After Culloden: Anglo-Scottish Identity in the Wake of the 1745 Jacobite Rising

by

Phineas William Dowling

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Auburn University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Auburn, Alabama
August 8, 2020

Keywords: Scotophobia, Anglo-Scottish Union, Jacobite Rising 1745,
Periodicals, Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett

Approved by

Emily Friedman, Chair, Associate Professor of English
Marc Silverstein, Professor of English
Chad Wickman, Hargis Associate Professor of Writing Studies
Jonathan Bolton, Hollifield Professor of English Literature
Christopher Ferguson, Associate Professor of History

Abstract

This dissertation explores the literary representation and negotiation of Scottish identity and Anglo-Scottish Union during and immediately after the Jacobite Rising of 1745 ("the Forty-Five"). I argue that we can trace active attempts to renew a sense of Union through Anglo-Scottish cultural literary construction in the immediate aftermath of the Forty-Five. By examining and expanding upon the concept of "Scotophobia," or anti-Scottish rhetoric and sentiment, I explore how Scottish and English writers addressed questions of national identity in the wake of the Forty-Five. This dissertation contributes to the scholarship of Anglo-Scottish Union and furthers studies of how eighteenth-century literature and media negotiate national identity in times of crisis. The Forty-Five, as a site of ideological crisis, presents a sharp contrast between English and Scottish national identities, but I intend to show how the selected texts function to redefine and renegotiate these distinct identities as part of a larger British national identity. My study begins in Chapter One with a deep examination and explication of race, prejudice, and Scotophobia in the eighteenth century, especially the links between Scotophobia and antisemitism. With Scotophobia as a lens, I then explore how the Scottish are represented during and immediately after the Forty-Five. I examine a variety of texts in a variety of genres, including poetry, periodicals, histories, plays, and novels. Chapter Two focuses on how Scottish identity is "framed" in the major monthly periodicals of the day—*The Gentleman's Magazine* (1731-1907), *The London Magazine* (1732-85), and *Scots Magazine* (1739-1817). Chapter Three explores English writer Henry Fielding's propagandistic political pamphlets of 1745 and 1747, his periodicals *The True Patriot* (1745-46) and *The Jacobite's Journal* (1747-48), as well as his novel, *Tom Jones* (1749). Chapter Four examines Scottish author Tobias Smollett's poem *Tears of Scotland* (1746) and his first novel *Roderick Random* (1748).

Acknowledgments

This dissertation was only possible due to the support and guidance of many, many people. To begin, I would like to thank the chair of my dissertation committee Dr. Emily Friedman without whom I literally would not have written a single page of this project. She has been a constant source of support and guidance throughout my time at Auburn and stepped in to lift me up when others let me down. I will be eternally grateful to her for her kindness in addition to her mentorship. Many thanks are also due to my committee members: to Marc Silverstein, a supportive and vocal advocate who has provided invaluable counsel at every step; to Chad Wickman, whose support and thoughtful guidance has pushed me to go further; and to Jonathan Bolton, who has been a constant and instructive ally. I am thankful, too, for the generous commitment of time and thoughtful feedback from Christopher Ferguson. I am also grateful to Jeremy Downes, Sunny Stalter-Pace, and the rest of the faculty and staff of the English Department at Auburn University who supported me throughout my time at Auburn. I would especially like to thank Betsy Panhorst who is eternally kind and was there for me when I needed it most. I am also grateful to all of my own students who pushed me to be a better teacher and scholar.

This project was also only possible due to the work of several groups and institutions on and off campus to whom I cannot express enough gratitude: the incredible staff and resources of Ralph Brown Draughon Library, especially those who manage the library's online databases and everyone who works in Interlibrary Loans/ALLIES; the staff of the Office of University Writing and the Miller Writing Center, especially James Truman and Margaret Marshall; and the staffs of the Auburn Chipotle and Panera, where much of my reading and writing was done. I must also gratefully acknowledge the staff and counselors of the Auburn Student Counseling

Services. This dissertation was only possible because I was able to receive the help I needed to work through the anxiety and depression that is so common to graduate students. I know that I am lucky because not everyone receives that help when they need it.

I am also grateful to the many people in Auburn who made my life here more pleasant, especially David Vinson, Taylor Bowman, Cindy Walker, Madison Jones IV, Seth Gleckman, Angela Winsor, Linwood Stevens, Elizabeth and Robert Brissey, Tim Herring, Tieanna Graphenreed, Kristina Chesaniuk, Delia Walker, Bryan Williams, Katie Kirk, Andy Arick, Charlie Sterchi, Gary Ford, and many others. I am also sincerely grateful to the support and love of my parents, Barbara Dowling and TJ Dowling, my siblings Ian, Trevor, and Emma, my cousins Ed and Margaret Apsey, and my nieces and nephews Braden, Pierce, Mark, Patricia, Ronan, and Odin. I would not have pursued a PhD or completed my degree without their encouragement.

Finally, this work is dedicated to my wife Amber Simpson and our son Achilles. Amber, you are my inspiration and greatest supporter and I am humbled by your intelligence, kindness, grace, and love. Achilles, there are not words capable of expressing my love for you and the joy you have brought into this world.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

Atom	Smollett, Tobias. *The History and Adventures of an Atom*, Edited by O M Brack, Jr. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989.
Dialogue	Fielding, Henry. *A Dialogue Between the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender*. London: Printed for M. Cooper, 1745. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, [Gale Document Number: GALE| CW0103982678].
GM	Cave, Edward, Editor. *The Gentleman's Magazine*. London: Printed by Edward Cave, Jr., at St John's Gate, 1745-46. From *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection*, Available from *Gale Primary Sources.*
Jacobite's Journal	Fielding, Henry. *Jacobite's Journal.* London: Printed by W. Strahan, in Wine-Office-Court, Fleetstreet; and Sold by M. Cooper, in Pater Noster-Row, and G. Woodfall, at Charing-Cross [1747-1748]. From *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection*, Available from *Gale Primary Sources.*
LM	Kimber, Isaac, Editor. *The London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*. London: Printed by C. Ackers for J. Wilford, 1745-46. From *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection*, Available from *Gale Primary Sources.*
London Gentleman	Fielding, Henry. *A Dialogue Between a Gentleman of London, Agent for Two Court Candidates, and an Honest Alderman of the Country Party*. London: Printed for M. Cooper, 1747. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, [Gale Document Number: GALE|CW0123839799].
Modern Account	Kirke, Thomas. *A Modern Account of Scotland; Being an Exact Description of the Country, and a True Character of the People and Their Manners. Written from Thence by an English Gentleman. To Which is Added, a Poem on the Same Subject; Very Proper to be Bound Up with the New Memoirs of Scotland*. London: Printed for J. Roberts, 1714. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, [Gale Document Number: GALE|CW0103191661].
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 20 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. Continually updated at <https://oed.com/>.
Present Rebellion	Fielding, Henry. *The History of the Present Rebellion in Scotland. From the Departure of the Pretender's Son from Rome, Down to the Present Time.* London: Printed for M. Cooper, 1745. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, [Gale Document Number: GALE|CW0104656882].
Random	Smollett, Tobias. *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, Edited by O M Brack, Jr. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2012.

Serious Address Fielding, Henry. *A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain. In Which the Certain Consequences of the Present Rebellion, Are Fully Demonstrated. Necessary to be Perused by Every Lover of his Country, at this Juncture*. London: Printed for M. Cooper, 1745. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, [Gale Document Number: GALE|CW0105762080].

SM *The Scots Magazine*. Edinburgh: Printed by Sands, Brymer, Murray and Cochran, 1745-1746. From *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection*, Available from *Gale Primary Sources.*

Tears Smollett, Tobias. *The Tears of Scotland*. In *Poems, Plays, and The Briton*, Edited by Byron Gassman and O M Brack, Jr. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Tom Jones Fielding, Henry. *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*. 2 vols. Edited by Fredson Bowers and Martin C. Battestin. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1975.

True Patriot Fielding, Henry. *The True Patriot: And the History of Our Own Times*, Edited by Miriam Austin Locke. New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1975.

Introduction – Anglo-Scottish Union and the Forty-Five

More than half a century has elapsed since the battle of Culloden was fought, in which the rebel army was defeated and dispersed, never to make head, nor appear in force again; but no history has yet been published of a war in which the inhabitants of Britain were so much interested, that, as long as it lasted, they thought and spake of nothing else.

John Home, *The History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745* (1802)

In his history of the Jacobite Rising of 1745 ("the Forty-Five"), John Home, the Scottish playwright and minister most famous for his play *Douglas* (1756) wonders at the lack of a published history of the rebellion in the more than 50 years since. Home is not entirely correct, however, as there were several histories and "accounts" published after the war. He may be forgiven, however, as few new histories were published after 1755 and fewer than a dozen by 1802. For Home perhaps it merely seemed as though there was little historical reflection for a conflict during which Britons "thought and spake of nothing else."[1] Home himself certainly lingered on the Rising, beginning his history as early as 1746 based on his own experiences as a volunteer against the Jacobites, and continuing to research and write until it was finally published in 1802. As was no doubt the case for many Britons, especially fellow Scots, Home seems to express a sense of the Forty-Five hanging like a specter over the rest of the eighteenth century following the Jacobite's decisive loss at the Battle of Culloden on April 16, 1746. Home's reflection in his *History of the Rebellion* on the historical silence after the Rising despite Britons' rapt attention at the time speaks to both the rebellion's impact and the cultural desire to minimize it. As a result, the Forty-Five is a historical moment with a significant impact on history, culture, and literature that deserves closer scholarly examination. The Battle of Culloden—the last pitched battle on British soil—secured Hanoverian control of the monarchy

[1] John Home, *The History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745* (London: Printed by A. Strahan, New-Street Square, 1802), 2.

but also Whig control of British history. Therefore, for a long time, the Jacobites and their attempts to reclaim the British throne for the Stuarts in 1715, 1719, and 1745 were often relegated to asides, footnotes, and fodder for romantic songs and novels.[2] Despite this general historical diminishment and erasure, the Forty-Five was a major moment of ideological crisis for the Scottish, the English, and the Union as a whole. The national, political, military, religious, economic, and global ramifications of the challenge to the Hanoverian status quo made the Forty-Five a site for the contestation of Scottish and British culture and identity that carried on into the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The following study is an attempt to understand how Scottish and English writers and artists addressed questions of national union and identity in the immediate aftermath of the Forty-Five. Although the Rising was a very fractious and contentious civil war, I argue we can trace active attempts to renew a sense of Union through Anglo-Scottish cultural literary construction in the immediate wake of the Battle of Culloden. Specifically, I argue that the Forty-Five, as a site of ideological crisis for the Scottish, the English, and the Union, ultimately strengthened the Anglo-Scottish Union through the literary negotiation of Scottish and British identities by contemporary British writers immediately following Culloden. By examining texts from 1745-1750 through a theoretical lens of nation, 'race,' identity, and ideology, I reveal a shift in the discourse surrounding the Scottish and Union from negative and antagonistic before Culloden to generally positive and ameliorative immediately after.

The "Nation," the Union, and Identity

[2] By way of anecdote, although I remember being taught about the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution in high school, and I'd heard about "Bonnie Prince Charlie" (mostly as a figure of Scottish romance, devoid of historical context), I didn't really become aware of the Jacobite risings until college, and didn't really learn about them nor understand their significance until coursework during my PhD.

The "Nation" of Great Britain (i.e., the Union of England, Scotland, and Wales following the Acts of Union of 1707) was defined by the coming together of oppositional Others, as three nations became one. The conflict of the Jacobite Rising was, therefore, a civil war between different factions within one nation's borders as well as a conflict across national borders. The Forty-Five was as much an expression of the tensions of the Union as it was of support for a particular monarchy or ideology. These tensions were part of the cultural negotiation of residual individual national identities within a shared "British" national identity.

My study of this "British" national identity is predicated on the generally accepted concept, as Benedict Andersen expresses it, of the Nation as an "imagined community." This conception of the Nation is augmented by building on Andersen's ideas with the theories of John Breuilly and Thomas Eriksen. Breuilly examines the idea of sovereignty, a claim of authority over/on behalf of a "particular, territorially defined unit of humanity," and argues that in the face of opposition such claims to sovereignty appeal to a "distinctive cultural identity."[3] The Union and the conflict of the Forty-Five is very much a question of sovereignty and ultimately results in an appeal to a distinctive "British" cultural identity. Eriksen, in studying the relationship between ethnicity and national identities, argues that national identity is relational and that "the very idea of the nation presupposes that there are other nations, or at least other peoples" outside one's nation.[4] The nation of Great Britain is defined both by the union of internal oppositional Others as well as by opposition to external Others such as France, Spain, and Austria—all of whom were involved in the War of the Austrian Succession at the time of the Forty-Five. As such, the national identity of Great Britain at the time of the Jacobite Rising

[3] John Breuilly, "Nationalism and the State," in *Nations and Nationalism*, edited by Phillip Spencer and Howard Wollman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 66.
[4] Thomas Eriksen, "Ethnicity and Nationalism," in *Nations and Nationalism*, 138.

was negotiated through internal and external relationships. These ideas form a working theoretical model of the "Nation" as a shared, imagined, and limited/exclusionary construction of cultural identity. Such an idea of the Nation means that national identity is always present tense (although dependent upon a shared "invented" past, as Eric Hobsbawm has it).[5] By this I mean that while a nation may exist for 1,000 years, *the* Nation, its national identity, is unfixed—an ever-shifting idea that is always in continuous negotiation of that identity in the face of oppositional Others, both inside and out. This shared identity is shaped, imagined, experienced, and negotiated through discourse.

To study the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish national identity within the discourse after the Forty-Five, I use a general theoretical framework based on the ideas of Louis Althusser and Raymond Williams to explore contemporary primary literary texts. Literary texts (periodicals, poems, novels, plays, etc.) are part of what Althusser calls Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs). ISAs function ideologically to propagate (supposed) ruling hegemonic normativity, as opposed to Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs), which use violence (or threats thereof) to enforce that hegemonic order. The aftermath of the Forty-Five sees RSAs in action through the military and legal reprisals in Scotland and the trials and executions of Jacobite rebels. But the cultural renegotiation of British Union also takes quieter ideological forms through the press and literature, which are the focus of this study. ISAs imply a certain top-down, singular ideology that fails to explain how moments of ideological crisis, like the Forty-Five, can occur. Although the selected texts are part of larger competing ideological apparatuses, I employ Raymond Williams' concept of "structures of feeling" as my primary theoretical lens. Williams acknowledges the complexity of hegemony and the competing ideologies constantly in tension

[5] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

within the hegemonic order. My study traces the competing dominant, emergent, and residual structures within the discourse of selected literary texts as the Scottish and English authors participate in the negotiation of a unified British identity after Culloden.

Understanding this negotiation of British identity also requires reckoning with questions of 'race' and racialization in the eighteenth century. I argue that the Scottish in the eighteenth century were a *racialized Other* (albeit one of many) against whom the English could define themselves. In addition to the theoretical lenses of ideology and structures of feeling, I use Critical Race Theory (CRT) to explore how 'race' was constructed and demonstrate how the Scottish—particularly the Highlanders—were racialized in the eighteenth century. I rely heavily on the concepts of CRT as developed by scholars like Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Derrick Bell, and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, among many others. The most foundational point from which I proceed is the tenet that 'race' is a (false) social construction to explain human difference and variety. Even though 'race' is not a biological reality, it has real material and social consequences. Following scholars like Robert Miles and Mike Cole, I refer to the *idea* of 'race' (as a historical and cultural construction) in single quotation marks to mark it as a construction and describe the "false categorization" of 'races' as "racialization."[6] Using CRT, I explicate the concept of "Scotophobia" (i.e., anti-Scottish sentiment, discourse, and activity) as a theoretical lens to explore Scottish racialization and its role in the negotiation of a shared British identity within contemporary discourse surrounding the Forty-Five.

The following dissertation is an examination of texts from 1745-1750 through theoretical lenses of nation, identity, ideology, and 'race' to explore the literary negotiation of Scottish and British identities during and after the Forty-Five by contemporary British writers.

[6] Mike Cole, *Racism: A Critical Analysis* (London: Pluto Press, 2016), 1.

This examination is fundamentally reliant on literary and cultural analysis through close reading and interpretive criticism (à la I.A. Richards). While relying on certain techniques of New Critics such as Roland Barthes, I do not eschew factors such as cultural contexts, authorial intention and biography, nor (most importantly) questions of ideology. Ideology cannot be separated from a text, an author, or a reader, and must be considered. My close reading, then, is informed by cultural studies critics like Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall, who examine the contexts of texts (broadly defined) as sites of interpretive contestation rather than of intrinsic meaning. As Hall writes, "Meaning is social production, a practice. The world has to be *made to mean*." [7] The selected texts in this dissertation are cultural artifacts that offer insight into the meaning-making of eighteenth-century British writers, editors, and readers dealing with the events of the Forty-Five. A close reading of these texts allows me to trace the literary negotiation of Scottish and British identity and the cultural meaning of the Anglo-Scottish Union and the Forty-Five in the moment.

Studies of Anglo-Scottish Union and the Forty-Five

This study builds on the work of scholars of Anglo-Scottish Union, Jacobitism, and the Forty-Five. As evidence perhaps of the historical diminishment and erasure of the Jacobites and the Forty-Five, such scholarship is relatively sparse compared to similar fields, such as Anglo-Irish studies. The scholarship relevant to this dissertation falls into a few general categories: Jacobite Studies, Studies of the Forty-Five, and Literary Studies of Anglo-Scottish Union.

Jacobite Studies

Paul Monod points out that until the 1970s, Jacobitism was mostly ignored by British

[7] Stuart Hall, "The Rediscovery of 'Ideology'; Return of the Repressed in Media Studies," in *Culture, Society and the Media*, ed. Tony Bennett et al. (London: Routledge, 2016), 63.

scholars as "a pointless form of reactionary nostalgia."[8] Even then, however, the studies from the 1970s and '80s that deal most directly with the Forty-Five and Scotland are often focused on the figure of Charles Edward Stuart.[9] Since then, we have seen greater interest in the growing and interdisciplinary field of "Jacobite Studies" as a whole and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Scotland and the Forty-Five specifically.[10] Most of the modern work regarding the Jacobites has been focused on political and military history. Many of the major contributions to these studies take the form of historical studies challenging the traditional Whig narrative of British history as uninterrupted forward progress. The majority focus on the ongoing (mostly-English) Jacobite political challenges after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Act of Union of 1707, with little specific focus on the Forty-Five or Scottish Jacobites. Eveline Cruickshanks, a leading scholar in the rise of Jacobite Studies, makes the case in *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (1979) that the Tories survived as a viable political party after 1715 and that Jacobites (or at least Stuart sympathizers) comprised a major portion of the party. She positions Jacobite Tories as a party of opposition to Whig parliamentary dominance. J.C.D. Clark also challenges the supposed stability of Whig history and dominance in *English Society, 1688–1832: Ideology, Social Structure, and Political Practice During the Ancien Regime* (1985) and *Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1986). For Clark, the fact that Jacobites continued to exist into the eighteenth century is proof that British political ideologies and popular opinion remained divided on dynastic issues. Bruce

[8] Paul Monod, "A Restoration? 25 years of Jacobite Studies," *Literature Compass* (2013), 311.
[9] At least six books were published about Charles Edward Stuart in the 1970s, three of them in 1973. These include biographies by David Daiches, Moray McLaren, and Margaret Forster.
[10] Jacobite Studies cover a lot of different topics and areas of focus, so I am focusing this literature review on the major works that have dealt significantly with the Forty-Five, Scottish/British identity, and literature from the 1970s to today. For a sense of the scope of Jacobite Studies, see the Jacobite Studies Trust bibliography, at <http://www.jacobitestudiestrust.org/the_library.html>.

Lenman tackles the larger history of Jacobite activity in *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746* (1980), examining the socio-economic forces in England and Scotland motivating these risings.

Lenman tackles these risings again in *The Jacobite Cause* (1986), this time focused more on the socio-political motivations of the risings, including a chapter on what happened between the 1715 and 1745 risings. Frank McLynn places the Forty-Five in an international context, particularly emphasizing the role France played in the rising, in *France and the Jacobite Rising of 1745* (1981). McLynn expands on this history in *The Jacobites* (1985), providing a narrative of Jacobite activity in Britain and the European context from 1688 through the various risings and into the diasporic aftermath after Culloden to the death of Charles Edward Stuart in 1788. Daniel Szechi builds on these earlier works to explore Jacobite politics and ideology and Scottish national identity in *Jacobitism and Tory Politics, 1710-1714* (1984) and *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe 1688-1788* (1994). Szechi argues for a middle ground between what he terms "the optimists" (like Cruickshanks and McLynn) who viewed "the seriousness of the Jacobite threat" to British stability, "the pessimists" (like Edward Gregg and, to some extent, Lenman) who doubt the real clout and possibility for success of the Jacobite cause, and "the rejectionists" who deny any real historical credit to the Jacobite movement.[11]

Even broader historical overviews of Britain and the Union, whether "optimists" or otherwise, have had to address the Jacobite threat and Stuart sympathies as challenges to the Union. Linda Colley acknowledges the threat of Scottish Jacobitism (with its nationalist, French, and Catholic connotations) as a challenge to a unified British national identity in *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (1992). Colley argues, however, that this threat and the

[11] Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe 1688-1788, 2nd ed.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019.), 2-6.

suppression of the Jacobites (and Scottish difference) after Culloden were part of a larger movement toward union and the formation of a British identity. In *Scotland and the Union, 1707–2007* (2008), T. M. Divine also identifies Jacobitism in Scotland in the first half of the eighteenth century as a motivating force for Protestant Scots to embrace the Union as protection against Catholic and French influence. Paul Monod, in *Jacobitism and the English People 1688-1788* (1989), also argues for Jacobitism and the Stuarts as an important aspect of English political life and culture, but does not address the role of non-English Jacobitism.

Studies of the Forty-Five

Many studies focus almost exclusively on the Forty-Five and its ramifications. Many tackle the immediate political and military history of the Rising, especially focusing on the events of Culloden itself. More recent histories, such as Jacqueline Riding's *Jacobites: A New History of the '45 Rebellion* (2017) and Stuart Reid's *1745: A Military History of The Last Jacobite Uprising* (1996), take larger overviews of the Forty-Five, looking at the movements and motivations of both sides of the conflict. Jeremy Black's *Culloden and the '45* similarly offers a broader history of the Rising, but it looks further back to trace the ebb and flow of Jacobite action from 1688 culminating in Culloden. W.A. Speck takes a narrower focus on the Forty-Five, examining the Rising and its immediate (violent) effects by exploring the actions and shifting reputation of the Duke of Cumberland in *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the Forty-Five* (1981). Similarly, in *Rebellion and Savagery* (2006), Geoffrey Plank focuses on the violent reprisals in Scotland by Cumberland's army, but then traces Cumberland and his officers beyond Culloden into the farther reaches of the growing British empire. Frank McLynn goes even narrower than Speck, investigating military movements and battles of the Jacobites in England itself, rather than the whole Rising, in *The*

Jacobite Army in England, 1745: The Final Campaign (1983). Others narrow the military focus even further to concentrate solely on the Battle of Culloden. Reid returns to go into great detail and provides vivid illustrations and maps of the battle, offering insight into the composition and movements of the colliding armies in April 1746 in *Like Hungry Wolves: Culloden Moor 16 April 1746* (1994). In *Culloden* (2016), Murray Pittock offers a similarly detailed look at the battle, but looks beyond Culloden Moor and the lasting cultural impact the battle has had.

Literary Studies of Anglo-Scottish Union

Of greater interest to the current study, however, is the increased attention on the cultural and literary impacts of the Jacobite cause and the Forty-Five in the last few decades. Many scholars, following the lead of Howard Erskine-Hill, explored the currents (or criticisms) of Jacobitism in the works of literary figures of the early eighteenth century, such as Pope, Defoe, Dryden, Barker, and Swift. Much of the literary Jacobite studies of the 1990s focused on excavating and arguing the political and ideological allegiances of these and other authors, most notably Samuel Johnson. Yet many studies have examined a broader range of Scottish and Jacobite literature and culture as part of a larger conversation about British Union and national identity. Many of these studies cover literature since the 1707 (or as early as 1603) up to today. The most notable and prolific scholar in this area is Murray Pittock, whose work has focused deeply on Jacobite and Scottish culture and its influences on British identity, embodied most fully in *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789* (1997), in which he examines the ways in which British identity is negotiated throughout eighteenth-century British culture. Leith Davis also explores the intersection of Scottish, English, and British identities in *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation, 1707-1830* (1998). Davis argues that the Union is negotiated in an ongoing

literary and political dialogue between Scotland and England. Evan Gottlieb's *Feeling British: Sympathy and National Identity in Scottish and English Writing 1707-1832* (2007) explores a similar theme, but focuses his attention toward feeling and sympathy, what he terms "sympathetic Britishness," as the core of Union and national identity. Similarly, Juliet Shields explores the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish Union through "sentiment," i.e., through a community of shared sympathy rather than blood or socio-political interests, in *Sentimental Literature and Anglo-Scottish Identity, 1745–1820* (2010). Rivka Swenson, in *Essential Scots and the Idea of Unionism in Anglo-Scottish Literature, 1603–1832* (2016), takes a slightly different tack, exploring a longer timeframe of Anglo-Scottish Union, and focusing on what she terms the "essential Scot," the idea that despite movements toward Union and British identity, Scottish identity remains relatively fixed in Anglo-Scottish literature. Swenson seems to be responding to Kenneth Simpson's *The Protean Scot: The Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth Century Scottish Literature* (1988), in which he argues that there is a multiplicity and fragmenting of Scottish identity through Scottish literature. Most recently, a collection of essays edited by Gerard Carruthers and Colin Kidd, *Literature and Union: Scottish Texts, British Contexts* (2018), offers several different perspectives on the role of Scottish literature in the formation of an Anglo-Scottish Union identity. While most of the studies mentioned above are focused on the broader history and culture of Jacobites and Anglo-Scottish Union, this dissertation focuses solely on the Forty-Five and its immediate aftermath. The content of the following chapters is centered around the five-year period from 1745-1750, with an emphasis on how Anglo-Scottish Union was negotiated after the Battle of Culloden.

The Path to Culloden: The History of the Jacobite Risings

In many ways, the battle at Culloden Moor in Scotland on April 16, 1746, between

Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Jacobite forces and Prince William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland's government army, was the final culmination of what began with the so-called Glorious Revolution of November 1688. When William of Orange, invited by Protestant leaders, invaded Britain, James II of England and VII of Scotland fled to France.[12] With James II and VII and his newborn son, James Francis Edward Stuart, in exile, William and his wife, Mary (the daughter of the deposed James), became joint sovereigns.[13] James maintained his claim to the throne, however, and continued a court in exile, much like his brother Charles II had done previously. James still had many supporters in the British Isles, especially among Catholics, the Irish, and the Scottish. These supporters took on the name "Jacobites" from the Latin *Jacobus* for James and immediately attempted to return the throne to James and his Stuart heirs. Because the Stuarts began as Scottish kings/queens before ascending to the English throne, James' support in Scotland was strong.

