Library edition. New York, 1958.

_____. Sir Launcelot Greaves. Shakespeare Head edition. Oxford, 1926.

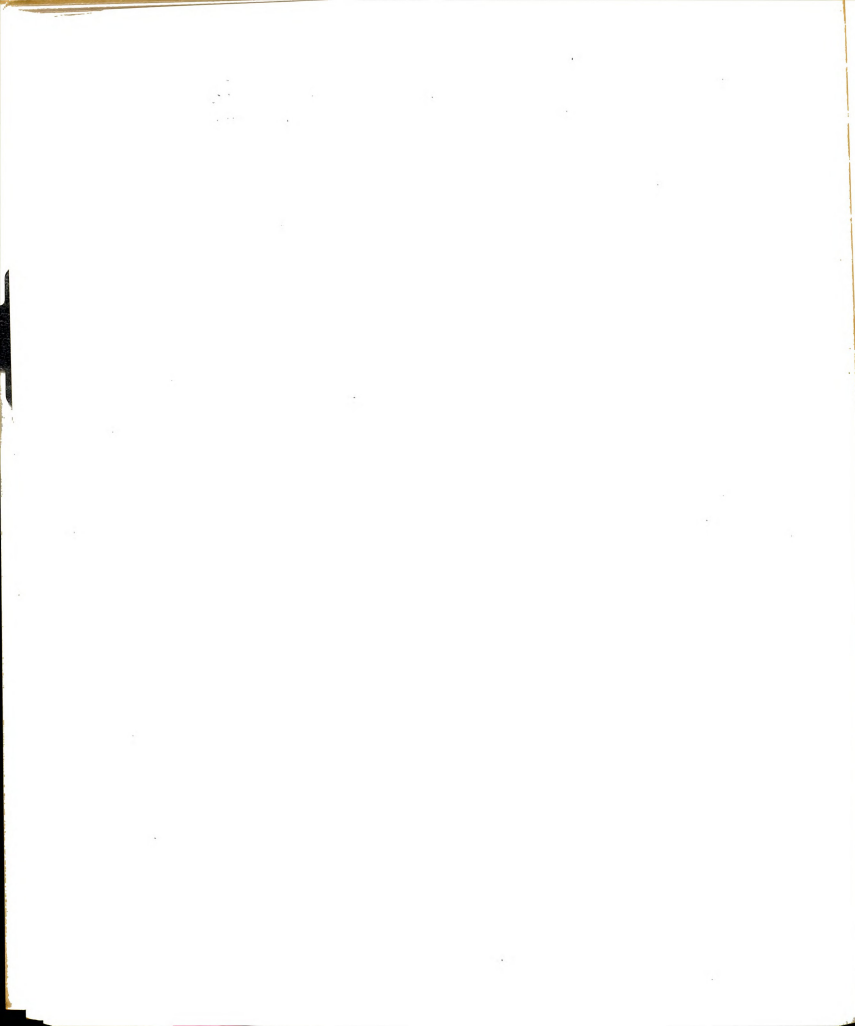
Spector, Robert D. "The Monthly and its Rival," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, LXIV (1960), 159-161.

Stewart, Dugald. Biographical Memoirs of Adam Smith LL.D., William Robertson D.D., Thomas Reid, D.D., ed. Sir William Hamilton Bart. Edingurgh, 1858.



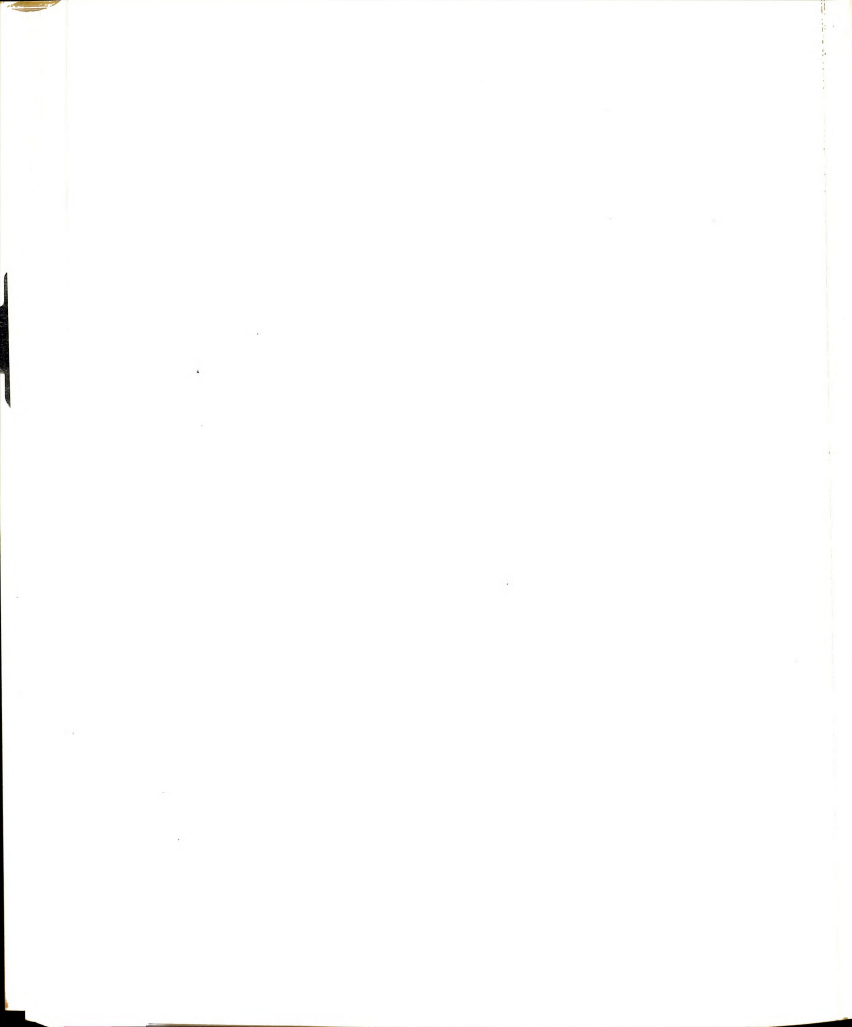
Thorpe, Clarence. "Addison and Hutcheson on the Imagination," ELH, II, 3 (November, 1935), 215-234.

Wagenknecht, Edward. Cavalcade of the English Novel.
New York, 1954.



R





MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293101024853