The first Jacobite rising began in July 1689, led by John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. Dundee, with an army of Highlanders, took Edinburgh castle and seemed poised to secure Scotland again for James. The Scottish Jacobites scored a major victory over government forces on July 27, 1689 at the Battle of Killiecrankie. Despite the victory, many of the Jacobite troops, including Dundee, were killed. The government forces quickly rebounded

[12] A few quick notes on my use of certain titles in this dissertation: James was James the II of England while simultaneously James VII of Scotland. While this made the kingdoms united in rule, they were not united legally until the 1707 Act of Union. Following the practice of scholars like Murray Pittock and Daniel Szechi (among many others), I refer to James as "James II and VII" to mark his two titles in one. Further, I refer to James' son and grandson by their full names (perhaps with a "Prince" appended, e.g., "Prince Charles Edward Stuart") rather than as the "Pretender" and "Young Pretender," respectively, unless expressing the perspective of Hanoverian supporters. I elect to do this for both clarity of who I am speaking of and to avoid projecting a specific stance regarding their claims to the throne. Regardless of young Charles' right to other titles, for example, he is as much a prince as the Duke of Cumberland.

[13] In February 1689, a Convention Parliament called by William passed the Declaration of Right, which deemed that James' fleeing the country was a de facto abdication. Parliament then declared Mary (and her husband William) as the next in line for the throne.

and crushed the remaining Jacobite army at the Battle of Dunkeld on August 21, 1689, thereby ending the uprising. This first uprising laid the groundwork for the image of the Highlander that dominated the public imagination of the Scottish and fueled Scotophobia.

Meanwhile, in Ireland, Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, led an army of Jacobite Catholics to secure the kingdom for James in what is known as the Williamite War. Despite initial success and the aid of 6,000 French troops, James and the Jacobites failed to regain the Irish throne and James was forced to flee again after the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. The Jacobite Rising ended soon after with defeat at the battle of Aughrim in 1691. James returned to his court in exile in France until his death in 1701. His son James Francis Edward Stuart James II and VII's son, declared himself the rightful king of England, Scotland, and Ireland as James III of England and Ireland and James VIII of Scotland.

Regardless of James' claims, William III and Mary II continued their reign until Mary died in 1694, and then William ruled until his death in 1702. To further forestall Stuart claims, Parliament also passed the Act of Settlement in 1701, which prohibited Catholics from succeeding to the English and Irish thrones. William was succeeded by Mary's sister (and James II and VII's daughter), Anne. Under Anne, England and Scotland (and Wales) were united as the single kingdom of Great Britain under the 1707 Acts of Union. The Acts were a result of the Treaty of Union of July 1706 which was negotiated by commissioners from the parliaments of the two countries, including Tobias Smollett's grandfather, Sir James Smollett. The Act of Settlement positioned the Electress Sophia of Hanover, James I and VI's Protestant granddaughter, and her (Protestant) heirs as Anne's successors. With both Sophia and Anne's deaths in 1714, Sophia's son George of Hanover became King George I of Great Britain and

Ireland, beginning the Hanoverian dynasty which would last through Queen Victoria's reign.[14]

With the ascension of George I and the end of Anne's Tory government, Jacobites saw an opportunity to return the exiled Stuarts to the throne in the Jacobite Rising of 1715 (the "Fifteen"). On August 27, 1715, John Erskine, Earl of Mar, raised a banner and an army in Scotland in support of James Francis Edward Stuart (called the "Pretender" and later the "Old Pretender" in England). He did this without orders from James Francis Edward Stuart, who was still trying to gain support to act in Rome and France. Once again, the Jacobite army was distinguished by the large number of Highlanders within the ranks, who became symbolic of both the Jacobites and the Scottish, much as they would again in 1745. The Jacobite army quickly advanced and by October controlled most of Scotland above the Firth of Forth (just north of Edinburgh). Having finally received a commission from James, Mar marched his troops on Stirling Castle. On November 13, 1715, Jacobite and government forces met in battle at Sheriffmuir. Despite the Jacobite's superior numbers and seeming victory, Mar retreated to Perth. That same day, Jacobite forces at Inverness surrendered and another force of English and Scottish Jacobites was defeated at Preston the following day. James Francis Edward Stuart arrived in Scotland in December 1715, but the cause was already lost, and he left Scotland on February 4. Although the Jacobite army of the Forty-Five was in many ways more successful militarily, the Fifteen represented the peak of enthusiasm and support for the Jacobite cause in Britain.

James Francis Edward Stuart would attempt another Jacobite Rising in 1719 (the "Nineteen"). This time the Jacobites had the support of the Spanish and Swedish, and a joint

[14] Although the current British monarchy (the House Windsor) is directly descended from the Hanover line, Victoria's son and heir Edward VII is technically considered part of the House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha line from his father, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. Edward's own son, George V would later change the family name to House Windsor when he ascended to the throne in 1917.

invasion on multiple fronts was planned. Swedish support fell through with the death of King Charles XII of Sweden, and the Spanish invasion of Southern England was canceled after the fleet was damaged by storms. A small contingent of Jacobites and Spanish marines landed in Scotland in March 1719, but they were met with little support. Government forces met them at Glen Sheil on June 10, 1715, and overwhelmed them with mortar fire. The Nineteen ended almost as soon as it began and is seen as little more than a footnote in the mostly forgotten War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-1720).

Thirty years after the Fifteen, Prince Charles Edward Stuart (the "Young Pretender"), the eldest son of James Francis Edward Stuart, took up the Stuart banner in Scotland once again. By this time, James had been forced to move his court to Rome under the protection of the Catholic Church. It was Rome where Charles was born and raised. Young, ambitious, and encouraged by Jacobite allies in Britain, Charles went to France in 1744 to ask for support in leading an invasion. France was once again embroiled in war with England in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), and in 1743, France and Spain had signed the Treaty of Fontainebleau to form an alliance against Great Britain, which included support for the restoration of the Stuarts, so the young Stuart found reason to hope. While French support was slow to mobilize, Charles began his own preparations.

Charles sailed for Scotland with only two ships (only one of which completed the journey) and landed at Eriskay Island in the Outer Hebrides on July 23, 1745. He quickly made his way to mainland Scotland and began raising support for his cause. On August 19, 1745, Charles officially launched the Jacobite Rising of 1745 (the "Forty-Five") when he raised the Stuart Royal Standard at Glenfinnan, about 100 miles northwest of Edinburgh. The Jacobite army (comprised mostly of Highlanders) grew quickly, and Charles marched south toward

Edinburgh. It would not be until September, however, that newspapers and magazines in London reported on these events.

Charles took Edinburgh without opposition on September 17, but government forces retreated to Edinburgh Castle and retained control of the fort and its weapons. Upon his entry into the city, Charles made a series of proclamations that declared James Francis Edward Stuart the rightful King of Scotland and Charles the Prince Regent. Meanwhile, Sir John Cope, the government's military commander in Scotland, quickly mustered his troops, most of whom were inexperienced recruits, and marched to Edinburgh. On September 21, Cope's army met the Jacobites in battle at Prestonpans, just west of Edinburgh. The Jacobites began their attack with a "Highland Charge," with the many Highlanders charging full tilt at the government troops, discharging their muskets and then attacking with their broadswords. Cope's artillery and dragoon troops panicked and fled, leaving the infantry to shift for themselves. The Highlanders ravaged and routed Cope's army in approximately twenty minutes.

After their success at Prestonpans, the Jacobites' confidence was high. On October 9 and 10, Charles published two declarations that claimed to dissolve the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 and overturn the Act of Settlement. It was in October 1745 that some Britons in England first sounded the alarm about the Jacobite threat, including Henry Fielding who published three pamphlets in two weeks. After receiving supplies from France and consolidating their forces, the Jacobite army decided to march South to invade England. They moved quickly and were met with little opposition. They crossed the border into England on November 8 and reached Carlisle on November 10. Despite some initial resistance from the small garrison at Carlisle Castle, the Jacobites took the city and the castle. The Jacobites pressed south, moving rapidly, and took Preston on November 26 and Manchester November 28. In Manchester, the Jacobites

took on a large number of English recruits.

While the Jacobites' initial success could not be denied, they had not as yet faced any significant military opposition. After Prestonpans, Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, was called from the ongoing War of the Austrian Succession on the continent. He landed in England on October 18, 1745, with 12,000 troops. Cumberland quickly gathered his forces and began to move northward.

On December 4, 1745, the Jacobite army entered Derby, just over 100 miles from London (and about 330 miles from Edinburgh). With dwindling supplies, no support from France, the onset of winter, and the approaching army of Cumberland, the Jacobites decided to retreat back to Scotland and the protection of the Scottish winter in order to regroup. They left Derby and crossed back into Scotland on December 20. Cumberland's army was not far behind and followed the Jacobites into Scotland.

Despite leaving approximately 400 men at Carlisle Castle to cover their retreat, Cumberland's army and superior artillery took the castle on December 30, 1745. Most of the Jacobite soldiers were taken as prisoners, but Cumberland had thirty-one publicly executed. The rest of the Jacobite force had already marched north toward Stirling, looking to take the castle there. Stirling (about 35 miles northwest of Edinburgh) would be strategically important in securing the Highlands for the Jacobites if they could secure the castle. They began a siege of Stirling Castle on January 8, 1746. Despite having French artillery and a significant force, however, the Jacobites abandoned the siege on February 1, 1746 as Cumberland's army departed Edinburgh. Charles' army continued north to Inverness and Cumberland's to Aberdeen, where they respectively halted over a month to wait out winter weather. While the former continued to wait for French aid, the latter were able to be reinforced and resupplied.

When the weather improved sufficiently, Cumberland's troops set out from Aberdeen on April 8, 1746. Government forces crossed the River Spey on April 11 as Jacobite troops left to block their progress retreated. By April 14, the Jacobites had abandoned Nairn, and Cumberland's army took it and camped. Charles Edward Stuart decided to meet Cumberland's forces in battle, although many of his advisers disagreed with this plan of action. His troops moved out from Inverness and assembled about a dozen miles from Nairn.

Lord George Murray, one of Charles' top military advisers, proposed a night march and attack to surprise the government forces. April 15 was the Duke of Cumberland's 25th birthday, and part of the hope was that the government troops would be up late and drinking heavily to celebrate. The Jacobites were unable to mobilize quickly enough. They started after dark and their march was slowed by trying to avoid the roads. Murray, leading the initial march, decided to call off the attack just before dawn in anticipation of losing the element of surprise. Unfortunately for the Jacobites, this change of plans was not successfully communicated to the entire army, and two-thirds continued their march unawares.

While the now-exhausted Jacobite troops retreated to Culloden, Cumberland's rested army had not overindulged on his birthday and had instead set out from Nairn early toward Culloden. In the late morning, as heavy rain and sleet fell on Culloden Moor, the two armies were within sight of each other as they began to array themselves for combat. The superior artillery, discipline, and position of the one and the exhaustion and miscommunication of the other ended in the rout of the Jacobite army by government forces. As the Jacobite lines broke and retreated, Cumberland's troops continued their pursuit, slaughtering thousands as they fled.

Although some of the remaining Jacobite troops attempted to regroup at Ruthven Barracks, Charles Edward Stuart, having escaped Culloden, sent orders to disperse. The

Jacobite Rising was finished. Charles himself went into hiding in the Hebrides trying to make his escape from Britain. After several months traveling in secret, Charles finally was able to board a ship to France on September 19, 1746.

Immediately following the Battle of Culloden, Cumberland ordered severe reprisals, and his forces ravaged and pillaged Scotland. Of the estimated peak of 10,000 Jacobite troops, approximately 3,500 were taken prisoner. As Magnus Magnusson recounts in *Scotland: The Story of Nation*, "Of the total of 3471 Jacobite prisoners, 120 were executed: most by hanging, drawing and quartering, four by beheading because they were peers of the realm—the privilege of rank. Of the remainder, more than six hundred died in prison [and] 936 were transported."[15] Most of the rest were never tried, and about a thousand were pardoned by the 1747 Act of Indemnity. Several of the high-ranking Jacobite lords were exiled, while some were tried and executed in London. Cumberland was celebrated at first as a hero; however, public opinion would turn in the wake of the violent reprisals in Scotland and he would shortly be dubbed "the Butcher."[16]

Following the war, steps were taken to prevent future such uprisings, most of which targeted the Highlanders. The British government established more forts and roads in Scotland, with more troops in the region. Britain also passed two important acts aimed at breaking up the Highland clans: The Heritable Jurisdictions Act (1746), which greatly reduced the judicial and political powers of the Highland chiefs, and the Act of Proscription (1746), which outlawed Highland dress and the possession of weapons in Scotland. Although Jacobitism didn't end at

[15] Magnus Magnusson, *Scotland: the Story of Nation* (New York: Grove Press, 2000) 623.

[16] W. A. Speck notes that this nickname became commonplace quickly and cites a letter from Horace Walpole to Horace Mann from August 1, 1746, in which he relates that the response to the proposal to give Cumberland the "freedom of some company" was to "Let it be the Butchers!" Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the 45* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981) 162.

Culloden, hopes for a Stuart restoration were essentially over and the Hanoverian dynasty secured for good. The Forty-Five itself was a flashpoint in the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish Union and Scottish and British identities, and it was an event that ultimately strengthened the Union.

Chapter Breakdown

Contemporary writers sought to strengthen this Union immediately following Culloden through the literary negotiation of Scottish and British identities in the wake of the Forty-Five. By examining texts from the years during and immediately following the Forty-Five (1745-1750), I show a demonstrable shift in the discourse surrounding the Scottish and Union, from negative and antagonistic before Culloden to generally positive and ameliorative immediately after.

In the first chapter, my study provides a deep examination and explication of "Scotophobia" in the period. In simple terms, Scotophobia is a way to classify anti-Scottish sentiment, discourse, and activity in all of its forms under a single heading. In this chapter, I provide a comprehensive definition of the concept of "Scotophobia" and break down the most prevalent Scotophobic tropes perpetuated in the eighteenth century. My explication of Scotophobia (sometimes spelled "Scottophobia" by other scholars) builds on the work of Linda Colley, Corey Andrews, and especially Rivka Swenson. As a case study to identify and detail common Scotophobic tropes, I use Thomas Kirke's *A Modern Account of Scotland* (1714, a reprint of his 1703 pamphlet *An Exact Description of Scotland)*, which includes a reprint of John Cleveland's poem "The Rebel Scot" (originally published in 1647). While the meaning of Scotophobia (and the sentiment it represents) may be obvious on its face, Scotophobia offers an insight into understanding racialization and prejudice in eighteenth-century Britain. I argue

Scots in the eighteenth century were one of many racialized Others against whom the English defined themselves. Scotophobia is the primary manifestation of racialization of the Scottish during times of ideological crisis, such as the Forty-Five. Building on a foundation of Critical Race Theory to demonstrate these claims, I explore how 'race' was constructed in the eighteenth century and demonstrate how the Scottish were racialized. While the focus of this chapter is Scotophobia, I also examine other forms of eighteenth-century racialized prejudice, especially antisemitism, to understand the shape and scope of Scotophobia.[17] Much of Scotophobic sentiment and rhetoric parallels—and incorporates—antisemitism and its tropes. This framework for understanding Scotophobia serves as a significant underpinning of my analysis of the literary negotiation of Anglo-Scottish Union during and after the Forty-Five.

In the second chapter, I perform rhetorical "frame analysis" to examine the shifting rhetoric regarding the Scottish within popular periodicals over the months preceding and succeeding the Battle of Culloden (approximately June 1745 - December 1746). Framing is a "process whereby communicators act —consciously or unconsciously—to construct a point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be viewed in a particular manner."[18] Frame analysis is then a method for uncovering how these constructions are formed and examining how a topic is presented and understood in a specific context. I examine the ways in which Scottishness and Anglo-Scottish Union are framed in the most influential contemporary periodicals (*The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The London Magazine*, and *Scots Magazine*) and how such framing reflects and shapes public sentiment during the Forty-Five. There is a noticeable

[17] Following the convention set by The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), I use an unhyphenated and uncapitalized spelling of "antisemitism" and "antisemitic." The IHRA promotes this spelling "in order to dispel the idea that there is an entity 'Semitism' which 'anti-Semitism' opposes. Antisemitism should be read as a unified term so that the meaning of the generic term for modern Jew-hatred is clear." IHRA, "Spelling of Antisemitism," *The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance* (Accessed February 27, 2020) <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/spelling-antisemitism>.

[18] Jim A. Kuypers, *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2009), 296.

shift in the rhetoric/tone in these periodicals from generally anti-Scottish/anti-Jacobite during the Forty-Five to more reconciliatory texts looking to reclaim, reform, and rehabilitate the Scottish under the Union. I investigate the underlying and competing structures of feeling represented within individual pieces and each periodical as a whole by investigating how the writers and editors frame or focus the conversation. My investigation for this chapter illustrates a demonstrable shift in how the Forty-Five and the Scottish are framed, moving from a dismissive frame to a generally anti-Scottish rhetoric during the Forty-Five to more reconciliatory texts after Culloden looking to reclaim, reform, and rehabilitate Scottish identity under an Anglo-Scottish Union.

In the third chapter, I argue specifically that in Henry Fielding's political pamphlets, periodicals, and fiction published between 1745 and 1749, he deploys what I term "strategic Scotophobia" to uphold a vision of Protestant and Whiggish hegemonic order. In both his "hack" work (i.e., as a writer for hire) and ambitious literary endeavors, Fielding deploys or avoids Scotophobia to different degrees depending on the purpose of the work. These works participated in the negotiation of British identity by Othering (as he does in *The True Patriot*, for example) or erasing Scottishness (as he does in *Tom Jones*) during and after the Forty-Five. I examine his periodicals, *The True Patriot* (1745-46) and *The Jacobite's Journal* (1747-48); his pamphlets *A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain* (1745), *The History of the Present Rebellion in Scotland* (1745), *A Dialogue Between the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender* (1745), and *A Dialogue Between a Gentleman of London, Agent for Two Court Candidates, and an Honest Alderman of the Country Party* (1747); and his novel *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* (1749). I closely examine these texts as ideological apparatuses presenting competing structures of feeling regarding the shape of British cultural identity.

Finally, in the fourth chapter, I argue Scottish writer Tobias Smollett used his literary work to promote a vision of an ameliorative Anglo-Scottish Union and a shared British identity after the strife of the Forty-Five. My argument builds on similar recent appraisals of Smollett from scholars like Juliet Shields and Rivka Swenson. I examine how Smollett responded to the aftermath of Culloden in the years following the Forty-Five in his poem, *The Tears of Scotland* (1746) and in his first novel, *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748). While some might expect Smollett's work in this period to reflect a deep anger and anti-English stance, I argue Smollett channeled his disaffection into pro-Union literature and action. *The Tears of Scotland* does represent Smollett's immediate anger and sorrow to the violent aftermath of the Jacobite defeat at Culloden, but that anger is focused on the betrayal of the Union the violence represents. Smollett, while never forgetting that anger, centers his first novel, *Roderick Random*, around a Scottish protagonist whose rambling adventures come to an end in a marital union with an English woman symbolic the political Union between the nations. Smollett also uses Scotophobic tropes to satirize anti-Scottish discrimination and promote a shared British identity. Smollett's work is part of a larger discursive negotiation for a shared British identity which retains distinct national identities as part of a strengthened Anglo-Scottish Union following Culloden. Smollett serves, as Elaine McGirr explains, as a "cultural broker," attempting to bring Scotland and England closer, "to forge a hybrid British identity."[19]

An Ongoing Question

This project argues for the importance of understanding the literary negotiation of Anglo-Scottish Union and identity as a vital question in eighteenth-century Britain alongside the

[19] Elaine M McGirr, *Eighteenth-Century Characters: A Guide to the Literature of the Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 161.

political, military, and economic. I seek to illuminate the extent to which English and Scottish authors participated in this negotiation of British identity during a moment of ideological crisis—the Forty-Five. My explication and use of Scotophobia as a heuristic for examining the discourse is a useful addition to literary, historical, and cultural studies of Anglo-Scottish relations that can applied to future scholarship.

Although the Jacobite Rising of 1745 lasted less than a year, it was a flashpoint that tested the strength of the British Union. The Forty-Five, as John Home noted in his *History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745* (1802), was "a war in which the inhabitants of Britain were so much interested, that, as long as it lasted, they thought and spake of nothing else."[20] While attention on the Forty-Five faded quickly after the Battle of Culloden, its impact echoed through the rest of the eighteenth century and beyond. Much in the same way that the American Civil War continues to impact regional and national identities in the United States, the 1745 Jacobite Uprising continues to shape Scottish and British identities. The question of Scottish identity and its place within the larger identity of a United Kingdom continues to be relevant. During the development and writing of this dissertation, Scotland held a referendum on Scottish independence from the United Kingdom in 2014 (where Scots voted against becoming an independent country by 55% to 45%, with an 85% voter turnout), the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union in 2016 (52% to 48% overall, but every council in Scotland voted to remain), the UK officially left the EU on January 31, 2020, and the Scottish Parliament voted 64-54 to call for a second independence referendum on January 29, 2020.[21] The Forty-Five informs our understanding of some of these events. Notably, after the independence referendum

[20] Home, *The History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745*, 2.

[21] Referendum results from BBC News:. "Scottish Independence Referendum - Results," *BBC News* (BBC, September 19, 2014), <https://www.bbc.com/news/events/scotland-decides/results>. ; "EU Referendum Results," BBC News (BBC, June 24, 2016), <https://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results>.

vote “the country was awash with badges, pin-buttons and car stickers which announced ‘We Are the ’45’” in reference to both the 45% “Yes” votes and the Jacobite uprising.[22] An online campaign began the day after the independence referendum vote with the same declaration in a Facebook group called “We are the 45%” which had 164,000 “likes” within a week.[23] Understanding the Forty-Five and its role in the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish Union not only adds to our understanding of eighteenth-century British literature and culture, but helps us understand how that negotiation continues on to this day.

[22] Roger Hutchinson, “The Jacobites: A Lost Cause Kept Alive in Slogans of Today,” *West Highland Free Press*, (WHFP, June 2, 2020), <https://www.whfp.com/2020/06/02/the-jacobites-a-lost-cause-kept-alive-in-slogans-of-today/>. ; Colin Kidd, “Jacobites by Jacqueline Riding Review – the Myths of Bonnie Prince Charlie,” *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, June 25, 2016), <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/jun/25/jacobites-jacqueline-riding-review-prince-charlie>.

[23] Damien Sharkov, “More Scots Join SNP in a Week Than Scottish Labour's Total Membership,” Newsweek (Newsweek, June 23, 2014), <https://www.newsweek.com/more-scots-join-nationalist-party-referendum-scottish-labours-total-membership-272644>.

Chapter 1 – "A Nation Epidemical": Scotophobia in the 18th Century

Much of the following chapters builds upon the idea of "Scotophobia" (sometimes spelled "Scottophobia" by some scholars). Not to be confused with a fear of the dark (although the implications of such a homonym are hard to resist!), Scotophobia as I intend to use it is the "Intense aversion or hostility towards Scotland, its people, or its culture."[24] Put simply, Scotophobia is a way to classify anti-Scottish sentiment, discourse, and activity in all of its forms under a single heading. Like other "cultural" phobias, however—such as homophobia, transphobia, xenophobia, as well as the "-isms" like racism, sexism, antisemitism, etc.—Scotophobia is not (just) individual expressions of anti-Scottish sentiment, but a systemic and culturally pervasive dominant structure of feeling. Scotophobia, like all cultural phobias, as we shall see, is an aversion and hate toward a group based in the anxieties of the dominant classes. This anxiety is expressed in bias, exclusion, fear, and hate. There is always a justification for this hate—They're taking our jobs! They bring diseases! They are criminals!—and the justification usually changes based on current events. Ultimately, however, the anxiety stems from the fear of a disruption of the order of things—the order that secures current structures of power and hegemonic order.[25]

In this chapter (and in this dissertation, more generally), I argue that Scots in the eighteenth century were a *racialized Other* (albeit one of many) against whom the English could define themselves.[26] Scotophobia is the primary manifestation of this racialization, especially

[24] "Scotophobia, n.1". OED Online. December 2018. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/276049>.
[25] Mike Cole, *Racism: A Critical Analysis* (London: Pluto Press, 2016), 22.
[26] An argument could be made that this is not just the case in the eighteenth century and racialization of the Scots can be identified throughout Anglo-Scottish history. While such a claim is beyond the scope of the present project, it bears further investigation. The eighteenth century is particularly useful for studying Scottish racialization because of the bookends of the 1707 and 1800 Acts of Union, the Jacobite Uprisings of 1715, 1719,

during times of ideological crisis, such as the Forty-Five. Building on a foundation of Critical Race Theory to demonstrate these claims, I will explore how 'race' was constructed in the eighteenth century and demonstrate how the Scottish were racialized. While the focus of this chapter is Scotophobia, I will examine other forms of eighteenth-century racialized prejudice, especially antisemitism, to understand the shape and scope of Scotophobia.[27] I will also argue that much of Scotophobic sentiment and rhetoric parallels and incorporates antisemitism and its tropes. As a case study to identify and detail the most common Scotophobic tropes, I use Thomas Kirke's *A Modern Account of Scotland* (1714, a reprint of his 1703 pamphlet *An Exact Description of Scotland*), which includes a reprint of John Cleveland's poem "The Rebel Scot" (originally published in 1647). This theoretical and practical framework for Scotophobia will serve as a significant underpinning of my analysis of the literary negotiation of Anglo-Scottish Union during and after the Forty-Five.

'Race' and Racialization

Writing in the twenty-first century about 'race' in the eighteenth century is difficult for a few reasons. The primary difficulty is that it is hard to discuss something that doesn't actually

and 1745, the Scottish Enlightenment of the latter half of the century, and many other important moments in Anglo-Scottish history.

[27] As the focus of this dissertation is on Scottish identity and Anglo-Scottish Union, I do not explore other forms of racialized prejudice against other groups of people, such as the Irish and the Welsh. Anti-Irish prejudice ("Hibernophobia" or "Celtophobia") in particular often runs parallel to Scotophobia and could be examined in similar ways. Both groups are often villainized during times of conflict and crisis and are essentially colonized by the English and exploited as part of the imperial project. While little has been written about Scotophobia, however, there has been quite a bit of work on anti-Irish racialization, prejudice, and rhetoric already. I also focus my attention on the Scottish because Anglo-Scottish Union and British identity are central ideological questions during the Forty-Five. While certainly anti-Irish rhetoric is rampant in the eighteenth century, it becomes most central at the end of the century and into the nineteenth century with the series of Irish rebellions beginning in 1798 and the Acts of Union 1800, which united Great Britain and the Kingdom of Ireland as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. For more on Irish racialization and anti-Irish discourse, see Radhika Mohanram, *Imperial White: Race, Diaspora, and the British Empire* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2015), and Theodore Allen, *The Invention of the White Race*, 2 vols. (London: Verso, 2012).

exist but that has very real, material effects and consequences. In order to thoroughly discuss conceptions of 'race' and the ways in which the Scottish—and the Highlanders in particular—are racialized in the eighteenth century, I rely heavily on the concepts of Critical Race Theory (CRT) as developed by scholars like Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Derrick Bell, and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, among many others. My study of Scotophobia and Scottish racialization is influenced by the following foundational ideas of CRT:

- 'Race' is "Not objective, inherent, or fixed" but a social construction that is not grounded in any "biological or genetic reality."
- Racism and racialized discrimination are "ordinary, not aberrational," meaning they are everyday, normal, the status quo.
- Racism and racialized discrimination are embedded into the material conditions of a culture; they are structural and systemic.
- Racism/racialized discrimination "advances the interests" of the dominant group, meaning "large segments of society have little incentive to eradicate it"—Derick Bell's "interest convergence" theory.
- How and when a dominant group racializes minority groups is contingent on its own shifting economic and social needs.
- "No person has a single, easily stated, unitary identity"— Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw's theory of "intersectionality."[28]

While far from an exhaustive list of all CRT tenets, these basic principles offer a lens to understand 'race' and racialization that we can use to examine Scotophobia and the racialization of the Scottish in the eighteenth century.

[28] Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*, 3rd ed (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 8-11.

The most foundational point from which I proceed is the tenet that 'race' is a (false) social construction to explain human difference and variety. In modern, Western discourse, the day-to-day, person-in-the-street understanding of 'race' is as the way human beings can be identified and separated into distinct categories/races based on observable, (typically) physical markers of difference. These physical markers are primarily based on skin color, but also on the size and shape of facial features, hair color and texture, body shape, etc. These visible physical differences are taken to be measurable biological differences at a genetic level. Services like 23andMe or similar DNA testing companies can analyze a person's DNA to tell them what percentage of their genetic code connects them to specific geographical—and thereby implicitly racial—origins.[29] Such products reinforce the idea that 'race' is not only real, but is coded into a person's DNA. The problem with this conception of 'race' is that there is no evidence of significant biological or genetic variation between different human populations to justify the existence of different 'races.' Genetically speaking, there is only an average difference of 0.1 percent between human genomes. For comparison, there is a 1.2 percent average difference between human and chimpanzee genomes.[30] Presumably there is as much (or as little) of a genetic difference between people with different skin colors as between people with different ear lobe shapes. In other words, 'race' is an artificial human construction to explain *visible* difference and impart meaning and significance to that difference. 'Race' doesn't exist.

Yet despite the fact that 'race' is not a biological reality, as a social construction it has real-world material and historical consequences. 'Race' may be a myth, but the idea of 'race'

[29] 23andMe's website for their "Ancestry + Traits Service" proclaims their service helps you "Discover where in the world your DNA is from across 1500+ regions — in some cases, down to the county level." This self-discovery through DNA does not explicitly give you percentages of the different 'race' in your ancestry but implies as such. 23andMe. "DNA Ancestry Test, Find DNA Relatives." 23andMe. Accessed January 17, 2020. <https://www.23andme.com/dna-ancestry/?vip=true&pdp=true>.

[30] Mark A. Jobling, et al, "In the Blood: The Myth and Reality of Genetic Markers of Identity," *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 39, no. 2 (2016): 143.

has led to very real systemic and structural racism and oppression. The idea of 'race' is a "historical reality," even if what it describes is not an accurate understanding of human variety. It is for these reasons, following other scholars like Robert Miles and Mike Cole, I refer to the *idea* of 'race'—as a historical, social, political, and cultural construction—in single quotation marks. To describe the "false categorization of peoples into distinct 'races'" (such as the Scottish) I use the term "racialization."[31] The use of such terms is a necessary semantic distinction, as they offer an important and useful heuristic for examining 'race' in a historical context. Frankly, it is a much more accurate way of talking about how humans categorize each other. As there is no such thing as biological 'race,' any construction of 'race' is, by definition, an act of category creation. It is an *action*. The suffix '-ize' makes explicit the activity by transforming 'race' into the verb 'racialize.' 'Race,' as a term, is passive, natural, and implies an inherent quality that is internal to the subject. 'Racialization,' on the other hand, is active, unnatural, and implies external forces acting upon the object. People are racialized; they do not have a 'race.'

While we can draw a distinction between 'race' (as a historical idea) and "racialization" (as the way false racial categories are constructed), the term "racism" carries with it enormous amounts of cultural and historical weight that are harder to separate out. There is also a difference between prejudice and racism: "Prejudice is pre-judgment about another person based on the social groups to which that person belongs [. . .] Discrimination is *action* based on prejudice [such as] ignoring, exclusion, threats, ridicule, slander, and violence."[32] But prejudice is not always race-based, and acts of discrimination do not in and of themselves amount to

[31] Cole, *Racism*, 1.
[32] Robin DiAngelo, *White Fragility: Why It's so Hard for White People to Talk about Racism* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), 20.

racism. “Racism is a structure, not an event.”[33] Racism, in other words, is structural and systemic prejudice and oppression “backed by the power of legal authority and institutional control” that operates outside the actions and intentions of individuals.[34] Racism is hard coded into the system. Is systemic, institutional prejudice and discrimination against any racialized group (such as the Scots) *racism*?

No.

“Racism”—as a historical idea, as an ideology, as a material reality for many—is too embedded in skin-color-coded racialization to separate it. Although there may be many similarities in shape and scope between prejudice against white and non-white Others, they are not the same. The historic and ongoing violence and oppression against Black, brown, and indigenous people of color cannot be compared to other forms of discrimination. Even in early configurations of racial categorization, they were inevitably used to explain and justify white supremacy and non-white slavery and genocide. To apply the term “racism” to other forms of racialized prejudice (even structural) of white/light-skinned racialized groups diminishes the term and is itself racist. As such, for the purposes of this study, I refer to prejudice against the Scottish as “anti-Scottish prejudice” or “Scotophobia.”

To racialize a population as Other—especially when that population is within one’s own borders—is to define oneself (i.e., *your* population) against that Other. To say, “*They* are different from *Us*,” defines both what is marked and unmarked. The imagined community of the nation is founded in part in this marking, this Othering, of minoritized internal and external populations by the dominating hegemonic order. No community is a monolith, of course, but

[33] For a deeper explanation of this, see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, “'A Structure, Not an Event': Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity”, *Lateral 5.1* (2016). <https://doi.org/10.25158/L5.1.7>
[34] Robin DiAngelo, *White Fragility*, 20.

the shared sense of Nation is almost always based in a mythical, essentialist, monolithic identity—"America is a Christian nation!" "This is England; we speak English here!" The monolith myth, then, automatically precludes and excludes the Other. The Other is marked as foreign, regardless of actual national/geographic origins.

Conversely, this marking of the Other also establishes an image of that Other as monolithic through the creation of stereotypes. Stereotypes offer insight into the culture that produces them and its anxieties. The stereotypes of one culture promulgated by another reveals more about the stereotyper than the stereotyped.[35] The Other (re)presented through the stereotype becomes the embodiment of difference. As Felsenstein argues, the presence of the Other and the accompanying "recognition of difference" threatens a "host group's" beliefs and values. Stereotyping of the Other by the host group is an "essentially defensive" process to codify that difference to keep the Other separate.[36] The stereotype defines the Other *as* Other and marks a boundary between the Other and the so-called "host group." Stereotyping is therefore a factor of hegemonic construction of 'race' that makes "symbolic icons" to represent a racialized population that can thereby be read as a homogeneous population.[37] The stereotype is both how a neighbor is rendered alien and how that alien is understandable and containable.

The second great difficulty in examining 'race' in the eighteenth century is that how 'race' is conceived today is not entirely how it was conceived then. While today racialization happens almost exclusively along lines of skin-color, racialization in the eighteenth century occurred usually along religious and socio-cultural lines.[38] Linda Colley argues that "British"

---

[35] Frank Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 12.
[36] Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, 20
[37] Geraldine Heng, *England and the Jews: How Religion and Violence Created the First Racial State in the West* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 47.
[38] Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 14.

national identity coalesced around a shared Protestant Christian identity. Roxann Wheeler further argues that this Christian identity, along with conceptions of rank and "civility," "constituted visible distinctions" that were "*more explicitly* important" to British categorization of human variety.[39] In particular in the eighteenth century then, English indigenous "racism," both institutional and interpersonal, was usually centered around non-color-coded racialization against non-Protestant Christians, particularly Jews and Catholics, and non-English British Islanders, especially the Irish and Scottish. Referring to these populations as racialized is therefore useful when discussing historical conceptions of 'race,' especially in cases of non-color-coded racial categorization and discrimination. While (skin) color-based racial classification and distinction existed, skin color and/or complexion was just one of many ways in which eighteenth-century Britons divided humanity into racialized categories.[40] This difficulty is further compounded by the fact that these racializing categories were not necessarily fixed, but culturally, politically, religiously, and nationally contingent.

Although the Enlightenment saw the birth of scientific racism and the establishment of 'race,' conceptions of 'race' were not fully founded in skin color in the eighteenth century. "Eighteenth-century racial discourse," Colin Kidd tells us, "remained transitional, a hodge-podge of biological, climatic and stadialist interpretations of racial difference."[41] While "biological" explanations of human variation eventually became the prevailing understanding after Carl Linnaeus' taxonomic classification of human variety in the 10th edition of *Systema Naturae* (1758), for most of the eighteenth century cultural "advancement," geography, and

[39] Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 7.
[40] For a more thorough examination of these earlier racialized identities and the construction of 'race,' see Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).
[41] Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 24

climate were more accepted interpretations of racial differentiation.

The biological construction of 'race' emerged as part of a larger natural philosophy movement to explain human "variety."[42] Roxann Wheeler argues that 'race' in the eighteenth century is "elastic" and not founded in skin color. Instead, she argues, a "vast majority of eighteenth-century Europeans still believed that cultural, educational, or environmental change altered the humoral mix and thus affected both appearance and behavior."[43] The prevailing theory for most of the eighteenth century and before was based on the ancient Greek and Roman theory of the "humors." In this theory, the body contained "humors" —bodily fluids that impacted physical and mental health and temperament. The primary humoral model, adapted from Hippocrates and Galen, consisted of four humors (blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile). This theory understood body and mind as deeply connected to the environment in a "symbiotic relationship."[44] In other words, the balance of one's humors could be impacted by one's environmental and cultural surroundings, which would then shape one's physical appearance (including skin color/complexion) and health, as well as influence behavior.

This humoral theory tied directly to Early Modern understandings of climate. Climate theory divided the earth into distinct regions or "zones" based primarily on temperature. Prior to the eighteenth century, the "temperate" or middle zone of the Southern Europeans like the Greeks and Romans who initiated the theory, were the regions which produced "the best balance of humors" and therefore the most attractive complexion and "balance of bodily strength, intellect, and creativity."[45] Other zones included the northern, cold zone and the

[42] Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 31.
[43] Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 23.
[44] Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 22.
[45] Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 23.

southern, tropical "torrid" zone.[46] The different climates and temperatures accounted for different balances of the humors, which in turn accounted for different physical and cultural traits. The dark skin color and supposedly less advanced cultures of Africa, for example, could be explained by an excess of black bile. The pale white skin and sluggish advancement of Britain were attributed to an excess of phlegm. As time progressed, however, and more Northern Europeans in Britain and Scandinavia participated in the theorizing of race, and climate theory was revised to place Britain in the ideal center (either as part of the temperate zone or re-figuring the North as the ideal). By the eighteenth century, a "theoretical hierarchy" had developed where white Europeans were granted primacy. Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, in his 36-volume *Natural History, General and Particular* (1749–1788), argued that the temperate zone, particularly "between the 40th and 50th degree of latitude produced the most handsome and beautiful men . . . [from which] the ideas of the genuine color of mankind, and of the various degrees of beauty ought to be derived."[47] Conversely, then, populations outside of this climate were subjected to a "degeneration" from the "pristine original."[48] Unsurprisingly, this 40-50° latitudinal zone encompassed all of Buffon's native France and *just* excludes Britain. Although England may be said to be on the borderline of this temperate zone, Scotland is well outside of it, firmly above the 55th parallel.

The other competing (and often complementary) theory to explain human variety was a "stadial" theory, most commonly expressed as the Four-Stages Theory. Stadial theories attempted to explain why some societies and populations seemed more "advanced" than others,

[46] See Felicity Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).
[47] Cited in Stuart Ewen and Elizabeth Ewen, *Typecasting: On the Arts and Sciences of Human Inequality* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2008), 103.
[48] Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting*, 104.

and why different populations seemed to progress at different rates. The four-stage progression of civilizations moved from hunting and gathering, to shepherding/pastoral, to agricultural, and ultimately to a commercial society.[49] While these different stages could sometimes be associated with climatic and humoral theories, the stadial theory was much more interested in ideas of cultural progress as a distinction of human variety. It is also grounded in a teleological conception of the "perfectibility of society."[50] Just as humoral theory could be used to develop a hierarchy of human difference based on environmental and physical factors, stadial theory was used to envision a hierarchy based on socioeconomic and cultural differences. Such a theory, of course, recalls to mind the Great Chain of Being—a medieval Christian hierarchy of existence descending from God, to angels, to humanity (with its own hierarchy from King to serf), to animals, and so on.

The stadial and climate theories of human difference are at heart attempts to explain how humanity could have so much variety in shape, appearance, and culture. These theories strive to maintain a monogenicist belief that there is one human race, the "race of Adam" created in God's image. This monogenism, what Colin Kidd calls the "Mosaic world picture" (as in Moses), faced increasing challenge as imperial and colonial expansion into "new" worlds brought Europeans face-to-face with civilizations whose existence could not easily be explained through Biblical historicism.[51] As biological explanations for human variety were on the rise, so too were ideas of polygenesis (the idea that different human populations might be different species all together), although most maintained a monogenesis origin.[52]

---

[49] Nathaniel Wolloch, "The Civilizing Process, Nature, and Stadial Theory." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44, no. 2 (2011): 252.
[50] Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 35.
[51] Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism*, 17.
[52] Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism*, 23.

By the end of the eighteenth century, biological and taxonomic ideas of race were taking hold, becoming fixed in the nineteenth century. It is in these taxonomic systems that we see the transition from "human variety" to "race" as it is generally conceived today. Cornel West traces the formation of the "idea of white supremacy" and modern racism to the early Enlightenment and scientific revolution.[53] In particular, he identifies the roots in Francis Bacon's empiricism and promotion of the "authority of science" and René Descartes' key contribution to modern discourse: "*the primacy of the subject and the preeminence of representation*."[54] The Enlightenment's emphasis on (mostly visual) observation as a means of understanding and representing (in a Cartesian sense) the world is integral to the development of color-based racialization and white supremacy. The eye had become an "instrument of enquiry, a powerful tool for gathering scientific knowledge."[55] Observable evidence, with its aura of objectivity, became the standard mechanism through which the world could be measured. Observation, however, is inherently *subjective*: it is always a subject looking at an object. Observation of racial difference, then, was always inflected by the observer's values. Importantly, it is the inflection (and reflection) of the aesthetic values of the era that most influenced this subjectivity in race construction. In addition to the taxonomies of Linnaeus (based on observable traits), Cornel West argues, it was the work of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, a student of Linnaeus, that incorporated "the aesthetic criteria and cultural ideals" of neoclassicism that helped attach value to these differences.[56] Blumenbach, building on Buffon, argued in his *Treatise on the Natural Variety of Mankind* (1775), argued that the people of the Caucasus region of Georgia

[53] Cornel West, "A Genealogy of Modern Racism," *Prophesy Deliverance!: An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 47.
[54] West, "A Genealogy of Modern Racism," 50-51.
[55] Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting*, 64.
[56] West, "A Genealogy of Modern Racism," 57.

was the origin of humanity and that all other populations were imperfect variations of this perfect race. A rabid skull collector, Blumenbach mostly based his claims on a single skull from this region and his admiration of its beautiful symmetry.[57] The aesthetic ideal of symmetry of Greek and neoclassical art inflected Blumenbach's evaluation (and the moral/cultural implications and consequences) of what he dubbed the Caucasian variety of human.[58] Although monogenesists, Buffon, Linnaeus, and Blumenbach, all, either implicitly or explicitly, "constructed a human hierarchy" that placed white, Europeans (Caucasians) at the top and racialized skin-color as degenerative pathology.[59]

What becomes clear from these different theories is how they all center white, Northern European (more specifically English), metropolitan Christians as the (usually only) implicitly natural and superior group. In all these racializing systems, whiteness is "unmarked." I take this term from Deborah Tannen, who applies it to the ways in which men are not marked (grammatically and socially) but are granted a sort of default status. In eighteenth-century Britain, White-Christian-Englishness is unmarked because it is the absence of racialization, the default, the natural state. It is the Other that is marked by difference from the default and racialized through those markers. The non-white, non-Christian, non-English individual is defined by the ways they *differ* from White-Christian-Englishness.[60]

Antisemitism and the Template of Prejudice

In early modern England, Jews were understood as the antithesis of White-Christian-

[57] Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting*, 105.
[58] West, "A Genealogy of Modern Racism," 57; Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting*, 107.
[59] Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting*, 108.
[60] White-Christian-Englishness is also geographically and temporally centered as the ideal. Too far North (i.e., Scotland and above) or too far South (i.e., the Mediterranean and below) and the temperature and geography marked populations visibly and culturally. The further from the center of the White-Christian-Englishness metropole the more naturally primitive and "savage."

Englishness. As Jews are the perennial racialized Other in European history, many of the racist tropes and stereotypes of antisemitic[61] discourse can be found replicate in other forms of prejudice, such as Scotophobia. The stereotype of "the Jew" in England remained relatively stable from the Early Modern period into the long eighteenth century.[62] Part of this stability can be attributed to the general absence of Jews between 1290 CE, when Jews were expelled from England, to their readmission in 1655, and even to the passing of the Jewish Naturalization Act of 1753.[63] While it is beyond the scope and focus of this project to detail the full history of the Jewish people in Britain or of the antisemitic stereotypes through the ages, it is important to understand some of the major recurring tropes and associations of Jewish stereotypes to help us understand how Jews were racialized, as well as how the same tropes are deployed to racialize the Scottish (and others) in the eighteenth century.[64] Antisemitism, and the ways in which it racializes the Jewish people, is a useful heuristic for understanding prejudice in the Early Modern period as Jews served as "figures of absolute difference" against which other racialized groups could be "identified, measured, scaled, and assessed."[65] Antisemitism, then, can offer us an understanding into the strategic difference-making and racialization of other groups, including the Scots.

---

[61] Following the convention set by The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), I use an unhyphenated and uncapitalized spelling of "antisemitism" and "antisemitic." The IHRA promotes this spelling "in order to dispel the idea that there is an entity 'Semitism' which 'anti-Semitism' opposes. Antisemitism should be read as a unified term so that the meaning of the generic term for modern Jew-hatred is clear." IHRA, "Spelling of Antisemitism," *The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance* (Accessed February 27, 2020) <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/spelling-antisemitism>.

[62] I use the phrase "the Jew" in quotation marks to represent the fictional construct of the Jewish people as a monolithic Other, as used in antisemitic discourse. Much the way I use 'race' to stand for the historical construction and not as an admission of the existence of biological race, I use "the Jew" to refer to the historical figuration.

[63] The latter act (often derogatorily referred to as "the Jew Bill") was repealed in 1754 due to vigorous opposition.

[64] For a more detailed history and break down of Jewish history and antisemitism in Britain, please see Geraldine Heng's *England and the Jews (*Cambridge UP, 2019*),* Frank Felsenstein's *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1995), and Bernard Glassman's *Protean Prejudice* (Scholars Press, 1998).

[65] Heng, *England and the Jews*, 5.

For simplicity's sake, we can group common antisemitic stereotypes into three broad categories: Religious, Social/Cultural, and Physical. As with many attempts at categorization, there is often significant overlap between the groupings. The primary way by which Jews were racialized as Other in Britain was through their religious difference. Religious identity was, especially following the Protestant Reformation, one of the primary markers of difference in Europe. For Britons, Roxann Wheeler argues, it was "arguably the most important category of difference."[66] In particular, English Protestant Christianity became the defining characteristic of Britons against which others could be placed in opposition. There was no greater opposite to Christianity than Judaism. Geraldine Heng posits that not only was Christian identity defined against Judaism through the "typological binary" constructed through the "supersession" of the New Testament over the Old, but also "*in terms of* Judaism."[67] Essentially, the paradox of Christianity is that it simultaneously relies on Judaic tradition and the Old Testament, while rejecting Judaism as false. Christianity must acknowledge the truth (to a point) of the Judaic past, but to be Jewish is to deny the truth of Christianity. This tension, we may argue, places Jews in binary opposition in the Christian worldview.

The associations of "the Jew," then, in antisemitic rhetoric, is as an enemy of Christ and therefore an ally of the Devil. Much of the negative religious associations against Jews was the generally accepted principle that it was the Jews that betrayed and crucified Jesus Christ. Throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, in festivals, sermons, plays, and more, "the Jew" was depicted as "the crucifier of Jesus, the devil's agent, and the enemy of good Christians."[68] This legacy of deicide was carried forward and took several forms, but at the heart of many

[66] Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 15.
[67] Heng, *England and the Jews*, 6.
[68] Bernard Glassman, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes Without Jews* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975), 19.

antisemitic tropes is this association with the execution of the Messiah. Such tropes include a long-running belief that Jews committed ritual human sacrifice (usually of young Christian boys) as part of their religion. Often the accusation was that these rituals involved reenacting the crucifixion but were also sometimes said to include drinking blood.[69] This association of all Jews with deicide and this "blood libel" inevitably associated Jews with the Devil, demons, and the Antichrist.

The supposed Jewish connection to the crucifixion of Jesus also gave rise to the most persistent icon of antisemitism: the Wandering Jew. There are various versions of the myth through the centuries, but the core legend is that a Jew (perhaps a servant of Pontius Pilate or an officer of the Jewish clergy or a shoemaker) struck Jesus and was thereby cursed to wander the earth, undying, until the second coming of Christ. Echoing the expulsion and wandering of Cain (who slew his shepherd brother Abel), the Wandering Jew is marked for his involvement in the slaying of the Lamb of God. The details vary among tellings, but the image of the cursed Jew, doomed to never find peace or welcome is consistent. Felsenstein notes the "adaptability" of the myth demonstrates a "Christian apologetics to comprehend and justify the uneasy kinship" between Christianity and Judaism. Interestingly, the Wandering Jew in many versions of the myth proselytizes the Christian faith in his travels. The Wandering Jew is both the emblem of Jewish Otherness and an emblem of Christian authority.[70] Ironically, a recurrent antisemitic trope is the anxiety that Jews will try to convert Christians to Judaism. Prejudice doesn't need to adhere to logical consistency, however, so the Wandering Jew is able to represent any good or ill needed to respond to Christian anxieties.

The Wandering Jew myth became associated with *all* Jews and painted them as a culture

[69] Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, 33.
[70] Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, 61.

of wandering vagabonds without a home. This nomadic existence applied in the general (e.g., the Jews had no homeland) and the individual (e.g., wandering Jewish peddlers roaming the cities and countryside). While the Jewish diaspora is certainly an underpinning of this association, structural antisemitism in Britain was the main cause for this image. Jews were shut out of most professions (and out of the country for hundreds of years), which kept them relegated as second-class citizens, whose few options were peddling, begging, and usury. Jewish associations with moneylending in Britain dates back to their first arrival in 1066 with William the Conqueror. Jews served an important economic function in Middle Ages Britain because they were not restricted from lending money by their religion, which meant they could make loans (including to the government) and be taxed on those loans. This led to some (contingent) privileges and the accretion of wealth by some. Because moneylending became (legally and ecclesiastically) the sole province of Jews, they became inseparable from the associations with usury. Common stereotypes of Jews are derived from this association, including accusations that they are greedy, thieving, and conniving anti-Christians. Shakespeare's Shylock has become the stock image of this stereotype.[71] "The Jew" then was both the poor, wandering peddler, as well as the rich and miserly power behind the throne.

Cultural differences, beyond mere religion, were also an important source of Jewish stereotypes. Roxann Wheeler notes that aside from religious difference, clothing and dress were a "crucial" means by which Europeans defined themselves and the Other as key to "the constitution of religious, class, national, and personal identity."[72] The Jewish populations in Britain were marked as different through their wardrobe, which was traditionally depicted as a

[71] It should also be noted that Shylock also hearkens back to the trope of ritual sacrifice and blood-libel in his demand for a pound of flesh.
[72] Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 17.

long, black frock coat and broad hat. Jews were also required to wear a badge or emblem (usually a yellow circle) to identify their Jewishness.[73] In part because of their "outlandish garb" and religion, Jews were also accused of failing to assimilate. Part of this lack of assimilation is due to their language, maintaining Yiddish as a common language, which was interpreted as the British as a foreign gibberish. Another common cultural stereotype (that seems especially strange today) was that the Jews cursed and blasphemed against Christ *a lot*.[74] These sartorial and language matters compounded differences between Jews and Christians.

Another way in which Jews were racialized was through perceived (or assumed) physical difference. Many of these physical differences were closely associated with the character and religion of the Jews—not with a particular geographic origin. Besides circumcision, the most enduring physical marker of "the Jew" throughout modern Western history has been an emphasis on the so-called Jewish nose. The hawk-like or hooked nose of "the Jew" has become emblematic of both Jewish and antisemitic stereotypes. Geraldine Heng, in her study, includes images of "Jewish facial phenotypes and markers" found in Norman English manuscripts that all prominently feature a sharply hooked nose. So emblematic is the "Jewish nose" stereotype (as well as the money-focused stereotype) that physiognomists and phrenologists regarded such as nose as indicative of "commercialism."[75] Despite anxieties of Jews hiding amongst Christians, it was also held that one could "single out a Jew by his face alone" due to their distinctive "physiognomies."[76] This physiognomy also usually included a sallow or "dirty" complexion. It also often included a pointed beard (often without a mustache) that was stereotypically red. The red beard and hook nose also associated the Jewish

[73] Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, 43-45, 65
[74] Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, 83
[75] Ewen and Ewen, *Typecasting*, 178-9.
[76] Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, 87

physiognomy to depictions of Judas Iscariot, the disciple who betrayed Jesus (for money, of course)—linking Jewish physical appearance to the deicide tradition.

Another odd physical feature ascribed to the Jews was a powerful stench peculiar "the Jew" (the *foetor judaicus*). This "diabolic foul odor" was believed to be an inextricable part of Jewish identity unless "purged" through baptism and conversion.[77] Again, this supposed physical trait was explained as a curse for the Jews betrayal of Christ. A related claim, one typical of xenophobia, was the accusation that Jews carried diseases and plagues. The image of the poor, stinking, dirty, plague-ridden Jew was used as an excuse to continue to exclude and oppress the Jews in England, no doubt creating a cycle of self-fulfilling stereotypes. These elements also led to comparisons of Jews to animals, especially wolves (who attack sheep—i.e., Christians) and pigs (which are forbidden to them and, like them supposed cursed by Jesus).

Through these antisemitic tropes, Jews were racialized in opposition to English (Protestant) Christian identity. Religious, cultural, and physical markers were used to Other Jews and justify centuries of exclusion, prejudice, and oppression. Although religion is the primary marker of identity in this period, conversion was not necessarily an end to racialization for Jews. Heng argues that although "*successful* conversion" by a Jew is a form of "*race death*," these converted Jews were still not able to fully change identities.[78] Once racialized, one cannot fully exit such categorization, as such border-crossing threatens hegemonic order. Jewishness, then, must be held to have some irreducible element that means "the Jew" is still "a Jew" after conversion. This history of antisemitic racialization implies racialization is an inversion of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's concept of "strategic essentialism," where a dominating class

[77] Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, 257
[78] Heng, *England and the Jews*, 66-67.

essentializes an oppressed Other to maintain hegemonic control.[79]

While the Jewish people have historically been an ongoing target of racialized prejudice and violence in Europe, they certainly have not been alone. Bernard Glassman notes that eighteenth-century England saw a "host" of other "outcasts" that were "much more of a tempting target for the wrath of the general populace than the Jews."[80] This is not to downplay the scourge of antisemitism in the eighteenth century that was essentially ubiquitous, but this "classic enemy of Christianity" was not the sole, or even the primary, "foil" against which the (white, Protestant Christian) English could define themselves.[81] Although no longer the central focus of prejudice, antisemitism allows us to understand the expressions of prejudice against other Others (like the Irish, Catholics, and, for my focus, the Scots).

Scotophobia

Scotophobia (or "Scottophobia") is the expression of prejudice, violence, exclusion, fear, and hate against the Scottish as a racialized Other. Scotophobia may be expressed in a variety of discourses and is often implicit if not explicit. Although some scholars have focused attention on Scotophobia, the idea has been somewhat taken for granted. Few scholars that deploy the term provide a comprehensive definition. On its face, the meaning of the word is apparent. What Scotophobia "looks" like—how it behaves, how it's expressed, its impact, etc.—is not always so clearly defined, however. Just as scholarly attention on other cultural phobias is important, defining, identifying, and understanding Scotophobia is an important factor in researching and understanding Anglo-Scottish discourse, past and present.

---

[79] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Subaltern Studies and Postcolonial Historiography," in *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*. (London: Routledge, 2014), 281.
[80] Bernard Glassman, *Protean Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in England's Age of Reason (*Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), viii.
[81] Glassman, *Protean Prejudice*, 34.

Linda Colley, for example, discusses Scotophobia in her important work, *Britons*, but she does not define the term, trusting her reader will understand its usage. She describes John Wilkes' "Runaway Scottophobia" in 1760s England as more than just "traditional antipathy"; she explains that it is also a reaction to the evolving political Union.[82] Colley argues that the Wilkite's Scotophobia actually demonstrates how much the divisions between the two nations were breaking down.[83] Wilkes' Scotophobia is a response to the increased political and economic success by Scots in Britain, in particular John Stuart, Earl of Bute's ascension to Prime Minister under George III in 1762. Colley usefully catalogs some examples and displays of Scotophobia from the period but does not explore the concept much further. Obviously, the focus of her project is much larger than Scotophobia, so a deep dive is not necessarily expected. Nevertheless, Colley does give some insight into how the expression of Scotophobia may belie the reality and reveal the anxieties such expressions hide, as in the Wilkite example.

Corey Andrews applies Colley's understanding of Scotophobia in an analysis of the Scotophobia expressed in the works of Wilkes' ally, Charles Churchill. Andrews beautifully paraphrases Colley's description of Scotophobia as "the national prejudice faced by Scots as they sought to share in the promises offered all Britons by the Union."[84] By focusing explicitly on Churchill, Andrews' analysis shows how cultural anxieties of Scottish influence and power can intertwine with personal prejudice and anxieties. While a useful analysis of examples of Scotophobia, however, Andrews does not offer a more cohesive understanding of systemic Scotophobia.

Perhaps the most thorough examination of Scotophobia is Rivka Swenson's *Essential*

[82] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 117.
[83] Colley, *Britons*, 121.
[84] Corey Andrews, *The Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer* 29.1 (2015): 35-43. 36.

Scots. While Swenson does not provide an explicit definition of "Scotophobia," again relying on the intelligence of her reader to intuit the concept, she instead offers a detailed examination of the various tropes of Scotophobic discourse. Swenson argues that one of the driving factors of Scotophobic rhetoric is the perception of Scots as a migratory people, moving south into England and disrupting the status quo. The Scots are portrayed as an invasive species, especially lice and locusts—voracious eaters that bring pestilence and waste.

What the scholarship reveals is the ways Scotophobic discourse usually follows along several common tropes. Building on this work, especially Swenson's, I will list and examine the most prevalent Scotophobic tropes using a text that demonstrates almost every single one: Thomas Kirke's *A Modern Account of Scotland* (1714, a reprint of his 1703 pamphlet *An Exact Description of Scotland)*, which includes a reprint of John Cleveland's poem "The Rebel Scot" (originally 1647).[85] While I covered antisemitic rhetorical tropes somewhat broadly in the previous section, I will be more granular in my explication of Scotophobic tropes.

The most common Scotophobic tropes follow similar tropes of classic xenophobia and antisemitism that rely on ideas of the "dirty immigrant" that brings crime and disease. As with any xenophobia, these suppositions are less based in fact than in fear and hate of the Other. Yet the myth of thieving, disease-ridden immigrants pouring into a country persists. Scottish immigration into England is most often described in terms of being overrun or invaded—as by pests, weeds, disease, etc.: teeming, pouring, swarming, plundering, interloping, streaming, thronging, plaguing, bedeviling, mobbing, etc.

With Scotophobic rhetoric, however, there is an added layer of specificity to this

[85] Swenson too uses this text, along with Defoe's *A True-Born Englishman*, and other texts, to demonstrate some of these tropes, but with an eye toward establishing her concept of the "essential Scot." Building on her analysis, I intend to use this same text as a way of cataloging and defining Scotophobic tropes which will recur throughout this dissertation.

invasion imagery regarding the migratory character associated with Scots and the inhospitable nature of Scotland itself. This image of the itinerant Scot draws direct parallels to the Wandering Jew. These themes are exemplified in the following lines from "The Rebel Scot": "Like Jews they spread, and as Infection fly, / As if the Devil had Ubiquity. / Hence 'tis they live at Rovers and defie / This, or that Place, Rags of Geography, / They're Citizens o'th' World, / they're all in all, / Scotland's a Nation Epidemical."[86] This passage is rich with Scotophobia (with a serving of antisemitism for good measure), describing Scots (like Jews) as "Rovers"[87] that "spread" like "infection." Like the Wandering Jew, the Scot cannot stay in one place and must always move. The association with wandering Jewish peddlers (who generally sold used clothes) is also potentially alluded to with the phrase "Rags of Geography."

Although today we might associate being a "citizen of the world" as something positive—a person at home anywhere and knowledgeable about different cultures and ways of life—Cleveland clearly means this as a dig to both Scots and Jews. By calling them citizens of the world, Cleveland robs from them a claim to any particular homeland or nation, again drawing an explicit parallel to Jews.[88] They belong nowhere, but travel everywhere, like the Wandering Jew. The capper of describing Scotland as a "Nation Epidemical" carries this idea further. "Epidemical," while implying plague and disease, also means "General, prevalent, universal; that is to be found everywhere," indicating again the migratory and invasive nature of the Scottish people. This prevalence of the Scots everywhere also associates them with the Devil (and Jews) in their "Ubiquity." Ubiquity, in addition to the expected meaning of

[86] *Modern Account*, 31.
[87] The use of "at Rovers" in the poem implies several meanings of the word "rover": 1. as a pirate or raider; 2. a wanderer from place to place without a destination; 3. more specifically, in the use of "at rovers," an arbitrary or moving target at an "unknown distance" from an archer. "rover, n.2". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://oed.com/view/Entry/168129>.
[88] This also calls to mind modern pejorative uses of the word "globalist" as an antisemitic "dog-whistle."

"pervasiveness," also refers to the theological doctrine of God/Christ's omnipresence.[89] The pervasive presence of the Scots, like the Jews, is associated with a perversion of God's omnipresence. The Scots and Jews are connected, implicitly, with the Devil.

Ironically, Scotophobic rhetoric condemns Scots for migrating while simultaneously represents Scotland as a wasteland that no reasonable person would want to live in. Cleveland describes Scotland as a "wilderness" and "A land that brings in Question and Suspence / God's Omnipresence."[90] Cleveland makes the claim that Scotland is so inhospitable that it is hard to imagine God's presence there. This obviously is juxtaposed with the "Devil's Ubiquity." In fact, Cleveland contends that a much worse punishment for a Scot (or anyone) than exile would be forced to stay in Scotland: "O may they never suffer Banishment! / Had Cain been Scot, God would have chang'd his Doom, / Not forc'd him Wander but confin'd him home."[91] The allusion to Cain also brings further association with Scots to the Wandering Jew, who also echoes Cain. The Scot, like the Jew and Cain, are doomed to "Wander." Scotland is a place seemingly damned by God himself, fit only as punishment for the worst of sinners.

Kirke carries forward this image of a damned wasteland, describing Scotland's original inhabitants as literal demons: "Straglers of the fallen Angels, who rested themselves in the Confines, till their Captain Lucifer provided Places for them in his own Country."[92] Scotland, in this image, is almost as bad as Hell, or at least bad enough to serve as a holding place in the meantime. Again, like the Jews, the Scots are placed in association with demons and the Devil—perhaps even are devils themselves. Scotland is made out to be a barren, punishing

[89] "ubiquity, n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/208517>.
[90] *Modern Account*, 31
[91] *Modern Account*, 31
[92] *Modern Account*, 1

hellscape that barely supports life, but the Scots are expected to stay there, nonetheless. They are damned if they leave, and damned if they stay.

Another common aspect of antisemitism that is carried into Scotophobia, as well as other forms of xenophobia, is the complaint that the invasive Other then fails to assimilate. The Scots are condemned for their travels and their failure to learn from the other cultures they encounter. As Cleveland states, "yet they Ramble not to learn the Mode, How to be Drest, or how to lisp abroad." The essentialism of Scottish identity that Swenson describes is part of their sin, for they do not become English or continental in manner. We no doubt see parallels in modern expressions of xenophobia: "Speak English!" "You're in America now." "Why is your food so smelly?" The Scot fails to "lisp" appropriately, in the fashion of the "civilized" person. Of course, these accusations of failure to assimilate and failing to learn proper English/speech were lobbed at Jews as well, as we've seen.

This comes with additional layers of chauvinism—it is not just that the immigrant Scot has "invaded" and "failed to assimilate," but their culture itself, even in the home country, is inferior. Kirke, for example, is seemingly appalled that the Scots have their own language (and it's not English): "The *Lowland* Language may be well enough understood by an English Man, but the *Highlanders* have a peculiar Lingua to themselves, which they call *Erst*, [. . .] Yet these People are so Currish, that if a Stranger enquire the way in English, they will certainly answer in Erst, and find no other Language than what is inforc'd from them with a Cudgel."[93] The expectation that the Scots must assimilate to English culture in England *and* in Scotland is fairly staggering, but is representative of the power relations between the nations. The description of the Highlanders as "Currish," which the *OED* defines as "Like a cur in nature; snappish,

[93] *Modern Account*, 22

snarling, quarrelsome; mean-spirited, base, ignoble," indicates that the speaking of Erst[94] is purely spiteful. The explicit solution is violence through the "Cudgel"—the old stand-by of colonialist dominance and erasure. Kirke's obvious lack of self-awareness in his own failure to assimilate when he is in another country is also telling of this colonial mentality often present when the English speak of the Scottish and Irish (and many, many others) in this time. This chauvinism also speaks to an undercurrent of the implicit inferiority of the racialized Scot, which I will return to below.

We should mark also the reference to dress and "mode" (i.e., "A prevailing fashion, custom, practice, or style"[95]) above. As noted by Roxann Wheeler, clothing was a significant means by which Europeans understood the "religious, class, national, and personal identity" themselves and Others.[96] This was especially true in isolating "internal" foreigners like the Jews with their black coats and large hats, or the Highland Scots with their plaids. Their failure to conform to the fashion and sartorial practices of the (white, Protestant Christian) English, marks the Scot as Other. Kirke notes the Scots' outlandish attire, as well. He describes the "Low-land Gentry" as "Well enough Habited," but the poor "go (almost) Naked." Even in this brief comment we can see how Kirke understands the Lowland gentry as "well enough" like the English. Their class and access *almost* elevate them in his eyes, but not entirely. The clothes of the Highlanders, on the other hand, are given much more attention for their difference. He notes they wear "slashed Doublets, commonly without Breeches, only a Plad tyed about their wastes &c. thrown over own Shoulder [. . .] their Knees and part of their thighs being naked."[97] We can

[94] Erst, today more commonly called Erse, is Scottish Gaelic and was the indigenous language of the Scottish Highland and the Outer Hebrides. Erse is more directly related to Irish Gaelic than Scots, the language of the Lowlands that Robert Burns composed in.
[95] "mode, n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/120575>.
[96] Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, 17.
[97] *Modern Account*, 18.

see in these details the alienness with which the Highlanders are viewed. There's almost a sense of incredulity in the description, especially when Kirke notes that even when they wear breeches, they are "plad" and tight fitting. To this day, plaid ("a twilled woollen cloth, usually with a chequered or tartan pattern"[98]) is closely associated with Scottish culture, but in the eighteenth century, especially after the Forty-Five, "plaid" was synonymous with the Scots, particularly the Highlanders. As we will see in subsequent chapters, especially Chapter Three, plaid is used as a shorthand synecdoche for Scottishness (and Jacobitism). This was so much the case that after the Jacobites were defeated, the British government passed the so-called "Dress Act," a part of the 1746 Act of Proscription, which made it illegal throughout Scotland to wear "Highland clothes (that is to say) the Plaid, Philabeg, or little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder-belts, or any part whatever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland Garb."[99] The Scots' distinctive clothes marked them as distinctly non-English and this difference became enshrined in law.

As we have already seen, another common theme of Scotophobia is the metaphor of the Scottish as some sort of pestilence or plague. The Scots are not just foreign Others, but an invasive parasite or infection that consumes the very life force of England. Kirke compares Scotland itself to a louse "so Scotland, whose Proboscis joyns too close to England, has suckt away the Nutriment" from England and "preys upon its own Fosterer and Preserver."[100] In this image, the very geography of Scotland is compared to a bloodsucking parasite feeding off of its southern neighbor. The medial S (ſ) in the original printing of the word "suckt" brings associations of venereal disease, as well. Again, we also get the implication of the perceived power relations of England over Scotland—where England is the "host" and Scotland the

[98] "plaid, n.1". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/144969>.
[99] The Act of Proscription (19 Geo. 2, c. 39).
[100] *Modern Account*, 3-4

parasite. This relationship occurs in Cleveland's poem, as well. Cleveland describes Scotland and the Scots as "Leeches" seizing upon England's "Hemorrhoids" and "Physically thirst" for the blood of England. This parasite motif, with its blood-sucking imagery, also hearkens back to the antisemitic tropes of the blood libel and the greedy infestation of the Jews.

This connection to the Jews is heightened in the recurring association of the Scots and Scotland with plagues and pestilence. This association is often tied to Egypt. Kirke observes that the Scots' "Chronicle commences" with Moses, and the name "Scotland" is derived from "from *Scota*, the Daughter of *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*."[101] Kirke, allegedly drawing upon the authority of Scotland's own scholars, links the Scottish to the Hebrew's exodus from Egypt. The Egyptian association also implies a connection to so-called "Gypsies," who were presumed to be of Egyptian origin themselves at the time. The link to the Exodus cannot be doubted, Kirke proclaims, as the plagues of Egypt have persisted in Scotland. In particular, the plagues of lice, boils, and darkness. The plague of lice, Kirke notes, "being a Judgment unrepealed" continues, as "those loving Animals accompanied them from Egypt [. . .] to this Day, never forsaking them [. . .] till they tumble to their Graves." In other words, the Scots are lice-ridden. This association between the Scots and lice is echoed in Kirke's metaphor of Scotland itself as a louse, noted above. In addition to lice, the Scots are also cursed by the "Plague of Biles and Blains" which is "hereditary" and serves as a "distinguishing Mark from the rest of the World." Like Cain and the Wandering Jew, the Scots are marked by God. The "Biles and Blains" do not just mar their appearance; they also indicate sores related to "pestilential diseases" that the Scots no doubt carry with them as they do the lice.[102]

The pestilence of the Scots also affects the very air around them, according to Kirke. He

[101] *Modern Account*, 2-3.
[102] "blain, n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/19816>.

writes, "If the *Air* was not pure and well refined by its agitation, it would be so Infected with the Stinks of their Towns, and the Steams of their nasty Inhabitants, that it would be pestilential and destructive."[103] Apparently the Scots are so "nasty," so unclean and noxiously odorous, that it is only due to the natural (windy) climate that their "Stinks" are not "pestilential." This stench clearly calls to mind the *foetor judaicus*—the fetid smell supposedly emanating from all Jews. Kirke makes this association clear, indicating that not only do both populations naturally stink, but they like the stench: the Scots' "Nostrils (like a Jew's) chiefly delight in the perceptible Effluviums." While the reference to nostrils may or may not associate the Scots with the so-called Jewish nose, their shared stenches and apparent love of such "Steams" link Scots and Jews together.

Kirke is not merely content to paint the Scots as filthy, disgusting, stinking foreigners, however. In addition to the lingering effects of the third and sixth plagues of Egypt, the Scots are also still cursed by the ninth plague: darkness. While one might assume this is a reference to Scotland's climate, Kirke is actually referring to a mental darkness. "The Plague of Darkness," he writes, "was said to be so Thick Darkness, as to be felt, which most undoubtedly these People have a Share in, as the Word σκότος (*Darkness*) implies; the Darkness being applicable to their gross and blockish Understandings." His use of "gross" implies not just the obvious lack of intelligence, but also that this idiocy is as palpable as the darkness of the plague. Kirke also ties the Greek "scoto" ("darkness") to the word Scotland. While it is obviously a bit of a stretch to get to a "Scots are dumb" joke, Kirke's efforts reveal an intentional alignment of the Scots with the events of Exodus.

Cleveland also connects the Scottish to the Hebrew Exodus from Egypt, although not

[103] *Modern Account*, 6-7.

explicitly through allusion to the plagues. Following shortly on his metaphor depicting the Scottish as leeches "seized" upon the hemorrhoids of England, Cleveland writes, "Was it for this you left your leaner Soil, / Thus to lard *Israel* with *Egypt*'s Spoyl?"[104] This is an allusion to a passage from the book of Exodus where God (through the burning bush) instructs Moses to return to Egypt to free his people:

> [19] And I am sure that the king of Egypt will not let you go, no, not by a mighty hand.
> [20] And I will stretch out my hand, and smite Egypt with all my wonders which I will do in the midst thereof: and after that he will let you go.
> [21] And I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians: and it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty.
> [22] But every woman shall borrow of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your daughters; and ye shall spoil the Egyptians.[105]

Cleveland associates the Scottish rebelliousness with Exodus, directly alluding to a passage from the Bible wherein God indicates his plan for the plagues of Egypt. Importantly, the Israelites, when leaving Egypt, will take riches and clothes from their former keepers and "spoil" the Egyptians. In the Bible passage, "spoil" takes the verb form and indicates "To strip (persons) of goods or possessions by violence or force; to plunder, rob, despoil"[106] but Cleveland's poem takes the noun form referring to the plundered possessions. It is a small distinction, but this shift in part of speech is significant. In the Bible passage, the verb form is from the Israelite's perspective—they are performing an action and, as it is God's command, they are justified in taking the goods from the Egyptians. In the poem, the noun form becomes an object that is being taken from the Egyptians (the rightful owners). In this construction, the English are the Egyptians being plundered by the Israelites, who are standing for the Scots. This

[104] *Modern Account*, 32.
[105] Ex 3:19-22 King James Version.
[106] "spoil, v.1". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/187261>.

inversion links Scottishness to Jewishness and implies both are pillaging parasites.

The image of the Scot as a pillaging criminal is a very common trope in Scotophobic rhetoric, especially during periods of conflict between England and Scotland. The Scottish are seen as such criminals that Kirke reports "Their Theft is so well known; that it needs no proving."[107] Although he mentions that the Scots are always on their guard against each other in their own land, Kirke assumes that his reader will accept as granted the thieving nature of the Scots and not need any proof. Kirke also implies that it is not just the English the Scots plunder, but also each other, noting that "all the Gentlemens Houses are strong Castles, they being so Treacherous one to another." So little can the Scots be trusted, even amongst themselves, they must "Defend themselves in strong Holds." So prone to treachery and violence are the Scots that they make their homes more like "Prisons than Houses of Reception."[108]

The Scottish tendency toward pillage and theft is seemingly an aspect of their natural voracious greed. Often Scottish (and Jewish) greed is often depicted as a cheapness and a propensity to swindling. Unlike Jewish greed, however, Scottish greed is often attached to their hunger and poverty. Kirke describes their "greedy Stomachs" and comments that their "Prodigious Stomachs, that, like the *Gulon*, can feed on their own Excrements, and strain their Meat through their Stomachs, to have the pleasure of devouring it again!"[109] The Scot is described as insatiably hungry (but with no discernible palate), gluttonous like the mythical "Gulon" (or "Jerff," presumably a wolverine or related creature) that will eat anything/everything.[110] This hunger (and want) is the source of their wandering *and* war-like tendencies, according to Cleveland: "the *Scots* Errant fight, and fight to Eat, / Their *Ostrich*

[107] *Modern Account*, 11.
[108] *Modern Account*, 16-17.
[109] *Modern Account*, 31-32.
[110] "gulo, n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/82485>.

Stomachs make their Swords their meat." In other words, the Scots are mercenary, selling the "swords" for food. Like the "Gulon," the ostrich is also associated with "an indiscriminate voracity" according to the *OED*. Interestingly, the ostrich is also associated for abandoning its nest, much like the Scots are associated with going abroad.[111] Violence, hunger, and greed are intertwined in this animal imagery of the Scot.

As in antisemitism and other forms of prejudice, Scotophobia often relies on this animal imagery. While Scots are often compared to fleas, locusts, leeches, and many other parasitic creatures, as I've discussed, they are also often associated with vicious beasts. The most common beast used to represent the threat of the Scottish are wolves (as is the case in antisemitism, as well). Kirke, for example, describes the Highlanders as "those ravenous Wolves with two Legs, [who] prey upon their Neighbourhood."[112] Cleveland also draws on this imagery, exclaiming "Since [Scots] came in, *England* hath Wolves again." Cleveland further points out that it is only natural to paint Scots as vicious animals as "Nature herself doth *Scotchmen* Beasts confess, / Making their country such a Wilderness" and so a "*Scot* within a Beast, is no Disguise." Scotophobic rhetoric dehumanizes the Scots by literally declaring them beasts.

Even if the Scots are granted to be humans and not beasts, however, they are generally described as primitive savages and barbarians—not fully civilized. Kirke, for example, describes all Scots as *"Proud*, *Arrogant*, *Vain-glorious Boasters*, *Bloody*, *Barbarous*, and *Inhuman Butchers*. Couzenage and Theft is in perfection amongst them, and they are perfect *English-haters*."[113] Classifying the Scots as "inhuman" or savage is a method of racializing the

[111] "ostrich, n. and adj.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com /view/Entry/133188>.
[112] *Modern Account*, 5.
[113] *Modern Account*, 19.

Scottish as Other. Such terms hearken back to stadial theories of 'race,' positioning the Scots and the culture as not fully advanced—closer to the supposedly "primitive" indigenous populations of Africa and the Americas. While Kirke acknowledges that some of the Scottish gentry in the (Lowland) cities are "Well enough Habited," the implication is always that their progress is imitative. To Kirke, they are parrots mimicking the more advanced organisms.

Scotophobia racializes the Scottish as an Other against whom the English can measure themselves through the strategic deployment of stereotypes. These stereotypes often follow the pattern established by antisemitism but are not always a one-for-one match. It must also be noted that while all Scots are generally included in Scotophobic rhetoric, the rhetoric itself often focuses on Highlanders as the emblems of Scottishness. The Scots, in addition to all the ways they could be racialized similarly to Jews, brought their own peculiarities that Scotophobia could anchor upon. For example, as discussed above, the plaid of the Highland garb became emblematic of the Scottish as a whole. Similarly, the thistle, Scotland's national flower, also has been used as an emblem of Scotland and the Scottish, internally and externally. While for the Scottish the thistle (*Onopordum acanthium*), a prickly flowering plant, is a proud national symbol, outside of Scotland it is often used in Scotophobic discourse. Scotophobic rhetoric usually associated the Scots with the plants prickly nature. Kirke, for example, takes this approach, declaring the thistle "an Emblem of the People, the Top thereof having some colour of a Flower, but the Bulk and Substance of it, is only sharp and poisonous Pricks."[114] Not only are the Scots associated with the supposed ugliness of the flower, but Kirke also crudely compares the Scots to male genitals and implied venereal disease.[115] The association of the

[114] *Modern Account*, 4.
[115] The OED blushingly defines this usage: "*coarse slang*. The penis." "prick, n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/151146>.

thistle as a weed that grows anywhere and everywhere is also often used in Scotophobic rhetoric as a metaphor for the previously mentioned "epidemical" quality of the Scots.

In addition to these more traditional symbols of Scottishness, there are several common epithetical terms frequently used in Scotophobic discourse. The most common derogatory epithet is the use of "Sawney" as a generic name for a Scotsman. "Sawney" is likely a corruption of "Sandy," a Scottish nickname for either Alexander or Alasdair/Alastair. Sawney would often be used as a foil to John Bull, the iconic embodiment of Englishness (like an Uncle Sam figure). Sawney could be the name given to a random Scot (representing all Scots) or to append to a prominent Scottish figure as a form of ridicule. The name Sawney could be used in several derisive ways, as a name connoting stupidity, backwardness, savagery, etc., but always serves to racialize Scots as Other.

Several terms became common epithets for the Scots and Highlanders in the eighteenth century to stereotype and racialize them. Scots were often described as "strange," "unnatural," and "outlandish," all of which connote foreignness and difference.[116] The Scots, especially the Highlanders, were often depicted as outsiders that didn't belong. If they are not foreign, they are often described as backwards and cut off from civilization. The Highlanders, for example, are often called as "mountaineers" because they inhabit mountainous wilds. "Mountaineer," in this context, almost always implicitly "a person regarded as ignorant, uncivilized, or uneducated."[117] One of the most common Scotophobic terms for the Scots during the Forty-Five, however, is "Banditti." Although not exclusively used as an epithet for the Scots, "Banditti" is used as such

[116] "strange, adj. and n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/191244; "outlandish, adj. and n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/133711>; "unnatural, adj. and n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/215711>.

[117] "mountaineer, n. and adj.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/122896>.

frequently, and is seemingly Henry Fielding's favorite, as I'll discuss in Chapter Three. To call the Scots/Highlanders "Banditti" ties them to the Italian outlaws, depicting them as inherently foreign and criminal. These terms all come in and out of popularity in Scotophobic rhetoric, but all are used to racialize the Scottish as a non-English Other.

The intensity of Scotophobia ebbs and flows throughout the eighteenth century, depending upon shifting socio-political dynamics, coming to a crescendo during the Forty-Five. The repeated use of such tropes and stereotypes applied to the Scottish, in particular to the Highlanders, throughout the eighteenth century reinforces the dehumanization the terms imply. When such rhetoric is repeated over and over again, it loses any quality of shock it might have had, and the audience becomes inured to it. This gives this rhetoric even greater power as it becomes the norm, without thought toward the violence this language perpetrates and justifies. This unthinking, *de facto* prejudice is exactly how fellow humans are made non-human. In the following chapters, I will demonstrate the various ways writers during this period deploy Scotophobia as a way of framing the Forty-Five and the literary negotiation of Anglo-Scottish Union.

Chapter 2 – Periodical Shifts: Framing Scottish Identity During and After the Forty-Five

On the morning of August 18, 1746, two Jacobite rebels were publicly executed at Tower Hill in London. Although many rebels had been executed for their participation in the Jacobite Rising of 1745, these two were notable due to their status as Scottish lords: the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino. The people of Britain had followed closely reports of the Rebel Lords' trial after their capture at Culloden, and thousands had now come out for their execution. The crowd surely was not disappointed by the spectacle [Figure 1]. Kilmarnock, who had sought but was denied mercy from the crown, showed a reverent contrition and expressed shame and regret for his part in the late rebellion before the ax fell cleanly. Balmerino, on the other hand, faced the scene cheerfully, spoke to attendees, examined the sharpness of the executioner's ax, and declared he'd willingly face a thousand deaths in the same cause. He then donned a plaid hat so as to die as a true Scotsman. Despite his cavalier attitude, or perhaps as a result, Balmerino's beheading was not as smooth as his compatriot's, requiring three swings of the ax. Absent from the executioner's block was a third Scottish noble, the Earl of Cromartie, who had been captured and tried alongside Kilmarnock and Balmerino. Unlike Kilmarnock, Cromartie's appeal for clemency was granted, and he was pardoned, albeit stripped of his lands and title.

The trial of these three, along with the execution of the two and pardon of the one, became a site for an ongoing debate on the nature of mercy and whether the (primarily Scottish) rebels deserved any. This debate was carried on within the pages of pamphlets, sermons, daily newspapers, monthly magazines, and other periodicals and publications in the months following the Jacobite defeat at Culloden. Throughout the course of the Forty-Five, these periodicals had

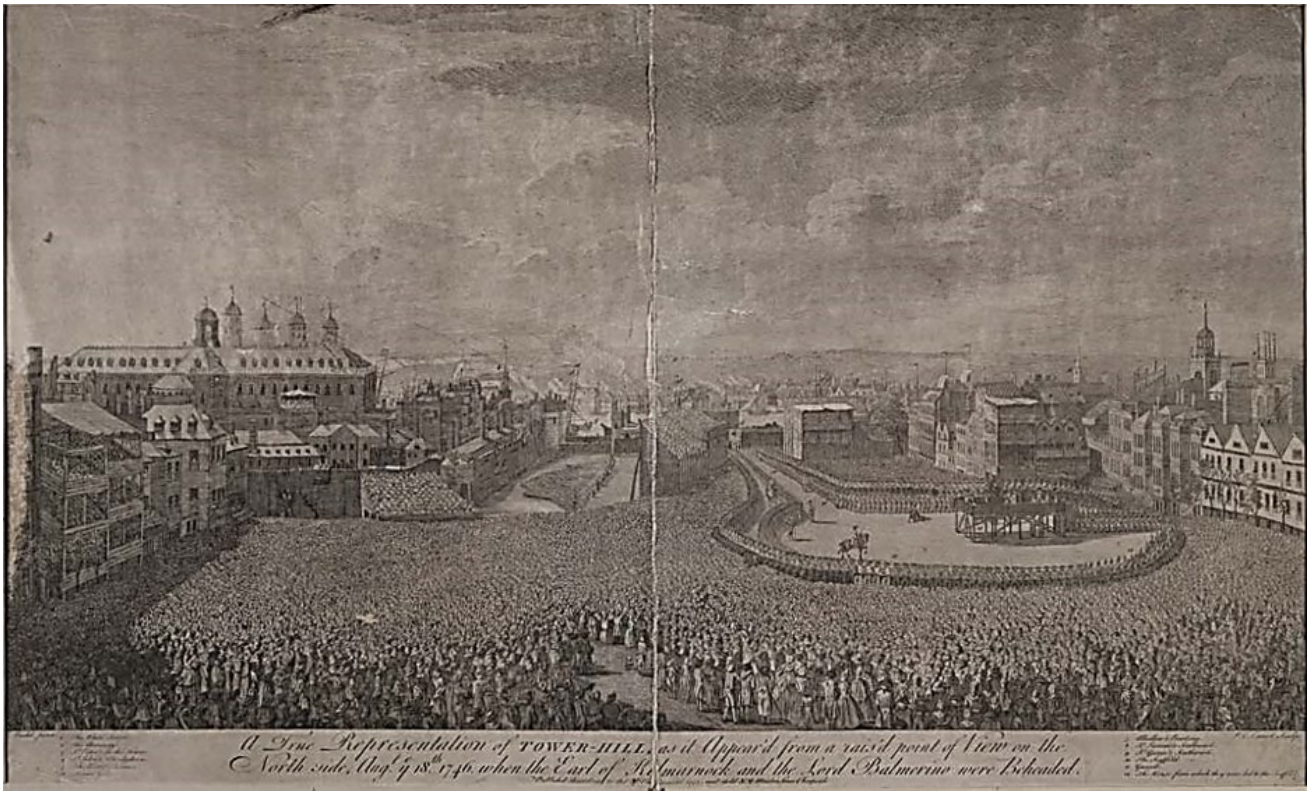

Figure 1: "A True representation of Tower-Hill, as it Appear'd from a rais'd point of View on the North side, August the 18th 1746 when the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino were Beheaded." From the National Library of Scotland Digital Gallery of the Walter Blaikie "Jacobite prints and broadsides" Collection <https://digital.nls.uk/75241313>, used under Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.

reflected and shaped public understanding and opinion regarding the conflict and continued to do so following the Battle of Culloden. Through the editorial decisions of what to present and by whom, how to present it, what to prioritize, and even the form and diction used to present and describe it, these publications "frame" the discourse around the Forty-Five.

A frame is a particular perspective from which a communicator (i.e., a writer, speaker, editor, etc.) presents a topic or idea. In the months that followed the Battle of Culloden, the predominant frame surrounding the Forty-Five in British periodicals was a debate on mercy, but this was only the most recent frame. As the Forty-Five and its aftermath progressed, the major magazine periodicals of the time similarly progressed through a series of frames to reflect and

shape public understanding. Specifically, I argue that there is a noticeable shift in the rhetorical framing of these periodicals, ranging from generally anti-Scottish rhetoric during the Forty-Five to more reconciliatory texts looking to reclaim, reform, and rehabilitate Scottish identity under an Anglo-Scottish Union. I will examine the shift in such rhetoric of the most influential monthly periodicals (*The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The London Magazine*, and *Scots Magazine*) over the months preceding and succeeding the Battle of Culloden—approximately June 1745 - Dec. 1746. Although such shifts in rhetoric retain lingering biases, they represent efforts to rebuild and strengthen Anglo-Scottish Union and British identity leading into the last half of the eighteenth century.

I argue there is a marked shift in tone and content in discussions of the Scottish in the months before and after Culloden, and this shift is a deliberate rhetorical strategy. More specifically, I am interested in the way Scottishness and Anglo-Scottish Union are framed in contemporary monthly periodicals and how such framing reflects and shapes public sentiment during the Forty-Five. While the works of Henry Fielding and Tobias Smollett covered in Chapters Three and Four also frame the Forty-Five and Anglo-Scottish Union, frame analysis is less revelatory in these cases, as each represents only one authorial and editorial voice. By contrast, the popular monthly magazines examined in this chapter are miscellanies comprised of numerous genres and authors compiled month-to-month. This plurality of voices and perspectives, selected and organized by an editor, enables us to examine both how an individual text frames the conversation and how that individual text is placed alongside other texts as a larger framing of the same conversation. By employing a methodology of rhetorical "frame analysis" to these monthly periodicals, I argue we can trace a series of rhetorical "frames" during and immediately following the Forty-Five, shifting from Scotophobia to a reaffirmation

of Anglo-Scottish Union.

Frame Analysis, the "Public Sphere," and Eighteenth-Century Periodicals

Frames are "*organizing principles* that are socially *shared* and *persistent* over time, that work *symbolically* to meaningfully *structure* the social world."[118] The concept of framing was first developed by sociologist Erving Goffman in *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (1974). Goffman theorizes conceptual frames are how individuals and societies organize, understand, and communicate experience.[119] A frame, therefore, is a kind of meaning-making—a way to organize and structure ideas into a point of view. This concept has since been picked up by rhetoric and communication scholars to analyze how framing operates in communication. Framing in rhetoric, then, is a "process whereby communicators act—consciously or unconsciously—to construct a point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be viewed in a particular manner."[120] In other words, to engage in discourse is to construct a perspective, regardless of intention. In simple terms, we can think of a rhetorical frame as way of "looking" at a topic. When a photographer takes a photo, they are making decisions about what is included in the shot, what angle to take the shot from, how much to zoom in or zoom out, what the center of focus in the image will be, and so on. These choices create a very particular and bounded image and perspective—a frame. The same principle applies in any other form of communication. Just as a photographer or film director positions the camera in a particular way to communicate an idea or emotion to the viewer, so too do writers and editors position their ideas to be interpreted in specific ways. A

[118] Stephen D. Reese, "Prologue - Framing Public Life: A Bridging Model for Media Research," in *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*, eds. Stephen D. Reese, Oscar H. Gandy and August E. Grant (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003), 11. Emphasis in original.
[119] Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Boston: Northeastern Univ. Press, 2010).
[120] Jim A. Kuypers, *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2009), 296.

frame is the editorial lens through which an idea, or a whole conversation, is presented. Of course, the photography metaphor I've just used is *itself* a frame. To communicate is to construct a perspective—a frame.

A frame is not just constructed by the explicit argument a text or communicator may make, however, although that obviously matters. A frame also comes implicitly out of what is presented (or not presented) to the audience, as well as *how* it is (or isn't) presented. Even a so-called "data dump" is framed by how it is organized, labeled, accessed, etc. While a fact in itself may be neutral, there can be no neutral communication of that fact. Frames "filter our perceptions" of the world around us because they "make some aspects of our reality more noticeable than other aspects."[121]

Framing is not solely the domain of a communicator, however, but it acts at four levels: the communicator (author, speaker, editor, etc.), the text, the audience, and the broader culture.[122] This is not a new idea, of course. The concept of framing restates—or reframes—a core idea in communication that "communicators can select from a plurality of interpretations" and those interpretations are "filtered by the predispositions of the audience," which then shape understanding and choices.[123] This form of frame analysis builds on Kenneth Burke's concept of the "terministic screen," which he defines as "a screen composed of terms through which humans perceive the world, and that direct attention away from some interpretations and toward others."[124] In Burke's concept, communicators represent issues and ideas differently

[121] Jim A. Kuypers, "Framing Analysis from a Rhetorical Perspective," in *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives*, eds. Paul D'Angelo & Jim A. Kuypers (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010): 300.
[122] Robert M. Entman, "Framing: Toward a clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43, no. 4 (1993): 51–58.
[123] Michael C. Nisbet, "Knowledge into action: Framing the debates over climate change and poverty," in *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives*, eds. Paul D'Angelo & Jim A. Kuypers (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010): 46.
[124] Kenneth Burke, "Terministic Screens," in *Language as Symbolic Action* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 131.

(consciously or unconsciously) through the language, words, symbols, images, etc. which highlight or exclude different aspects. The audience, however, has its own meanings and associations and interprets the writer's meanings through their own screen. For Burke, language may reflect reality, but by its nature it is a "selection" of reality and, therefore is also a "deflection" of reality.[125] In other words, language directs our attention to some aspects of reality/understanding and away from other aspects. Like the terministic screen, then, frames direct attention to certain perspectives or understandings of an event and deflect attention from other perspectives or understandings. Frames are in dialogue and competition with each other to define and construct understanding of a topic.

Frame analysis, therefore, is a method for uncovering the ways in which communicators and audiences form these constructions. Such analysis matters because how we frame an event or an idea is significant and has effects in the real world. For example, with the Forty-Five, many publications of the day portrayed the Scottish, particularly the Highlanders, as savage and inhuman monsters and such rhetoric no doubt helped stoke and justify the violent reprisals of the British Army against Scotland in the aftermath of the Battle of Culloden. Framing can shape how a public understands or reacts to certain ideas and events. When presented with a new, unclear, or uncertain situation, audiences have very different responses dependent on the ways in which the situation is framed.[126] Frames shape our understanding of an issue and construct boundaries around that issue. What we are presented with (the perspective we are shown) in turn shapes what and how we are able to think about an idea. Framing can define what is possible. Framing establishes what is *thinkable*.

Frame analysis enables us to critically examine how any given issue, especially one that

[125] Burke, "Terministic Screens," 45.
[126] Nisbet, "Knowledge into action," 46-7.

is controversial, is presented and understood. It allows us to explore what aspects of a topic are emphasized, what metaphors and connections are used to communicate the issue, what facts are reported, and, just as vitally, what is not reported. In this chapter, I use frame analysis to examine coverage of the Jacobite Rising of 1745 in three major magazine periodicals during and after the war. In particular, I trace how the frames these magazines presented surrounding the war and the Scottish shift after the Battle of Culloden from anti-Scottish rhetoric to reconciliation under ameliorative Anglo-Scottish Union.

Frame analysis is especially useful when analyzing news media in the eighteenth century, as this period saw a dramatic rise of newspapers and a corresponding readership. These publications included daily, weekly, biweekly, and triweekly newspapers, as well as monthly periodicals, and covered a wide range of genres and topics. The circulation of these publications, in print shops and coffee houses, were an important part of the development of what Jürgen Habermas referred to as the transformation (and creation) of the "bourgeois public sphere." According to Habermas, the increase of daily, weekly, and monthly news and commentary help inform and transform a public of readers who were then able to discuss and (perhaps) affect the motions of the court and Parliament. In fact, Habermas specifically highlights Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke's *The Craftsman* (1726-1752) and *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1731-1922) as the transformative publications that established the press "as a genuinely critical organ of a public engaged in critical political debate: as the fourth estate."[127] Habermas' vision of the public sphere is of course idyllic, but it offers a frame to consider how these newspapers shaped discourse in the eighteenth century. Ann Dean amends

[127] Habermas Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, Mass: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1991. 60.

Habermas, rejecting the notion the public could participate in the court through newspapers, and argues instead that newspapers placed readers as "eavesdropping" on the court's periphery.[128] Andrew Lincoln, alternatively, ties the development of the daily newspapers and the author-driven cultural periodicals like *The Spectator* and *The Rambler* directly to the public's appetite for war news.[129] This appetite for news and commentary only grew, and as the century continued the number of newspapers increased as well. In 1745, over 40 newspapers were in active circulation—about twice as many as in 1735.[130] Many of these newspapers were daily or weekly regional papers, spreading the "public" beyond London. This growing market of newspapers and periodicals reveals an obvious importance to understanding what was reported and printed, and how it was presented.

For my study, the selected periodicals (*The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The London Magazine*, and *Scots Magazine*) are especially productive sources for examining public discursive engagement. As William Stafford writes of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, they were miscellanies "aimed at a nonspecialist but educated audience, containing letters, book reviews, parliamentary reports, digests of local and national news, and public information [and were] a forum in which 'gentlemen' could express their views and converse."[131] These magazines include original work from the editors and paid contributors, but the majority of each issue is a collection of political speeches, sermons, news articles, and opinion essays from a variety of other publications on a wide range of topics. The magazines all also feature letters and essays

[128] Ann Dean, "Court Culture and Political News in London's Eighteenth-Century Newspapers." *ELH* 73, no. 3 (2006): 631.
[129] Andrew Lincoln, "War and the Culture of Politeness: The Case of The Tatler and The Spectator," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 36, no. 2 (January 2012): 60.
[130] Roy Wiles, *Freshest Advices. Early Provincial Newspapers in England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1965).
[131] William Stafford, "Representations of the Social Order in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1785–1815," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 33, no. 2 (2009): 65.

from readers, as well as poetry. A given issue might cover, for example, speeches from parliament, reports of military engagements, an essay on the dangers of popery, an extract from a recent play, a scientific report on electricity, extracts from other papers relating current events, a timely sermon, several poems about love, public figures, and/or current events, as well as bulletins relating births, deaths, and marriages. This assortment of texts, genres, and discourses offers unique insight into the interests and anxieties of the day, especially during a time of ideological and martial crisis like the Forty-Five. The monthly periodicals are also useful for this kind of analysis because, although still reporting news from the daily papers, the monthlies could present that news with reflective hindsight, since they were distributed at the end of the month. While *The London Gazette* may offer more "immediate" news, *The Gentleman's Magazine* can offer that same news, as well as reports from other papers, and a commentator's response to those reports after the fact. Other periodicals, like Eliza Haywood's *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746) and *The Parrot* (1746), or Bolingbroke's *The Craftsman* (1726-1752), are important periodicals and well worth study, but they represent a more singular perspective, rather than the range and blend of individual perspectives in the monthly periodicals.

While there has been significant scholarship on eighteenth-century periodicals, most of it has been focused on author-driven cultural periodicals like Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *The Spectator* (1711-1712), Samuel Johnson's *The Rambler* (1750-1752), or Haywood's *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746), or in identifying and studying individual authorial contributions—especially those of Samuel Johnson—to magazines and newspapers.[132] Little attention has been paid, however, to the specific influence of these periodicals as ideological apparatuses beyond a discussion of the public sphere. Less attention still has been

[132] In particular, James M. Kuist and Emily Lorraine de Montluzin offer important contributions in their respective *Attributions of Authorship* compilations.

focused on the ways the monthly magazines covered the Forty-Five or use framing to shape the public sphere. Furthermore, seemingly no scholarship has examined eighteenth-century periodicals through a lens of frame analysis and certainly none have done so in terms of Scottish identity and Anglo-Scottish Union.

I argue that through frame analysis of the most influential monthly periodicals (*The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The London Magazine*, and *Scots Magazine*) we can observe a series of shifting rhetorical frames in these periodicals during and after the Forty-Five—between September 1745 and December 1746. To identify these frames, I compiled a full list of every article, essay, poem, etc. from all three magazines during this timeframe. I then proceeded to review each piece and marked whether their content was related to the unfolding events of the Forty-Five and whether they dealt with the Scottish or not, and if so whether the tone was positive, negative, or "neutral." I then read through every piece that related to the Forty-Five and the Scottish and coded (or tagged) them based on their content and tone. If, for example, if the article was a poem that praised the Duke of Cumberland as a hero juxtaposed against a barbarian horde of Highlanders, the text would be coded as follows: Poem, Cumberland as Hero, Highlander Highlight, Scotophobia. These tags then offered observable thematic trends in tone and content over the course of the Rising. These trends served as the foundation for the frames I analyze below. Each frame broadly represents a prevailing attitude within and across these three periodicals toward the Forty-Five and the Scottish that evolves as the Uprising progresses. The rapid changes in fortune during the rebellion correspond to a rapid progression of overlapping frames, each lasting between two and four months. Examining how the monthly magazines shift how they frame the Forty-Five as it progresses gives us important insight into the priorities and anxieties of Britons in this time of ideological crisis. These anxieties help us

understand how English, Scottish, and British identity were each envisioned and defined in this period. In examining how these magazines frame the conflict as a whole and the Scots/Highlanders in particular from moment to moment, I will demonstrate how the Forty-Five ultimately led to a greater sense of Anglo-Scottish Union. This strengthened sense of Union, however, came after a series of rhetorical frames that moved from an initial attitude of dismissiveness and derision to increased anti-Scottish rhetoric during the Forty-Five to an abrupt shift toward a reconciliatory frame to reclaim, reform, and rehabilitate Scottish identity under an Anglo-Scottish Union. The amount of attention to and coverage of the Forty-Five ebbs and flows as the Rising progresses, which of course is part of the framing; but throughout the Forty-Five, there are generally overarching frames of Scotophobia and anti-Jacobite, anti-Catholic, Anti-French, and anti-Spanish rhetoric.

Although my focus in this chapter is on the ways these periodicals frame the Forty-Five and the Scottish people, it is important to remember that these are not the only issues or topics being presented to the readers. The rebellion does not exist in isolation and is not the only (and often not even the most pressing) issue being framed in any given publication. My focus, however, is on the Forty-Five and Scottish identity, which, in the timeframe under examination, is one of the most vital conversations of the time to Britons. Understanding how the Forty-Five and Scottish identity are framed in contemporary periodicals matters to our understanding of Anglo-Scottish Union and British identity leading into the last half of the eighteenth century—and beyond.

"I have already enough of this seriosity": The Dismissive Frame

Just thirteen months prior to the execution of the Scottish Jacobite Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock in August 1746, however, Britons were not aware they would participate in this

vital conversation. When the Jacobite Lords were executed, readers of the monthly periodicals were also presented with minute descriptions of the movements of Charles Edward Stuart as he tried to escape Scotland following the Battle of Culloden. This attention to the so-called "Young Pretender" and the Jacobite Lords highlights the continuing prominence of the late rebellion in public consciousness. Such prominence was not the case a year before. In the July 1745 edition of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, a small notice in the "Foreign History" section stated "Letters from Paris, say, that the young pretender is shipp'd from Nantz with two men of war of 60 and 30 guns.—Others say he is in the French army in Flanders, where he is publickly caressed."[133] Readers at the time might be forgiven for missing such a brief report sandwiched between "A Curious Prophecy Discovered in France" and a list of French ships launched from Brest to Cape Breton. Likewise, the readers of the *Scot's Magazine* might have missed the brief note of "several rumours, of some designs upon Scotland or Ireland by the pretender's eldest son."[134] By the time these notices were printed, of course, Charles Edward Stuart had already landed at Eriskay, an island in the Outer Hebrides, and made his way to mainland Scotland. The confusion of the reports contained in these snippets of news is reflective of the reporting that followed in August. Although Charles had raised his father's Royal Standard and officially begun his campaign at Glenfinnan on August 19, reports in the London newspapers continued to receive and print contradictory reports about "the Young Pretender's" movements. Even the Scottish papers were unable to declare definitively that Charles was landed and already gathering his forces. Nevertheless, these scattered reports are the extent of the coverage of the burgeoning uprising in Scotland in the monthly magazines before September.

By the end of September 1745, Charles and the Jacobite army had not only taken Perth

[133] GM July 1745, 391.
[134] SM July 1745, 345.

and Edinburgh; they had also defeated General John Cope at Prestonpans in humiliating fashion. Rather than taking the uprising seriously, however, the London magazines generally framed the Rising as a joke. Although both *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The London Magazine* reported on these events, they both also published material that was generally dismissive of the threat. In the September 1745 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* appeared an essay originally printed on September 21 in *The Westminster Journal* entitled "The Political Busy Body." In this essay, the author adopts a satirical tone and accuses Britain of being a "Busy Body, a perpetual meddler with other men's matters, and neglecting his own."[135] The author blames the current attempt by the Jacobites on Britain's own meddling in Europe. Yet they don't seem overly concerned, declaring, "Did I think our liberties, our constitution, the protestant succession in any *real* danger at this time, from the wild projects of a brainless boy, and his few mad adherents, I would sooner put my right hand into the fire than *joke* and *trifle* with our calamities."[136] This statement makes clear that the author doesn't think Britain is in any "*real* danger" (emphasis in the original) and fully intends to "joke and trifle" about it. The dismissive tone is evident from the description of Charles Edward Stuart as "a brainless boy"[137] and the Jacobites as "mad." The author goes on to describe the Rising as "a *desperate* attempt of a few *mountaineers*, who know neither the numbers, strength, wealth, courage, or loyalty of their *Southern countrymen*."[138] The use of "desperate" is tellingly dismissive, as the word carries with it a sense of "recklessness or resolution of despair; applied esp. to actions done or means resorted to in the last extremity, when all else fails, and the great risk of failure is

[135] GM September 1745, 488.
[136] GM September 1745, 488.
[137] It is probably worth noting that Charles was just shy of 25 years old, and just a few months older than Prince William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland who was Commander-in-Chief of the allied British, Hanoverian, Austrian and Dutch troops in Flanders at the time.
[138] GM September 1745, 489.

accepted for the sake of the small but only chance of success."[139]

The dismissiveness is heightened by the blatant Scotophobia, depicting the Highlanders as "mountaineers," a word in this case meaning "A person who is native to or lives in a mountainous region; (occasionally) such a person regarded as ignorant, uncivilized, or uneducated."[140] The Highlanders are uncivilized hillbillies who lack "courage" and "loyalty" in addition to material strength and wealth. They are juxtaposed to their "Southern countrymen," the Lowland Scots; although, as with many examples of Scotophobia, there is enough ambiguity that "mountaineers" could refer to all of Scots and the "Southern countrymen" the English. The author completes their dismissal of the rebellion as not worthy of concern by adding:

> But methinks I have already enough of this *seriosity*, upon a subject, which, as it never could have risen but thro' our *folly*, so it never can grow *serious* but thro' our *neglect*. We should not overlook the *beginning* of evil: but when the beginning is discover'd, and proper care taken against its spreading, the *danger* is over.[141]

The author wryly highlights the silliness of the seriousness of the Rising by self-referentially dismissing any "seriosity" he's given it. "Seriosity" (an alternate form of "seriousness") implies being serious "in a pompous or affected way."[142] Ironically, the author notes that such a rebellion can only be a threat through "neglect" while also derisively dismissing it as a threat.

The same September 1745 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* features a poem with a similarly dismissive tone. Entitled "On His Majesty's Seasonable and Safe Return," the poem celebrates George II's return from Hanover (where the monarch spent his summers) at the news of the Jacobite invasion. The poet, however, doesn't express much concern over the Rising

---

[139] "desperate, adj., n., and adv.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/50957>.
[140] "mountaineer, n. and adj.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/122896>.
[141] GM September 1745, 489.
[142] "seriosity, n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/> Interestingly, this quote is given as an example of this usage in the OED.

itself, implying the threat already over with George's return: "With a few restless *Scots* to faction prone / But *George* returning to defend his *isles*, / The phantom's vanish'd, and safe *Britain* smiles."[143] Predictably, the derision of the Rising is accompanied by Scotophobia (detailed in Chapter One), painting the Scots as "restless," implying a wild aversion to being settled, and a natural inclination toward mutiny and rebellion.[144] The threat of the factious Scots is diminished, however, by numbering them as only a "few." The Rising is such an insubstantial "phantom" that the mere presence of George on the island is enough to evaporate it. Again, we see the threat acknowledged and dismissed in the same breath.

The September 1745 issue of *The London Magazine* covers the start of the Rising extensively, but also diminishes the threat through dismissive rhetoric. In a poem entitled "To Britons," the poet aims to rouse Britons to resist the rebellion: "Their insect tribe prey'd on our fairest fruit; / But this rash blow is levell'd at the root. / At freedom, faith, our all, these rebels strike, / And, * slaves themselves, would make us all alike. / Each tyrant lord, that leads his hungry clan, / Might hope to thrive on a despotic plan."[145] The language here, however, is once again telling. While acknowledging the existential threat to Britain's "fairest fruit" of freedom, the poet also reduces that threat. The Scots are described as "insects," a traditional Scotophobic image of the Scots as pests that also implies a contemptuous view of their insignificance.[146] As insects, the Scots are made a manageable annoyance rather than a severe threat. Further, the Scots are described as "slaves" and the Highland chiefs as "tyrants," indicating their feudal hierarchy, but also implying a weakness in the Scots. By allowing themselves to be enthralled

[143] GM September 1745, 493.
[144] "restless, adj. and adv.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/163975>.
[145] LM September 1745, 462.
[146] "insect, n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/96686>.

by their tribal leaders, the Highlanders lack an essential humanity and drive—part of the "fairest fruit" the English possess. The clans are "hungry," as well, indicating the failure of their leaders and the weakness and desperation of the Highlanders. The Jacobites' and Scots' rebellion is also called a "rash blow," meaning their actions are reckless and foolish, which implies that it isn't actually much of a threat.[147]

However, the irony of reducing the Scots, fellow British citizens, to hungry slaves, is not lost on the poet (or perhaps the editor). In its original printing, the passage above includes an asterisk that connects to the following note: "This is no Reflection upon the Government they live under, but on the little Protection and Benefit they submit to accept from that Government."[148] As a hegemonic apparatus seeking to maintain the status quo of the Hanover government, it is important that *The London Magazine* include this disclaimer pardoning that government from failing to serve all of its people. The Highlanders themselves are to blame for their own situation in their failure to "submit" to the "Protection and Benefit" of the government. They are "slaves" to a corrupt system that represents a direct rejection of the "freedom" provided by the British government. This allows the poet and *The London Magazine* to Other the Scots, highlighting the threat they represent while also reducing that threat. The overall effect of this combination of texts across magazines in September is to frame the rebellion as inconsequential and manageable through a derisive and dismissive rhetoric.

The October 1745 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* continues the dismissive rhetoric of September. The issue features an opinion essay, in the form of an open letter addressed "To the Publick" (reprinted from the October 1 edition of the *General Evening Post*) that minimizes

[147] "rash, adj. and adv.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/158316>.
[148] LM September 1745, 462.

the threat of the rebellion. The author, who signed the letter as from "A Free-born Englishman," argues that if the people of England end up on the field of battle "if necessary," only "one tenth" doing "their utmost each to stab only one villain to the heart [. . .] the work would be very easy."[149] Again, we see a rhetorical diminishment of the Jacobite threat in the implication that merely "one-tenth" of loyal Englishmen would be sufficient to make quick work of what he later calls "highland cut-throats." More than that, though, is the implication through the phrase "if necessary" that the threat is so minimal that it may not even be necessary to fight. Of course, by October 1, 1745, the Jacobite army had already taken Edinburgh and defeated Cope's government troops in humiliating fashion at the Battle of Prestonpans (September 21). The fighting was already happening in Scotland, regardless of the dismissive tone of the essay.

In the same October 1745 *The Gentleman's Magazine* appears a poem that further presents the success of the rebellion as an absurd impossibility. The poem, entitled "The Contradiction," presents a series of seemingly impossible scenarios. Most of these involve some sort of national stereotype, like "Holland shall the love of gain forego." The poem posits that when all these impossible things happen, only then "shall the Highland rabble bring / The young Pretender to be Scotland's king."[150] The poem also reinforces the strength of the government and George II himself, who's learning "his foes to fear" is one of the impossible things that would happen before a Jacobite victory. The poem (especially in context with all of the other anti-Jacobite and pro-Hanoverian material, including several other poems with similar themes) frames the rebellion as a cause already lost and therefore not a real threat.

In October, *The Gentleman's Magazine, The London Magazine, and Scots Magazine* all published a speech by Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant-General and

[149] GM October 1745, 534.
[150] GM October 1745, 550.

General Governor of Ireland, to the Irish parliament given on October 8.[151] In the speech, despite the claim the rebellion's "success would consequently destroy your [the citizen's] liberty, your property and your religion," Chesterfield immediately dismisses the threat. He assures his audience that Jacobite "success is little to be fear'd" given both the "daily and distinguished proofs" of the public's support of the government and the "considerable number" of troops on their way to Scotland. He describes this military force as "more than sufficient to check the progress, and chastise the insolence of a rebellious and undisciplin'd multitude."[152] The speech itself, delivered in Ireland to the Irish parliament, is intended to quell concerns of similar Jacobite action in Ireland. The publication of the speech in all three of the major British magazines, however, is part of the larger effort by the government and editors to frame the Rising as ultimately a minor threat. The language here, as in so many of these speeches and addresses, is meant to project confidence in the government to "check" and "chastise" the rebels and downplay the rebellion's ideological power. The rebels themselves are faceless, nationless "multitude" who are "undisciplin'd" and, therefore, easy to defeat. All three magazines also published several addresses to George II on his return to England that followed a similar theme of confidence in a quick defeat of the Jacobites. All of these addresses, from the Mayor and Aldermen of London, a number of Archbishops, as well as city and county councils, express support for George and the Hanover government. These several addresses of support, and the King's responses, help frame the Rising as a minor aberration (In fact, some addresses don't even acknowledge the Rising.) and communicate an overwhelming rejection of Charles Edward Stuart and the Jacobites. The inclusion of Chesterfield's speech and these loyal addresses in *The*

[151] Chesterfield had been one of the leaders of the Whig opposition to Walpole with William Pitt and helped form the "Broad Bottom" coalition government under Henry Pelham. It is his faction that supports Henry Fielding's political writing in the 1740s, as discussed in Chapter Three.
[152] GM October 1745, 541.

Gentleman's Magazine and *The London Magazine* is part of the larger frame of dismissiveness toward the threat of the rebellion, but printing them in the *Scots Magazine* has slightly different implications.

As indicated above, by the time these addresses were printed, the Jacobites had already occupied Edinburgh, where the *Scots Magazine* was published, for over a month. While the *Scots Magazine*, which printed much of the same material as *The Gentleman's Magazine*, excludes many of the more inflammatory anti-Jacobite essays and poems ("The Political Busy Body" does not appear), it did still print many of the "news" items. To print these addresses in Jacobite-occupied Edinburgh is interesting. For one, it seems like an act of resistance by the editors to publish speeches and items that dismiss the Jacobites as an inconsequential threat that will be easily defeated. Alternatively, however, the publication of these addresses in a "defeated" city near a battlefield where the British army was embarrassingly overwhelmed by the Jacobite army renders this dismissive tone ironic. The pressure this awkward position puts on the editors is made clear in a statement published in the September issue:

> The Scots affairs in this Magazine are more interesting and of greater consequence than any that have happened since this work was begun. We have given as circumstantiate and just an account of them as we have been able to procure; but as, in such cases, it is extremely difficult not to give offence, we must intreat our candid readers to put as favourable a construction on our conduct, as they would desire to have put on their own in like circumstances. In a country so unhappily divided as we are, and at a time when men's passions are so inflamed as they always are in civil wars, it is not easy for a writer or collector to come at truth, or to find readers that wish to hear all the truth, and nothing but truth. This being our present situation, if any material fact or circumstance is misrepresented or omitted, we shall be singularly obliged to any person that will help us to rectify mistakes or supply defects. And as a true account of the present troubles, which ever way they end, will be useful to this and succeeding generations, we intreat of all men to favour us with such helps as they can afford, particularly distinct accounts of such facts as they know, in order to our giving a compleat detail of the present transactions. Truth shall be told of all men and parties; but bitter language and personal

reflexions we always avoid.[153]

While the London papers are able to criticize Charles and the Jacobites freely, the *Scots Magazine* must frame their criticism (if it is made at all) as an attempt "to come at truth" and offer a "just account."

The tone of the news itself, however, is markedly different from the same news in the English papers. While the Rising is almost always described as a "rebellion" and the Jacobites as "rebels" in the English magazines, the *Scots Magazine* avoids these terms completely in their own reporting (although retaining the original language from speeches and addresses). Instead they refer to them as the "highland army" or as "soldiers." Most interestingly, Charles Edward Stuart is always referred to in the London periodicals as "the Young Pretender" or "the Pretender's son," but the Edinburgh magazine refers to him as the "Chevalier" or "Young Chevalier." One can imagine the editor truly struggling over what to call Charles. To call him "Prince Charles" or "Prince Regent," as Charles had officially proclaimed himself after his arrival in Edinburgh, would be to acknowledge his claims as legitimate and implicitly declare the Hanover government illegitimate. Should Charles lose the war, the magazine would be implicated in his treason. On the other hand, to call him the "Young Pretender" would denounce his legitimacy and support the Hanoverians, which would be dangerous, considering the Jacobite control of Edinburgh (and presumably authority to shut down the magazine and imprison its editor). "Chevalier" is a prudent choice, as it does not bestow or deny any title but alludes back to Charles II (Charles Edward Stuart's great uncle) and his exile nearly a century prior. The "Chevalier" label also evokes the Stuarts' connections to France, however, maintaining an association of the young Charles with a foreign enemy.

[153] SM September 1745, 444-445.

With the deft rhetorical move of the above statement and the careful language in the *Scots Magazine*, the periodical is able to include some of the anti-Jacobite material, such as the pro-Hanover addresses. This allows the *Scots Magazine* to frame Jacobite support as an aberration that does not represent the overall support for the current government. The current attempt at a Stuart restoration is therefore tenuous and contingent. What we see in these September publications overall, then, is a hegemonic apparatus at work that simultaneously raises awareness and vigilance against an existential threat, trivializes the threat, and demonstrates the strength and security of the Nation and its government (or perhaps the Government and its nation?). The threat can only "grow serious but thro' our neglect." These magazines frame the threat as manageable.

"With hearts firm and stout, we'll repel the bold rout": The Call-to-Action Frame

The framing of the Forty-Five shifts to calls to action as the success of the Jacobites can no longer be easily dismissed. As the Jacobites drew closer to London, facing little opposition on their march, how the magazines framed the rebellion shifted correspondingly and proportionately Although the downplaying of the threat carried through October, noticeable calls to action were already appearing, as well. The increasing alarm could already be seen in dismissive texts like "To the Publick" (mentioned above) in the October 1745 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* that imply the threat of the rebellion is easily handled *if* just "one tenth [of English men] shall do their utmost."[154] The magazines continue to frame the rebellion as manageable, but with the added caveat of vigilance: the Jacobites are no real threat, so long as Britons take action.

One of the ways Britons are encouraged to take action is to put away the distractions of

[154] GM October 1745, 534.

pleasure and vice. A soliloquy by Mark Akenside (under the name "Brittanicus"[155]) published in the October 1745 *The Gentleman's Magazine* calls for the "sons of Ease, whom Sloth disarms, / And Pleasure captivates, with tinsel charms" that "sleep in Lux'ry's lap" to remember their "sinewy nerve" for "The foe's at hand!—there's ruin at the door, / Wake now for Liberty, or wake no more."[156] The men of "Old English courage" have become "Sons of Ease" and are called upon to rise up and take action. Inactivity, in the form of pleasure, ease, and luxury, "disarms" and "captivates" men. The language here associates pleasure with weakness and military loss. While the action Britons are prompted to take evokes bodily, manly action through "sinewy nerves," "honest blushes" coloring cheeks, courage "beat[ing] in ev'ry vein," and a sword in every "hand." The pumping of blood in the heat of action dyes the cheek with "honest blushes," which stands in opposition to the dishonest blushes of vice and shame.

A similar sentiment against pleasure and luxury in this time of crisis is presented in an ode printed in the October 1745 issue of *The London Magazine*. This poem begins with a call to Britons to suspend their "wonted joys awhile."[157] The speaker pleads with the reader to "Let the neglected arts complain" for it is "impious now to melt to Handel's lyre, / Or suffer *Quin* extort applause." Instead of enjoying the arts and luxuries, Britons are called "To arms, awhile to arms, alone attend / [. . .] Now that rebellion, boy-seduc'd, dares rear / On Scotia's hills her frantick head."[158] The poem is literal call to arms, where arms to fight the rebellion are directly contrasted to Handel's lyre" and other pleasures. The poem urges its readers to take the threat of that rebellion seriously, but it also attempts to frame the rebellion as manageable. Britons need

[155] Britannicus was identified as Akenside by Albert Pailler, according to Emily Lorraine de Montluzin's *Attributions of Authorship in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-1868: An Electronic Union List*. <http://bsuva.org/bsuva/gm2/>.
[156] GM October 1745, 552.
[157] LM October 1745, 511.
[158] LM October 1745, 511.

only set aside pleasure "awhile," implying it is a temporary act that will only last "a short or moderate time" before they can return to these "joys."[159] The threat is also diminished because it is led by the "boy," Charles Edward Stuart (who was 24 at the time) who "shakes her frantick head" over the hills of Scotland. "Frantick" here means "Relating to, characterized by, or displaying frenzy; delirious, wild; insanely foolish," which also reduces the threat to a kind of madness.[160] The rebellion is dangerous, but also foolish and mad.

The final appeal of the poem is to a united resistance to the Jacobites under the Hanoverian crown: "Britons, reunite; / To GEORGE's great protection fly, [. . .] / And under his all-dreaded banner fight."[161] Although the poem is addressed to "Britons" and ends with this appeal to British Union, it relies heavily on Scotophobia to rouse the reader to action. At first rebellion is personified, not grounded to a particular group but appearing on "Scotia's hills." The poet then implicates the Highlanders. The personified rebellion is "Threat'ning o'er happier climes to spread, / And taint with Highland lepers southern air." Obviously, there is the association of the Highlanders to lepers—drawing on the Scotophobic trope of the diseased Scot/Highlander discussed in Chapter One. With this reference is also an implication that the very air of the Highlands is contaminated, as well. The rebellion is also "monster-hatch'd" and "fed with sacred kindred blood," connecting the Highlanders with inhumanity and cannibalism (tropes again discussed in Chapter One). This "Ode," like Brittanicus' "Soliloquy," tries to encourage readers to action rather than pleasure, taking the threat seriously while also downplaying that threat.

---

[159] "while, n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/228334>.
[160] "frantic, adj. and n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/74248>.
[161] LM October 1745, 511.

Admonishment against pleasure over action is not reserved for the men, however. In October 1745, *The Gentleman's Magazine* presents two poems alongside the "Soliloquy" that encourage women to withhold love and pleasure from men who do not volunteer to fight the rebels. In "Sylvia Seconded," "Dorothy" (an "honest country girl" from Staffordshire) claims she will refuse any man who will not take up arms against the rebels. She encourages all other women to deny the courtship and attention of any man with "sword undrawn in Britain's cause."[162] Interestingly, the title "Sylvia Seconded" refers back to a poem in the August 1745 edition of *The Gentleman's Magazine* titled "Sylvia on her Lover's Campaign in Flanders," in which the titular Sylvia refuses to keep her love from doing his duty and fighting in Flanders. Dorothy, while seconding the spirit of Sylvia's poem, very clearly has a different conflict in mind: "Now—all that's dear is lay'd at stake, / Ye fair, your fond admirers wake! / Bid them draw forth th' avenging steel, / Till rebel foes their rashness feel."[163] The reference to "rebel foes" makes it clear that Dorothy's focus is closer to home than Flanders. Like in the soliloquy, there's also an implication that the men of Britain are sleeping and must be awakened. The women too are "shamed" here if the pleasure they represent, their "fatal beauty," keeps a "lover from his duty." Instead they are "advis'd" by this "artless Doll" who has never "ap'd the monkey-modes of France" to "employ each grace and charm, / For freedom ev'ry breast to warm." Just as it is the men's duty to take up arms, it is the women's duty to encourage their passion toward action over pleasure. The (sexual) pleasure, however, is suggested as a reward for the men who take up arms and return triumphant, their "toil" "crowned" with a "consenting smile."

Similarly, in a poem titled "The Stipulation," printed in the October 1745 *The*

[162] GM October 1745, 551.
[163] GM October 1745, 551.

Gentleman's Magazine and *Scots Magazine*, "Orinthia" of Carlisle encourages young women to refuse marriage (and the implied marital relations) to any man "Who for his country fears to fight." Orinthia argues to her lover, Damon, that they should not marry when the country is in "alarms" with "wild invasion."[164] Somewhat more explicitly than Dorothy, Orinthia connects her encouragement toward action to sexual pleasures. She asks, "would'st thou wish to have me thine, / To propagate a brood of slaves?" Although tied to "holy wedlock," the implication is that his wish to "have" her would only produce a generation of "slaves" if the rebellion is successful. She then encourages him to "furbish" his "armour bright" and "buckle on [his] trusty sword," promising "when our vanquish'd foes are fled, / I plight thee now my faithful word, / To take thee to my virgin bed."[165] The women in these poems, in a reverse of Aristophones' *Lysistrata*, promise sex in exchange for the men who volunteer to fight.

In the October 1745 *The Gentleman's Magazine*, these last two poems and the "Soliloquy" all appear in the same pages as "The Contradiction"—the poem that implies the impossibility of a Jacobite victory. That same month, in *The London Magazine*, the "Ode" calling Britons to arms is immediately followed by a small poem, "On the Pretender's Son's landing in Scotland," that addresses Charles saying, "Unskill'd you soar too high" and will certainly be "Hur'ld headlong from the Skie."[166] The seeming contradiction in these texts is not accidental. Together, as with "To the Publick," these texts frame the success of the rebellion as only possible through inaction and laziness. The pursuit of pleasure and vice can only lead to ruin, but to take up arms and fight will bring pleasures and rewards. In October 1745, we can see how the way these periodicals frame the rebellion shifts from the dismissiveness of prior

[164] GM October 1745, 551.
[165] GM October 1745, 551.
[166] LM October 1745, 511. These lines compare Charles Edward Stuart to the fatal foolhardiness and overconfidence of Icarus, punning on the "sky" from which Icarus fell and the Scottish Isle of Skye.

issues to a more explicit call for serious attention. As I will show in Chapter Three, Henry Fielding is doing similar framing in his three political pamphlets published in October 1745. This transition frame moves from dismissing the threat as insignificant to taking it somewhat more seriously; however, it attempts to keep the threat containable and manageable. The general tone of these October issues portrays the threat as dangerous only if it is not taken seriously. A noticeable aspect of this transition frame, however, is an increase in Scotophobic rhetoric intended to animate action through fear.

"the fierce sons of lawless rapine come": The Scotophobic Frame

As the threat of Jacobite success became a greater possibility, the monthly periodicals began to take the threat more seriously and framed a Jacobite victory in apocalyptic terms. Magazine issues from October through December 1745 saw a marked increase in anti-Catholic and anti-Jacobite material, as well as an increase in Scotophobic rhetoric focused on the Highlanders. The Highlander, in this moment, became something of a boogeyman used to promote fear and hate in the continuing effort to encourage readers to take action. As demonstrated above, the Highlander certainly was already presented emblematic of the Jacobite soldier. The focus early on, however, was primarily on the backwardness of the Highlanders: "mountaineers" that are "slaves" to their tribal chiefs, a "banditti" race who are motived by their extreme poverty and natural criminal tendency toward plunder, which they take at the points of their broadswords. As the Highland army moved further south, though, the more savage and fearsome the Highlander became in the pages of the English magazines.

The October 1745 issue of *The London Magazine*, for example, includes a speech by the Bishop of Worcester alarmed by the success of the rebellion and the "Numbers already collected of hardy, rapacious, and bloody Plunderers." The Bishop warns that if the nation is not

"carefully and universally prepared for its own Defence" it will be thrown "into the utmost Confusion."[167] The Highlanders (unnamed but implied) are not just "plunderers" but are especially fearsome plunderers. The Bishop describes them as "hardy," which could be complimentary of their strength and robustness ("capable of enduring fatigue, hardship, or adverse conditions"), but the context implies their endurance is threatening, and even connotes an audacity and "foolhardiness."[168] The Highlanders are also "rapacious," which highlights their greed as "Inordinately given to grasping or taking; aggressively greedy; greedily desirous *of*," but also is associated with a predatory nature and appetite.[169] Ultimately, the Highlanders are "bloody" plunderers, which follows naturally from their predatory hunger. "Bloody" means not only "Covered, smeared, or stained with blood," which would be a visceral enough image of their brutality, but also means "bloodthirsty" and "marked or tainted by brutality and bloodshed; characterized by violence, carnage, etc."[170] The Bishop's simple description of the Highlanders as "hardy, rapacious, and bloody Plunderers" presents a fearsome image and highlights the threat they pose. They are greedy, grasping, bloodthirsty animals. This increasing anti-Highland Scotophobia continued to be an important aspect of the framing to the rebellion into December.

By the time the December 1745 issues of *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The London Magazine* were published, the Jacobites had already reached Derby on December 4—the apex of their march toward London—but had also begun their retreat to Scotland and the Highlands to gather strength and await further support from France. The heightened panic of December as a result of the Jacobite army's close proximity to London (about 50 miles), however, also meant

[167] LM October 1745, 493.
[168] "hardy, adj. and n.1". OED Online. March 2020. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/84203>.
[169] "rapacious, adj.". OED Online. March 2020. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/158137>.
[170] "bloody, adj., n., and adv.". OED Online. March 2020. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/20448>.

a heightened effort to frame the seriousness of the uprising and the threat it represented and a continued refinement of anti-Highlander Scotophobia. An indication of how the magazines adjusted their framing of the rebellion to encourage a more serious consideration of the threat it posed is a notice opening the December 1745 edition of *The Gentleman's Magazine*:

> Our Readers in every part of his Majesty's Dominions being too much alarmed by the Present Rebellion, and threatned Invasion, to relish with, their usual Delight the Debates in the Senate of LILLIPUT [the magazine's non-libelous representation of Parliament], we shall postpone them for a Season, that we may be able to furnish out a fuller entertainment of what we find to be more suitable to their present Taste.[171]

The implication of this statement is that, whether readers actually will not "relish" the usual entertainment or not, they *should* be alarmed. The recent scare of the Jacobite's encroachment into England clearly still lingered, but more importantly, the magazines, as hegemonic apparatuses promoting the status quo, continued to frame the rebellion as a serious threat to maintain the public's attention to the threat. To maintain that attention involved a continued increase of Scotophobia focused on the supposed savagery and rapine of the Highlanders.

This image of the Highlanders is presented in an excerpt from the *Westminster Journal* of November 30 printed in *The London Magazine* from December 1745. In this essay, the author responds to Charles Edward Stuart's proclamations published on October 9 and 10. The author (presumably "Thomas Touchit," the persona of the editor of the *Journal*) describes Charles as a "Tool" of France "at the Head of a Set of desperate Spoilers and Ravishers."[172] Aside from the crude association of Charles with a penis (through the use of "tool" and "head"), the author describes the Highlanders as "desperate Spoilers and Ravishers." Their "desperation" means they are reckless to the point of "extreme violence of action."[173] As "spoilers" the

[171] GM December 1745, 619.
[172] LM December 1745, 594.
[173] "desperate, adj., n., and adv.". OED Online. March 2020. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/50957>.

Highlanders are again plunderers, but the term also carries associations of violence, injury, and destruction.[174] "Ravisher," of course, really only has one meaning: "a rapist, a violator."[175] This author also describes the Highlanders as "hardy necessitous Ruffians, who will cut the Throats of as many of you as fall in their Way."[176] We can see the increase and perpetuation of images of the Highlanders as murderers and rapists, ready to rape and pillage their way across the nation.

The Gentleman's Magazine in December 1745 also published another excerpt from the *Westminster Journal* of December 9 that continues this framing of the Highlanders as murderous rapists. In this letter to the editor of the *Journal*, the author, "A Well-Wisher," proposes a solution to the Highland threat. Since, he proclaims, it is well known that the rebels "are particularly fond of exercising their parts on the female sex; and being fellows of pretty keen appetites commonly take up with whatever falls in their way," he proposes "providing as many ladies" as can "conveniently" be spared "out of the hundreds of Drury [. . .] and see them safe convey'd to the places that are likeliest to be visited by the Highlanders; [. . .] whereby they'll contract a disease which will effectually stop their progress, and afford his majesty's forces an easy and cheap-bought conquest."[177] This tongue-in-cheek plan of incapacitating the Highlanders with venereal disease contracted from the sex-workers of London relies on an understanding of the Highlanders as uncontrollable rapists (and, of course, a general misogyny that presents women as disposable objects).

This same issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* also features a letter from a "gentleman of undoubted credit in Angus-shire, to his friend in Edinburgh" that discusses his experience

[174] "spoiler, n.". OED Online. March 2020. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/187269>.
[175] "ravisher, n.". OED Online. March 2020. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/158686>.
[176] LM December 1745, 595.
[177] GM December 1745, 648.

with the Jacobite Army. Needless to say, this letter is not flattering to the Highlanders. The letter writer sympathizes with his Edinburgh friend about the "the unhappy time" the Highlanders were in Edinburgh and "the many robberies, oppressions, and numberless hardships" he must have suffered. The writer then asks for similar sympathy now that the army is in Angus-Shire and is similarly oppressing the people with crime and violence. The countryside, he writes, is "one scene of horror and oppression." "Robberies," he continues, "are perpetual, and many of them in open day, in the public streets, in the sight of their own officers [and] They have fallen now to house breaking [and] have attack'd many of the clergy, and robb'd them, with great insults." The "distress" taking its toll on the citizens, although it is "not so visible," is "exceeding great."[178] The inclusion of this letter adds to the general framing of the Highlanders as a savage band raping and pillaging their way through Britain. The fact that it is purportedly from a Scotsman also serves a rhetorical function in the Scotophobia of the frame. Such an author, expressing fear and anxieties over the Highland Army's occupation, serves to contrast the criminal Highland oppressors from the "oppressed" Scots of the Lowlands. This contrast makes anti-Highlander Scotophobia seem reasonable and founded on reality and experience. The writer even highlights the veracity of his claims, stating outright, "These facts are true, and the publishing of them may tend to stir up all people to exert themselves to the utmost in stopping this unjust and unhappy rebellion, raised and supported by the enemies of mankind."[179] Such a statement raises some doubts about the truth of the letter, making its inclusion seem like propaganda. Which, of course, it is. In order to "stir up all people" in stopping the rebellion, the Highlanders are framed as a dire threat, bringing violence and crime, and this frame is strengthened by distinguishing between the Highlanders and the

[178] GM December 1745, 645.
[179] GM December 1745, 646.

other Scots.

This distinction between the two types of Scots is emphasized further in this same issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* by the inclusion of two separate articles offering apologies (as in the Greek "apologia," or defense) for the Scottish. One is an excerpt from the first issue of Henry Fielding's weekly periodical, *The True Patriot* (1745-1746), which I discuss in Chapter Three.[180] The other is purportedly a letter from "a magistrate of Dumfries, to his friend at Taunton." Dumfries is a city in southern Scotland near the border with England. The author of this letter laments that those "in *Scotland* are every where, thro' *England*, exclaimed against as enemies."[181] He goes on to explain that this accusation is "cruel and unjust" as "even a suspicion of this kind should not be easily admitted, as tending, at this critical juncture, to weaken our hands in both nations." The letter then shifts from an apology for the Scottish to a complaint that Britons did not take this rebellion seriously and "the disaffected party every where laughed at the thing." This ridicule (which, as I noted above, *The Gentleman's Magazine* helped perpetuate), he claims, made the rebels "absolutely masters" of Scotland, and the Scots' hands were "tied up" and the rebels "might, when they pleased, have cut all [the Scots'] throats." The author makes an appeal "to every reasonable and unprejudiced person" not to charge "the people of Scotland" (i.e., "those in the low countries") as the "cause" for the rebellion. This appeal specifically excludes the Highlanders, as the writer adds, "Believe me, Sir, disaffection in Scotland is confined to some Highland clans, and the nonjuring party of Edinburgh." This apology, and Fielding's, are really apologies for the Lowland Scots—

[180] The highlight of this apology, for this chapter, is the following statement describing who the rebels are: "we shall find them to be the savage Inhabitants of Wilds and Mountains, who are almost a distinct Body from the rest of their Country. Some Thousands of them are Outlaws, Robbers, and Cut-throats, who live in a constant State of War, or rather Robbery, with the civilized Part of Scotland." As we can see, there is a distinction made between the Highland and Lowland Scots with the effect of heightening the fearsomeness and the threat of the Highlanders and justifying continued Scotophobia.

[181] GM December 1745, 651.

apologies which, when placed alongside accounts of the Highlanders' violence and rapine, help promote fear and action against the rebels.

This framing of the threat of the rebellion as a call to action is present in *The London Magazine* of December 1745. Included in this issue is a statement by Thomas Fonnereau, Esq. in a charge to the Grand Jury of Suffolk from October 9, 1745. Although the statement is far ranging in what the Grand Jury should look out for in their duty "in a zealous Inquiry to detect all Persons, who [. . .] busy themselves in disturbing the Peace and good Order," one of the consistent themes is Scotophobia.[182] In particular, the statement ends with the following exhortation:

> [T]he hungry, Shoeless, Scotch Mountaineers, want Shoes of English Leather to trample you with under their feet; but they are mistaken, they shall never have them. We are not to be conquered, enslaved, and trampled upon by them, and their Popish Pretender; we are Englishmen, and with a true English Spirit let us drive these Frenchified Scots back to their Mountains, and make them to know, that we are and resolve to live FREE.[183]

This obvious appeal to Scotophobia is meant to motivate action, in this case legal action, to resist the rebellion. The statement represents common Scotophobic tropes, representing the Highlanders (the "Scotch Mountaineers") as impoverished pillagers. They are "shoeless" (a recurring image of the Highlanders),"hungry," and jealous of the plenty of England. They don't just want shoes, however, but shoes with which to commit violence against the English. They are also described as "Frenchified" Scots, tying them to foreignness. Most importantly, the Highlander is placed in direct opposition to the "Englishman" with "true English Spirit" who will fight the Scots to remain "FREE." Even though the speech was given in October, it was not printed until December. While in October 1745 we have observed increased attention to the

[182] LM December 1745, 600.
[183] LM December 1745, 602.

seriousness of the uprising, this strong statement's inclusion here is indicative of the shifting frame of the publication toward a more direct call to arms and the heightened use of Scotophobia to promote action through fear.

While the *London* and *Gentleman's Magazines* relied heavily on Scotophobia to frame the uprising during this time, the *Scots Magazine* tended not to follow suit. As discussed above, the publishers of this magazine were most certainly under a different kind of pressure in an occupied city, but they were presumably also hesitant to rely on Scotophobia to promote action through fear. This is not to say that the *Scots Magazine* avoided engaging in framing the rebellion as a serious existential threat and in need of public response. Throughout the last months of 1745, several essays, sermons, speeches, poems, and more presented news and arguments that encouraged resisting the Jacobites and rejecting Stuart rule and Catholicism. Most of these texts also appeared in London magazines and newspapers, but many were from within Scotland. The *Scots Magazine*, despite its awkward position, framed the rebellion as evil and an attack on the British way of life, but it generally avoided outright calls to arms or fearmongering. In November 1745, however, the magazine featured a song that was printed widely, including in *The London Magazine* and Henry Fielding's *True Patriot*, simply called "A SONG, to the tune of Lillibullero." I discuss this song in more depth in Chapter Three in the context of Fielding's "strategic" Scotophobia in *The True Patriot*, but it is worth touching on briefly here, given its widespread printing. The song is a call to arms, but its printing in the *Scots Magazine* is interesting as it hinges on anti-Scottish rhetoric. The song opens "O Brother Sawney," immediately using a common derogatory epithet for a Scot and the chorus (which is ost of the song) proclaims: "Twang 'em, we'll bang 'em, and hang 'em up all. / To Arms, to

Arms, / Brave Boys, to Arms!"[184] Aside from "Sawney," other Scotophobic references pop up in the song, including calling the Highlanders "Banditti," and referencing "Scotch plad," "highland money," and "broad swords." The Highland army is also described as "just coming without any shoes," which as I have addressed is a common trope to reflect their poverty and backwardness. Ultimately, the song is a call to arms and a rejection of the Jacobite cause, but it relies so much on Scotophobia as part of that call. The inclusion of this song in the *Scots Magazine* is notable because of this Scotophobia as it demonstrates the power and ubiquity of framing the rebellion as a serious existential threat that demands action.

"The foe, by William's single name subdu'd": The Cumberland-as-Savior Frame

After December 1745, as Charles Edward Stuart's Jacobite Army retreated deeper into Scotland with Prince William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland's army close behind, the framing of the rebellion shifted again. An undercurrent within the magazines throughout the rebellion had been a consistent overarching frame of pro-Hanoverian support and adulation of George II. As victory over the Jacobites seemed imminent, this frame took central focus. Although Scotophobia was still present, it was greatly reduced as a core component of this Hanoverian frame, used now to complement hagiographic representations of the Duke of Cumberland as the savior of Britain.

Cumberland was the second (and favorite) son of George II and pursued a military career. He had been part of the allied British, Hanoverian, Dutch, and Austrian campaign in Europe in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and distinguished himself at the Battle of Dettingen (June 27, 1743).[185] In early 1745, when he was twenty-three years old,

[184] SM November 1745, 523.
[185] As discussed in Chapter Four, this battle is also featured in Smollett's *Roderick Random*, with the titular hero fighting on the opposing side of the Duke.

Cumberland's father named him commander-in-chief of the Allied forces abroad. His first battle as commander was the disastrous Battle of Fontenoy (May 11, 1745) outside Tournai (in present-day Belgium) against French forces led by Marshal Saxe. Cumberland and his troops retreated to Brussels; Saxe pressed this advantage and over the following months took Tournai, and much of the rest of the Austrian Netherlands, including Ghent, Bruges, and the major port of Ostend. Ostend fell on August 12, 1745, after a two-week siege. Charles Edward Stuart raised his banner at Glenfinnan on August 19, 1745. As the Jacobite army met with more and more success, Cumberland and 12,000 troops were recalled from the continent and landed in the south of England on October 18, 1745. By the time Cumberland arrived in Lichfield (about 110 miles northwest of London) to take command of the army in England on November 27, 1745, the Jacobites had taken Preston on November 26. The Jacobites would then take Manchester November 28, where they took on a large number of English recruits. Cumberland quickly moved to intercept Charles' army, but they were able to make it past him and arrived in Derby (about 50 miles north of London) on December 4. When the Jacobites decided to retreat rather than push forward to London on December 6, Cumberland pursued them into Scotland. After waiting out the winter in Aberdeen, Cumberland continued his pursuit, culminating in his victory over the Jacobites at the Battle of Culloden on April 16, 1746—the day after he turned twenty-five.

In the months between Cumberland's arrival in England and his victory at Culloden, the British magazines shifted from framing the Forty-Five as an immediate existential crisis to framing it as an affirmation of the Hanoverian succession and the status quo. Although the threat still loomed in public consciousness until April 1746, the focus of the magazines was less on the threat and more on maintaining support for the current administration. This shift in

framing occurred during a period when the Jacobites, in retreat, were not posing an immediate threat, and there was little news to report. As such, this pro-Hanoverian frame was based on a perceived need to maintain vigilance by the public and unify in support of the Hanoverian regime. An increase in pro-Hanoverian poetry and song, in particular, demonstrates the continued push for supporting the current succession. For example, the future British national anthem, "God Save the King" is printed (or some version of it) in October and December 1745 in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and in both *The London Magazine* and *Scots Magazine* in November 1745. These latter printings are a version advertised as "The Anthem sung at both the Theatres, altered." The chorus remains the same, but the verses have been updated to reflect the current conflict, as in the lines "From France and pretender, / Great Britain defend her."[186] The fact that this version was being sung at the theaters gives us a sense of the ways the public was responding to the conflict and how these magazines reflected and shaped that response in the framing of the Forty-Five. Aside from the more general Hanoverian support represented in items like "God Save the King," these magazines emphasized the role of Cumberland and elevated him to the status of an icon. He was framed as the hero to Charles Edward Stuart's villain and presented in appropriately heroic language. Although Scotophobia was a consistent part of this pro-Hanover framing, the primary focus was on lionizing Cumberland as the hero destined to save Britain.

We see this kind of lionization of Cumberland emerging in December 1745. At that time, *The Gentleman's Magazine* published a poem/song titled "A New Ballad." This jaunty verse calls Britons to celebrate the rebels' retreat with "wit" and "humour." The speaker declares "From the Highlands to Derby they march'd bold and gay / Because they had nothing

[186] LM November 1745, 563, and SM November 1745, 522.

to stand in their way: / But as soon as they heard the brave prince was come forth / Away ganged Charles, Tullibardin and Perth."[187] The implication of the ballad is that Charles and his men, despite their early successes, turned tail and ran at the coming of Cumberland. "Brave" Cumberland is presented as the first to "stand in their way," which of course is an overstatement, but sets Cumberland up as a champion for Britain in opposition to "puppy-Charles" (and "run-away Charles," "web-finger'd Charles," and "pilfering Charles"). The poet also uses Scotophobia to highlight Cumberland's heroism. Associating the Highlanders with contagious disease, the poet declares, "*Britannia* they thought with fine words to bewitch, / But she wou'd not, she thank'd 'em, shake hands with the itch." The Highlanders are an embodiment of "the itch," a general term at the time for any disease that causes severe itchiness, much like we might describe any number of illnesses as "a cold." The "itch," like a "cold," is generalized term, but it also represents a very specific understanding of infection, and the term can encompass various ailments, including leprosy and venereal diseases. The Highlanders in this ballad are presented as diseased "vermin" that attempted to infect Britannia, a symbolic representation of England/Britain, until Cumberland's brave intervention.

As time went on, the framing of adulation of Cumberland increased. For example, in the January 1746 issue of *The London Magazine* featured an excerpt of a letter "in praise of the Duke" from the *Universal Spectator*. The unknown writer, in this letter written a year before, expresses the perfection of Cumberland: "I Never could imagine any one Person endowed with so many amiable and admirable Qualities, so justly mixed and tempered with each other, that none of them can be charged with the least Defect or Excess."[188] This description of Cumberland is reminiscent of the kind of romanticized depictions of male objects of affection in

[187] GM December 1745, 663.
[188] LM January 1746, 26.

various novels of the eighteenth century in its language of "amiable and admirable qualities."[189] This kind of language praising not only the Duke's courage, but also his person, was fairly common. Many of the texts lauding him before Culloden, however, found his mere presence cause enough for the Jacobites to flee. In the February 1746 issue of *TheGentleman's Magazine* appear a few poems with this theme. For example, an "Extempore" poem on "the Flight of the Rebels" declares, "No wonder, my friend, if this wild highland rabble, / At the news of our duke scamper off as they're able / Like locusts a while they on property prey'd, / For rebellion's their nature, and plunder their trade. / But great Cumberland's presence the business has done, / For vermine take flight on th' approach of the Sun."[190] The poem draws on classic Scotophobic tropes comparing the Highlanders to locusts and accusing them of being violent, rebellious plunderers by nature to elevate Cumberland as the sun driving the Highland "vermine" to "scamper" merely at the "news" of him.

An "Epigram on the Duke" in the same issue (and also published in the *Scots Magazine* the same month) likewise declares Cumberland's name to be sufficient to defeat the Jacobites: "More great than Caesar's arm is William's name." Cumberland is "more great" than Caesar because, while the latter came, saw, and conquered, the former "conquers coming, and before he sees."[191] Before Cumberland has even faced the rebels in battle, it seems, he has already defeated them. *The London Magazine* from February 1746 also builds on this framing of Cumberland as a messianic savior. In an Ode to "godlike Liberty" the poet exclaims, "'Twas thy [Liberty's] active genius fir'd / William, the rebels justest dread [. . .] The foe, by William's

[189] See for example, the description of Lord Orville by the titular heroine in Frances Burney's *Evelina*: "yet he is himself the most agreeable and, seemingly, the most amiable man in the world." Frances Burney, *Evelina, Or, A Young Lady's Entrance Into the World*, Edited by Susan Kubica Howard (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2000), 131.
[190] GM February 1746, 99.
[191] GM February 1746, 101.

single name subdu'd." Again, simply evoking Cumberland's name is enough to send the Jacobites retreating. The Duke, apparently, is anathema to the rebels. This ode immediately follows another poem that makes a claim that the rebels "ravage o'er the land / To fly from Cumberland's avenging hand." The *Scots Magazine* for January and February 1746 features two other poems, both in Latin after Horace, celebrating Cumberland in epic fashion. All of these poems, in all three magazines, follow reports of Cumberland's motions in pursuit of the rebels, adding to the general frame presenting him as a heroic savior figure chasing the verminous Scottish rebels.

"Too long divided let us now unite": The Reconciliation Frame

After the Battle of Culloden and the defeat of the Jacobites in April 1746, the framing of Cumberland as savior and hero grows even more prominent, but the framing of the Scottish shifts yet again. While so much of the material framing the Forty-Five in the major magazines of the previous months relied heavily on Scotophobia and villainizing the Scots, immediately after Culloden there is an abrupt shift toward reconciliation and Anglo-Scottish Union. While certainly biases remained, the general absence of Scotophobia is startling. For example, in the May 1746 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, there are two poems directly celebrating Cumberland and his victory over the rebels ; in these two poems, there are no negative references to the Scots. In the first, "On the Defeat of the Rebels," a personified Time is told he has a new hero to add to his book of fame: Cumberland. There is no mention of Scotland or the Scottish, merely "Britain" and the "rebels." Contrast this to any of the poems on Cumberland explored above, and there is a clear absence of anti-Scottish rhetoric. The poem on the following page of the same issue, "Ode: Occasion'd by his Royal Highness's Victory, and his wish'd Return," is likewise free of Scotophobia. Instead of Highlanders, a personified

"Rebellion" is pursued and defeated by "William" on behalf of "Britannia" and "Caledonia." Instead of an actor in Rebellion's fight, however, Caledonia is presented as a victim who "mourn'd her thrall." In the first issue after it was certain the Jacobites were defeated, there is a shift away from Scotophobia and an attempt to reframe the conversation of the Scottish and the rebellion toward reconciliation under Anglo-Scottish Union.

This rhetorical shift in framing toward reconciliation took two broad forms, albeit with quite a bit of overlap: a call to reform the Scottish, especially the Highlands, in order to strengthen the Union and prevent future rebellions, and a debate on extending mercy and forgiveness. One of the best examples of the calls for reform come in the same May 1746 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* as the poems just discussed above. In an excerpt of a letter printed originally in the *Westminster Journal* of May 24, the anonymous writer argues for a plan to rehabilitate the rebels, especially the Highlanders. Appealing to the "ancient Romans," he argues it is "a greater glory to save a citizen, than kill an enemy" and that "every rebel we destroy, we deprive the king of a subject, or one that should be a subject."[192] In other words, he argues that the Highlanders are far more useful as part of the Union than excluded, "if a way could be found to make them reconcile and make them useful as well as dutiful subjects." Although the writer is arguing for reconciliation with the Highlanders, he is actually making the case for a colonial project toward assimilation that is implicitly Scotophobic. He makes the case for promoting fishing and other industries, but the "great difficulty will be to make them [the Highlanders] industrious, and convince them, that a life of labour is vastly preferable to [. . .] their present lazy vassalage." The condescending and chauvinistic tone of this letter frames the Highlanders as backwards and in need of help rather than punishment, like children.

[192] GM May 1746, 261.

Finally, the writer appeals to this reformation of the Highlanders in terms of stadial theories of progress (discussed in Chapter One):

> But cool reflection will suggest a great deal in behalf of the *common Highlanders*, who are but little removed from the state of nature, and have scarce any idea of other liberty than that of ranging at large over their barren wilds, and following their chieftains to war in defence of this liberty, to enlarge their bounds, execute their revenge, or pillage their more opulent neighbours. The *South Britons*, when the *Romans* first landed here, were not a very different people from the present *Highland Scots*, who want only property, trade, and an intercourse with the more civiliz'd part of mankind, to bring them nearer to a resemblance of the present *English*.[193]

The Highlanders here are described as "little removed from the state of nature," referencing the philosophical idea of the "state of nature" as theorized by Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. The state of nature philosophy is tied in many ways to stadial theories of human development, where people move from a state of nature, where there is no law nor order, through various stages of "civil society," adopting increasingly sophisticated forms of government and social order. If progress towards civilization is a scale between the state of nature and civil society, the Highlanders are envisioned at the lower end of the scale, while the English presumably represent the higher end. Importantly, however, the author argues that the English, or "South Britons," were at essentially the same station when the Romans arrived in Britain. Of course, the letter presupposes an inferiority on the part of the Highlander to the "more civiliz'd part of mankind" and only allows for their progress as "useful" subjects who can participate in the nation's capitalist industry. This ridiculously condescending sentiment is echoed in a number of essays in the latter half of 1746, including a very similar plan outlined by Henry Fielding in the 16th issue of his *Jacobite's Journal*, published March 19, 1748 (which I discuss in Chapter Three). Even when this letter acknowledges the need and ability for the Highlanders to progress,

[193] GM May 1746, 262.

they can only progress "nearer to a *resemblance* of the present English." The Highlanders are still placed on the lower end of the scale of civilization and made distinct from the English—closer to mimicking civilization if not quite truly civilized, at least. Yet while still Scotophobic in making the distinction at all, the rhetorical move to reduce the distance between the "common Highlander" and the "English" is a marked difference from texts appearing in the same magazine just a month before.

The London Magazine of May 1746 likewise follows this marked rhetorical shift toward reconciliation between the English and the Scottish in an article marked "Extract of a Letter printed in 1739, giving an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Society in Scotland, for propagating Christian Knowledge." The extract is focused on an account of Scotland and the Scottish, particularly the Highlanders, and ultimately deploys the same condescending rhetoric of the essay from *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Initially, the extract presents the Highlanders as backwards and having "little Correspondence with the civiliz'd Part of the Nation, and only come among them to pillage the more industrious Inhabitants."[194] Again, as in *The Gentleman's Magazine* essay, we see a distinction made between the Highlanders, who are ruled by "Ignorance and Superstition," put in juxtaposition with the "civiliz'd." They are "subject to the Will and Command of their Popish disaffected Chieftains, who have always oppos'd the propagating Christian Knowledge, and the English Tongue, that they might with less Difficulty keep their miserable Vassals in a slavish Dependence." The letter pivots, however, arguing the Highlanders "are naturally of a quick Genius, of great bodily Strength, and inur'd to Hardship [and] Some Clans of Highlanders, well instructed in the Arts and well affected to the Government, would make as able and formidable a Body for their Country's Defence, as Great

[194] LM May 1746, 261.

Britain or Switzerland, or any Part of Europe, are able to produce."[195] In other words, the Highlanders are salvageable if properly instructed. While a more positive view of the Highlanders, their own desires and motivations cannot be conceived of, only their utility to the Nation. It's important, however, to consider that this letter was originally printed in 1739—six years before the start of the Forty-Five. The letter's reprinting in May of 1746 is clearly a move on the part of *The London Magazine*'s editors to contribute to the calls to reform the Highlanders following Culloden. The inclusion of this letter is part of the larger shift to a frame of reconciliation and Anglo-Scottish Union.

Building on calls to reform of the Highlanders (and make them and their land "useful"), another important aspect of this reconciliation is to frame the Forty-Five as an ultimately positive event that strengthens Britain and Anglo-Scottish Union. The July 1746 issues of both *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *Scots Magazine*, for example, include an article from the *General Evening Post* of July 5, 1746, that makes a case for the "Good resulting from the late troubles." This text, signed "Philagathus," begins with a claim that in his speech to parliament in January 14, 1746, George II was "pleased to express his assurance, that Good would result from the Rebellion, to the constitution it was meant to subvert; and it is hoped much good has accru'd from it."[196] The fact that George did not make any such statement in his speech is less important than the fact the author draws upon such authority to support his own claims. Although George expressed confidence in the defeat of the rebels in his speech, that victory was still uncertain. The Jacobites were currently besieging Stirling Castle and would win yet another victory against government forces just days later at Falkirk Muir on January 17. But three months after Culloden, "Philagathus" reframes the king's speech as an argument for the "good

[195] LM May 1746, 261-262.
[196] GM July 1746, 356.

resulting" from the rebellion. This good includes the nation's "sincere adherence to the present government, and utter abhorrence of popery" as well as a clear demonstration of George's "regard for his people; and also to them, to shew their love and respect to his majesty; which reciprocal kindness cements that union which is our greatest strength, and best defence."[197] The rebellion, in other words, only strengthens the Union. The author hopes, further, the rebellion will work in the nation a "thorough reformation" and establish a "sure foundation of happiness."

This happiness and reformation relies on an effort to "reform those miserable wretches who have been the rod of God's anger to chastise us for our sins, I mean the banditti that harbour in most of the Highlands of Scotland, that nursery of rapine and violence, where rebellion is always hatching, and brooding her cursed offspring." Following a now familiar pattern, the author relies on Scotophobic scapegoating of the Highlanders—the "banditti"—and the image of the Highlands at large as a "nursery of rapine and violence." But the Highlanders are not just wild men and outlaws to be feared, but "miserable wretches" to be pitied and saved. As in the texts above, the Highlanders are not directly to blame for the rebellion. In this case, they are both an instrument of God to punish the British and the "cursed offspring" of the land itself. Describing them as "miserable" implies the external conditions of their wretchedness, meaning "Living or existing in a state of external distress or misery; that is in a wretched condition."[198] Likewise, "cursed" can imply that the Highlanders are both "damnable, execrable, heinously wicked" and "under a curse."[199] As in the essays above, in this text the Highlanders are described in Scotophobic terms before pivoting to a call for forgiveness and

[197] GM July 1746, 356.
[198] "miserable, adj. and n.". OED Online. March 2020. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/119527>.
[199] "cursed | curst, adj.". OED Online. March 2020. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/46134>.

reform. Also, as before, however, this reform is framed as a utilitarian good to be had by making the Highlanders "useful":

> [B]y making those people industrious, and enabling them to get their own living honestly, we shall prevent them (either thro' want or idleness) from coveting, or forcibly taking, other people's property; and by employing them better, secure them from being the easy tools of that power, who has ever been endeavouring to make slaves of them and us. What noble fleets might be mann'd and victuall'd from hence, if both the people and land were cultivated![200]

The argument acknowledges the potential progress that can be made by (or more accurately *to*) the Highlanders. The author notes "they are become in some sense objects of compassion, I cannot forget that they are men, that they are poor ignorant men." They are backwards, but salvageable as useful subjects. Again, as in the essays before, the Highlanders are not granted any agency of their own in this reformation. Instead they are to be "cultivated" like the land—transformed into an "industrious" population rather than an "idle" one. These calls for reform of Highlanders and Scotland are, as this author indicates, part of a larger frame of the reform and strengthening of the Anglo-Scottish Union immediately following the Forty-Five.

Another large part of the framing of the reconciliation and reform of Anglo-Scottish Union in the months following Culloden was a debate about mercy that was carried on across the pages of the monthly magazines. Despite Cumberland's slaughter of many Jacobites (and non-Jacobite bystanders) following Culloden, many were taken prisoner and tried for treason along with those captured at Carlisle and elsewhere. The trials of the Jacobite prisoners were reported on widely, but particular interest was taken with the trials of captured "rebel Lords": the Earl of Cromartie, the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, and Lord Lovat. These men became symbolic representatives of all the Jacobite prisoners and were often at the center of the

[200] GM July 1746, 357.

mercy debate. This debate was embedded in the framing of the aftermath of the Forty-Five, with articles discussing the meaning, need, and/or denial of mercy appearing alongside the texts arguing for making the Highlanders useful. Immediately following the extract from the *General Evening Post* by "Philagathus" in the July 1746 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, for example, is another extract from the *General Evening Post* from July 22 entitled "Pity conformable to Justice." This article argues that while mercy and pity are essential aspects of justice, the "present rebels are not objects that can lay any claim to favour, their crimes being of the blackest dye, as murder and robbery."[201] The rebels cannot and should not be pitied because of the actions they took, the author claims, going further to justify Cumberland's violent reprisals following Culloden as "when armies are engaged, the sword is then the law to end the controversy."[202] It is important to remember that these strong words condemning the rebels directly follow the essay reminding readers the Highland rebels are "poor ignorant men" that must be "cultivated."

The same July 1746 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* also features brief excerpts from both the *Craftsman* and the *Westminster Journal* of July 26 that tackle the question of mercy. The former argues for mercy for the rebels, stating that one "who acts wrong [. . .] from a conviction in his own mind that he is right, is an object of mercy in the eye of the conqueror." Mercy is therefore lenity to the "conscientious mistaken Person" and would "add to the dignity of the crown by Pardoning a conscientious rebel."[203] The *Westminster Journal* excerpt is actually a summary of a long letter in that paper that argues instead "that the severities practised against the Highlanders, in destroying their habitations and killing their cattle, are become

[201] GM July 1746, 357.
[202] GM July 1746, 358.
[203] GM July 1746, 374.

necessary and justifiable [. . .] But the Letter Writer wishes the work might be done without bloodshed."[204] Such a stance is emblematic of the ambivalence of the British people at this time. There is a desire to justify the violence against the Scottish and punishment of the rebels, but there is also a conflicting drive against bloodshed and creating greater animosity between the two nations. The mercy debate reveals this ambivalence.

Clearly the question of mercy was a central aspect of framing the aftermath of the Forty-Five, as all three magazines published many materials debating the issue. In *The Gentleman's Magazine* alone appeared numerous letters, essays, and poems debating mercy each month in the latter half of 1746: six in July, including those described above; eleven in August, including an extract from Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* Act 2, Scene 7 which calls for justice to be tempered by mercy; six in September, not including the many descriptions, reflections, and opinions regarding the executions of Kilmarnock and Balmerino and the pardon of Cromartie; and three in October, including an excerpt from the opening of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (but not including the six Latin translations thereof). Similar numbers appear in the corresponding months of *The London Magazine* and *Scots Magazine*, only a small fraction of which are printed in multiple magazines. The question of mercy and a fascination with the executed rebel Lords carried on through the end of 1746 and even into 1747, leading to the execution of the last "rebel Lord," Lovat. The effect of the debate—of the various arguments, speeches, historical examples, doctrines, sermons, plans, and literary references—especially alongside texts arguing for the reform of the Scottish and Highlanders, is a broader frame that supports the punishment of rebels (and justifies the excess violence of Cumberland) while advocating for a reconciliation under a strengthened Anglo-Scottish Union.

[204] GM July 1746, 358.

This sentiment is no better expressed than in an extract appearing in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for October 1746 from a letter originally printed in the *Old England Journal* of October 11, 1746, on the "Reasons for Mercy." The author of the letter argues that there are only three arguments "with any shew of reason" for Britain to enact justice "with the utmost rigor": "the incurableness and contagion of Jacobitism, the satisfaction due to those who have suffer'd by the rebellion, and the necessity of complying with what appears to be the universal demand of the well-affected."[205] He argues that clearly Jacobitism can be "cured," citing the repentance of Cromartie and Kilmarnock, that more than enough blood has been spilled at Culloden to provide satisfaction for the loss of life at the hands of the Jacobites, and that the "well-affected" are already generally for mercy. Ultimately, he argues mercy is not only just but it is prudent, as regards the Scottish nation. The author notes that if that "whole people [the Scottish] had declar'd against" England, it would have been (and still could be) disastrous: "An army from Scotland may not find it difficult to march, and take possession of our metropolis. Our own security therefore obliges us to consult the affections of the people of Scotland." Interestingly, one of the letter's primary arguments for mercy is that the rebels overall behaved extremely well, expressing a hope "no one is now so simple as to believe the idle stories that were related in [British] news-papers, of the cruelties and extravagancies of [the] rebels." This is a remarkable about-face from the highly charged Scotophobic rhetoric from during the rebellion examined above that presented the rebels as cannibalistic rapists and murderers. This letter highlights the overall shift in framing the Forty-Five and the Scots' involvement toward a self-interested reconciliation under a renewed Anglo-Scottish Union.

As the Forty-Five and its aftermath progressed, the major magazine periodicals of the

[205] GM October 1746, 546.

time—*The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The London Magazine*, and *Scots Magazine*—continued to shift how they framed the rebellion and the Scottish. There is a marked shift in the rhetorical framing of these periodicals from Scotophobic and incendiary rhetoric during the Forty-Five to a more ambivalent and reconciliatory tone in an effort to reclaim, reform, and rehabilitate Scottish identity under an Anglo-Scottish Union. Ultimately, despite some lingering biases, these periodicals contribute to a broad frame to rebuild and strengthen Anglo-Scottish Union and British identity immediately following the Battle of Culloden. While I am in no way arguing that Anglo-Scottish Union was fully resolved at this point (or even to this day), but instead I argue that there is an observable effort in public discourse, as presented in these periodicals, toward a reconciled and strengthened sense of Union and shared British identity in the immediate wake of the Forty-Five. This effort is exemplified in a brief poem appearing in the *Scots Magazine* in July 1746, titled "To Britons":

> Tho she pretends a party to advance,
> The whole to weaken is the aim of France:
> Her end is gain'd, and full her taste of joy,
> If thoughtless Britons, Britons will destroy.
> Too long divided let us now unite,
> Mix our resentment, and direct it right.[206]

This simple poem acknowledges the tensions and lingering "resentment" felt on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border and makes a call to unite and move beyond civil war. It condemns both the Jacobite rebels and Cumberland's retaliation in its criticism of "thoughtless Britons" who kill fellow Britons. While the resentment lingers, as we shall see in the following chapters examining the works of Henry Fielding and Tobias Smollett, there is an effort in these months and years following Culloden to "mix" that resentment and "direct it right," toward an

[206] SM July 1746, 331.

ameliorative Anglo-Scottish Union.

Chapter 3 – "Outlaws, Robbers, and Cut-throats": Henry Fielding, Strategic Scotophobia, and the Forty-Five

In the final issue of Henry Fielding's *The True Patriot* (1745-1746) published on June 17, 1746—almost exactly two months after the Jacobite defeat at Culloden—Fielding announced the discontinuance of the periodical. As the weekly paper "was entirely occasioned by [the] Rebellion" in an effort to "alarm [his] Fellow Subjects with the Dangers which that Rebellion threatned," it was no longer needed now that the rebellion was over.[207] Interestingly, Fielding uses this final opportunity to caution his readers against resentment and recriminations against the Scottish for the rebellion. He states that with this paper he tried "to obviate, as far as [he] was able, that Disinclination which was arising among too many against the Whole *Scotish* Nation, which [he] thought was at once unjust and dangerous to the common Cause." Fielding is perhaps understating the "disinclination" many expressed against the Scottish, as we saw in Chapter Two. "Disinclination" means a "slight dislike or aversion," implying this is a mild feeling against the Scottish.[208] Fielding knows he is understating the resentment against the Scottish, however, because he acknowledges it is "unjust" and "dangerous." In referring to the "common Cause," Fielding—or rather the "True Patriot"—makes in this final address to his readers an appeal for Union. Although he does not deny any Scottish involvement in the rebellion, he makes it clear that his intention has always been to promote a defense of British values while also trying to "dissuade the well-meaning but rash Part of my Countrymen from general and violent Attacks on whole Bodies of Men, even on the *Roman Catholics* themselves." Fielding shifts the blame slightly from the "Whole *Scotish* Nation" to Catholics,

[207] *True Patriot*, 255. Sadly, there does not appear to be a surviving copy of the issue, but fortunately an extract of the Patriot's farewell address was printed in the *London Magazine* that same month, June 1746.
[208] "disinclination, n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://oed.com/view/Entry/54560>.

but even they—who by implication don't represent British values—should not face violent reprisals from "well-meaning" Britons. His purpose in *The True Patriot*, he claims in this farewell, has always been about the preservation of British Union and peace.

Reading this address, one would be inclined to take Fielding at his word and assume the Patriot had always been so fair to "the whole *Scotish* Nation." In reality, however, Fielding is offering a revisionist view of his thirty-three-issue periodical. He is re-framing his work as an attempt to do his duty as a loyal "Englishman" and "Subject," done "with as little Bitterness and Invective" against those caught up by "mistaken Tenets." While not generally inflaming violence, Fielding's *True Patriot* contributed to that "disinclination" he now warns against. Fielding is complicit in the very same Scotophobia framing examined in Chapter Two. His effort here to emphasize his endeavor to distinguish between the rebels and the "Whole *Scotish* Nation" can be seen as part of the same shift in rhetorical framing I argue is visible in other periodicals at the time from Scotophobia to Anglo-Scottish Union. In this chapter, however, I argue more specifically that in his work between 1745 and 1749, Henry Fielding deploys what I term "strategic Scotophobia" to achieve his varying rhetorical purposes. In both his "hack" work (i.e., as a writer for hire) and literary endeavors, Fielding deploys or avoids Scotophobia in different degrees depending on the purpose of the work—be it to rouse Britons to action through fear, to ridicule the opposition party and support the Hanoverian monarchy and the Whig administration, or to envision a Whiggish and Anglo-centric Anglo-Scottish Union.

What differentiates Fielding's "strategic" Scotophobia from the Scotophobia examined elsewhere in this dissertation comes down to intentionality. While authors and editors of the periodicals examined in Chapter Two may be deploying Scotophobia with intent, what we observe here is a larger, diffused pattern that cannot be attributed to an individual purpose.

Because we can track Fielding's use of Scotophobia across multiple texts and genres from 1745 to 1749, however, we can examine how he deploys (or *doesn't* deploy) Scotophobia in different ways for different rhetorical purposes. As his rhetorical needs and aims shift, the shape and scope of his Scotophobia shifts in turn. I call this "strategic" because it represents a tactic and is deployed differently across different works and over time. Fielding's use of Scotophobia in this way is of a type with his "habit" of portraying political opponents to the administration as "Jacobites in disguise," what Martin Battestin describes as a "somewhat disingenuous strategy of [Fielding's] polemical writing."[209] Scotophobia, for Fielding, is yet another "disingenuous strategy" he can use as needed. Because many of his works in this moment are prompted by the political concerns of his friends and patrons, Fielding uses (or does not use) Scotophobia when it serves these concerns. Of central concern in 1745, of course, was the threat to Hanoverian and Whig status quo represented by the Jacobite Rising.

In many ways, Henry Fielding is an important and useful writer through whom we can examine the representation and negotiation of Scots identity and Anglo-Scottish Union during and immediately after the Forty-Five. As an Englishman, Fielding understands Scottish identity as an outsider. Unlike Tobias Smollett (who I discuss in Chapter Four) and other Scottish writers of the time, Fielding is not beholden to a personal identification with or connection to Scotland. Conversely, however, he carries his own biases and preconceived notions towards Scots that he cannot escape. He was a Whig, as well as a staunch anti-Jacobite and, even more so, anti-Catholic. Additionally, prior to the Forty-Five, he had no particular love for the Hanoverian monarchy. Fielding may be said, then, to represent a "typical" English perspective of the Forty-Five that helps us understand the negotiation of Scottish identity and Anglo-

[209] Martin C. Battestin, General Introduction and Notes to *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling,* by Henry Fielding, 2 vols. Edited by Fredson Bowers (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), xxix.

Scottish Union.

Another reason that Fielding is useful to examine is his capacity as a writer for hire. Although an established and popular writer and playwright, Fielding consistently struggled financially. This financial precarity meant he frequently worked as a "hackney" or "hack" writer. This means he would write whatever or for whomever paid most, which offers us insight into what interested the literate English populace, or what those in power wanted them to be interested in. This is not to say that Fielding wrote for anyone or any stance without scruple, but it does mean he published contradicting pieces from time to time. Nevertheless, Fielding, as both a propagandist and independent author, is himself a hegemonic apparatus. As such, understanding how he wrote about the Forty-Five and the Scottish helps us understand the English and ministerial response to the uprising.

Few English writers seemed to take the threat of the Jacobite Rising in 1745 as seriously as Henry Fielding appeared to. Certainly the rebellion was the central focus (or at least figured prominently) in his writing between 1745 and 1749. In October 1745 alone, Fielding published three anti-Jacobite pamphlets: *A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain* (October 3), *The History of the Present Rebellion in Scotland* (October 7), and *A Dialogue between the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender* (October 15). These were quickly followed by the start of his weekly periodical *The True Patriot, And the History of Our Own Times* on November 5, 1745 which ran until June 17, 1746, two months after Culloden. In June 1747, Fielding dealt in part with the aftermath of the rebellion in an upcoming election, in a pamphlet titled *A Dialogue Between a Gentleman of London, Agent for Two Court Candidates, and an Honest Alderman of the Country Party* (June 23, 1747). In addition, between December 1747 and November 1748, Fielding wrote a weekly satirical anti-Jacobite/opposition paper, *The Jacobite's Journal*.

Finally, Fielding wrote *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* (1749), into which he added the Forty-Five as a significant element, including setting the story during the uprising.

Fielding's focus on the Uprising, especially his anti-Jacobite rhetoric, was not borne out of an overflow of patriotism, however. While he may have been against the Jacobite cause, and generally a staunch Whig, his inducements to write were generally financially motivated. Fielding had befriended several (future) prominent Whig figures in his youth at Eton, including George Lyttelton and William Pitt. Lyttelton would prove an important ally and would become Fielding's chief patron. Early on as a political hack writer, Fielding generally wrote for the opposition Whigs and against Robert Walpole's government. In the 1730s, Fielding represented the interests of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield's opposition Whigs, which included Lyttelton, in anonymous essays in *The Craftsman* (1726-1752).[210] As political fortunes changed, and with them those who needed hack writers, Fielding briefly was patronized by Walpole and wrote against his former opposition patrons. When Walpole resigned in 1742, Fielding returned to the service of Chesterfield and Lyttelton to work to oust John Carteret, Lord Granville. Fielding published *An Attempt Towards a Natural History of the Hanover Rat* (1744), a pamphlet which criticized Granville and the current war with France on behalf of the Electorate of Hanover, the home and a separate domain of King George II. Granville's resignation (coincidentally the day after the pamphlet was published) triggered the formation of a coalition ministry—the "Broad-Bottom" government—of Henry Pelham's "Old Whigs" and Chesterfield's opposition Whigs. This Union of Whig factions meant Fielding's own ascension

[210] *The Craftsman* was an opposition paper established by Tory party leader Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke and "Patriot Whig" opposition leader William Pulteney, Earl of Bath. The paper was created to criticize Walpole and his administration and get him removed. When Walpole left office in 1742 and Pultney's Patriot Whigs took greater power, the paper continued, but it's agenda shifting. It changed its name to the *Country Journal; or the Craftsman* in 1744. The paper ran from 1726-1752 when it became the *Gray's-Inn Journal* and moved away from partisan political content to social commentary, modeling itself after periodicals like *The Spectator* and *The Rambler*.

with his now even more powerful friends as the government's "most dutiful and effective apologist."[211] At the outbreak of the Forty-Five, his patron and friend Lyttleton (to whom *Tom Jones* is dedicated), among others, encouraged and presumably funded Fielding's pamphlets and periodicals during between 1745 and 1749.

Fielding's work during this time, then, must be considered in light of his patrons' motivations. While for the most part Fielding's political pamphlets and periodicals likely reflected his own positions, their existence was predicated on the Broad-Bottom ministry's funding. Although there is no extant evidence that Fielding's anti-Jacobite pamphlets and *The True Patriot* were funded by his patrons, it seems likely. Certainly there were claims (that Fielding did not dispute) that *The Jacobite's Journal* was funded by the ministry, which supposedly bought and distributed 2,000 copies each week.[212] If this were true, it would logically follow that a similar system was used with *The True Patriot*. Thomas Cleary lays out such a case for Fielding's work that I am inclined to agree with. Whether directly or indirectly, there seems little doubt, according to Bertrand Goldgar and Frederick Ribble, that Fielding was willing to write (or not write) for money. Fielding himself notes in *The Jacobite's Journal* it is only natural to expect "a writer whose only livelihood is his pen [. . .] if, when one set of men deny him Encouragement, he seeks it from another."[213] The fact that Fielding is a propagandist only makes him more useful as a subject for examining the English response to the Forty-Five. If he is writing in the interests of the government, we can understand the government's specific anxieties and how they sought to respond to those anxieties. Fielding's strategic use of Scotophobia, as well as anti-Jacobite and anti-Catholic tropes, demonstrates how the English

[211] Battestin, General Introduction and Notes to *Tom Jones*, xxii-xxiv.
[212] W. B. Coley, Introduction and Notes to *The Jacobite's Journal and Related Writings*, by Henry Fielding. Edited by W. B. Coley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), xv.
[213] *Jacobite's Journal*, #17

navigated a particular vision of Anglo-Scottish Union.

Despite the centuries of scholarship on Henry Fielding, no one has examined his handling of the Scottish. This is understandable in some respects because much of Fielding's work outside this narrow time period deals directly with Scotland, Scots, or Scottishness. This is not to say there hasn't been extensive research on Fielding's political writing and references to the Forty-Five. In particular, scholars such as Martin Battestin, Thomas L. Cleary, Bertrand Goldgar, J.A. Downie, Brian McCrea, and W.B. Coley have all written extensively on Fielding's politics and political writing. While earlier scholars tried to reconcile Fielding's shifting political positions in varying periodicals and pamphlets under a unified political vision, more modern scholars argue Fielding's seemingly shifting political positions are a result of his hack work. Most like Paul Monod, McCrea, and Battestin frame Fielding's political writing through his general allegiance to Whiggism and his financial motivations. Cleary, however, argues that there is still a recognizable pattern in Fielding's political work. Goldgar tries to understand Fielding's shifts through his own words, which reveal a disenchantment with political writing and the cost to "men of genius."[214]

More recent scholarship on the relationship between Fielding's work and the Forty-Five has been focused on tracing the residue of the Uprising in *Tom Jones* (1749). John Allen Stevenson, for example, argues that Fielding uses allusion to the Stuarts, and specifically a parallel between Tom Jones and Charles Edward Stuart, as an important factor in the development of the character and text.[215] This is similar to the trend Lawrence Lipking

[214] Bertrand A Goldgar, "Fielding, Politics, and 'Men of Genius,'" In *Henry Fielding (1707-1754): Novelist, Playwright, Journalist, Magistrate: A Double Anniversary Tribute*. Edited by Claude Rawson (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 269.
[215] Stevenson, *The Real History of Tom Jones* (Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

identifies as the "Jacobite Plot."[216] Similarly, Hilary Teynor and Battestin have each argued that familial relationships and models of home/family life in the novel model Hanoverian and Stuart forms of government. Other scholars focus on broader historical and cultural connections, such as George Drake, Ralph Rader, Pamela Cantrell, and Matthew Risling. More pertinent to my study are examinations of how Fielding links Sophia Western with Jenny Cameron (the only Scottish person mentioned in *Tom Jones*) such as Eric Leuschner's study or Kelly Fleming's examination of Sophia's muff. While the scholarship on Fielding is quite extensive, what is absent is an examination of how Fielding deals with Scottishness, and more specifically, how he uses Scotophobia as a tactic in his political and novel writing in the late 1740s.

Fielding uses varying degrees of Scotophobia in his work between 1745 and 1749, depending on the rhetorical purpose of each individual work, even from issue to issue of the same periodical. He deploys the highest levels of Scotophobic rhetoric in works that attempt to rouse readers to take the threat of the Rising seriously. His use of Scotophobia for these texts usually are part of a tactic of fearmongering. Most of these texts predate the Battle of Culloden (April 16, 1746) and emphasize national difference between England and Scotland rather than Union. Sometimes, however, Fielding is less interested in generating fear and uses lower levels of Scotophobia to ridicule political opposition through association with Scottishness. In these cases, the Scotophobia is usually ancillary to the primary argumentation and is meant to reduce or Other opposition ideas. Importantly, Fielding also strategically *avoids* (or extremely limits) Scotophobia in certain texts or passages that appeal more specifically toward Union. These are generally texts published after Culloden and are focused more on establishing prosperity and peace. Often these texts make rhetorical moves to distinguish between Scottishness and

[216] Lawrence Lipking, "The Jacobite Plot," *ELH* 64, no. 4 (1997).

Jacobitism/Rebellion in order to serve ministerial efforts toward Union. As we shall see, as Fielding gets further from the Forty-Five, he generally tends to drop Scotophobia more and more. This movement away from overt Scotophobia are often moments of Scottish erasure, however, or of Union under an Anglo-centric—rather than shared—British identity.

Most of Fielding's political works during the Forty-Five, however, rely heavily on Scotophobia. These texts express a clear anxiety that the people of England were not suitably fearful of the success of the Young Pretender or the displacement of the Hanoverian (and Protestant) rule. By the time Fielding wrote and published *A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain* in October of 1745, Charles Edward Stuart had been in Scotland for less than three months and had already raised an army of several hundred (and growing), taken Edinburgh without a fight, and routed Sir John Cope's army of thousands at Prestonpans. These early Jacobite victories signaled a serious threat, especially with most of Britain's armies fighting on the continent. Yet, clearly Fielding (or the ministry) sensed, or at least feared, that the people remained apathetic to the danger. In short, Fielding (presumably prompted by Lyttleton) worried that the English were not taking the threat seriously. In order to encourage more serious attention to the threat, Fielding relied heavily on Scotophobia, as well as anti-Jacobite and anti-Catholic rhetoric, to promote fear and attention and combat English apathy.

Fielding's first pamphlet, *A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain* (October 3, 1745), is a direct response to this perceived apathy. Just two days before, in fact, a humorous ballad entitled "The Highland Invasion" was published that portrays the Rising as a joke rather than a real threat. In the ballad, the speaker "humourously" represents the Young Pretender (Charles Edward Stuart) as a foolish imbecile who proclaims himself the "Pretender's Son,"

saying "None can, but Me, Pretend / T' inherit his Pretension."[217] His army of "Banditti" and "Desperadoes" are a ragged swarm armed mostly with "sword and Potlid" and some are dressed in "Plad" but most are covered only in "Rags and Lice." The Ballad concludes with a warning for Charles "to homeward wisely run; / Or in a month, at most, / By George----you'll be undone." The Ballad reflects a cavalier and lackadaisical view of the potential threat of the rebellion, steeped in dismissive Scotophobia. We see here the same type of unserious, dismissive framing early in the Rising discussed in Chapter Two—the type of framing Fielding attempts to combat in *A Serious Address*.

Fielding's pamphlet announces the seriousness of the Rising in its title. The "Serious Address," the title reveals, is meant to demonstrate "the Certain Consequences of the Present Rebellion." The use of "serious" is meant to stand in opposition to other texts like "The Highland Invasion" that make light of the rebellion. The consequences are "certain," implying an inevitability—the consequences are fixed and not to be taken trivially. Fielding makes this message clear when the pamphlet opens with an admonition to readers that the rebellion "is no longer an object of your derision."[218] The use of "no longer" implies a broader lack of concern among the public. At the time of writing, the Jacobites have already met with significant success, if (thus far) contained in Scotland. Regardless, Fielding declares, "the least Danger is sufficient to alarm" the people to act. Any threat, in other words, should be taken seriously. Fielding lays out an apocalyptic vision to scare his audience out of complacency and into action, a theme he returns to in later works, as we shall see.

---

[217] "The highland invasion. A new ballad. In which is humourously described, the romantic views of the Pretender: Being an Epitome of Facts relating to him and his Expedition. N.B. Some Gentlemen, well attached to his Majesty, and our present happy Constitution, having signified their Desire of having a Number of these Ballads handsomely printed, occasioned its Publication in this Way." Printed for J. Robinson near St. Paul's, 1745. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0117145512>. Accessed 17 Feb. 2020.

[218] *Serious Address*, 1.

The threats that Fielding warns his readers of in *A Serious Address* are more than serious; they are existential. The threat presented by the rebellion is such, he argues, it would be better for the British and their children "to fall, than to survive the Success of [their] Enemies." The rebellion threatens everything—religion, liberty, property, and "every Blessing which can make life dear." It is not just a fight over who gets to be king but a fight for Britons' very way of life. To support these somewhat hyperbolic claims, Fielding lays out a case against the Stuarts. He focuses on their history of tyranny, oppression, and Catholicism, as well as their links to (and support from) Rome, Spain, and France. The core of his argument is that the success of Charles Edward Stuart and the Jacobites is tantamount to foreign invasion and a new Spanish Inquisition. These foreign Others are positioned as a threat to "the People of Great Britain" to whom the pamphlet is addressed. By addressing the British as whole, Fielding signals a Union identity and seemingly targets his appeal to all Britons that might not be fully concerned about this external threat. Despite the title, however, the appeal to Union does not infuse the text of the entire pamphlet. Fielding begins with a general address (albeit only to "Gentlemen"), but quickly conflates the potentially broad "man" of "this Kingdom" with "Englishman." He begins by questioning that any "Englishman" is "so ignorant [. . .] So insensible [. . .] or so mean, so inglorious a coward" as to not realize and wish to resist the "Destruction" of his liberty and religion.[219] Such a claim aligns the current government with Englishness, intelligence, and bravery, rendering any objection is treasonous stupidity and cowardice. This also implies any objector is not *truly* English. Although most of Fielding's ire and dread warnings are seemingly tied to the foreign interests backing Charles Edward Stuart and the rebellion, by the end of his arguments, it is clear that the *Scottish* as a whole are also

[219] *Serious Address*, 2.

associated with this same foreignness.

As a final appeal, Fielding moves from fearmongering on the basis of the hypothetical French and Spanish threats and shifts attention to the more immediate and concrete threat of the Scots:

> But, with what less than such an Extirpation are we actually threatned, by this Incursion of Barbarians? - Shall we open our Gates to a Banditti, a Rabble of Thieves and Outlaws, who have already exercis'd the most barbarous Methods on those who have yielded to their Force. What are they indeed but Savages, who, as they inhabit as barren a Country, have the barbarous Manners of *Huns* and *Vandals*; and like them, would by their Swords cut their Way into the Wealth of richer Climates. What are we to expect but Rapine and Massacres, from a Gang of wretches whom the Desire of Plunder and an innate Love of Rebellion and Civil War have animated to this Undertaking.[220]

Without naming them, Fielding clearly is referring to the Scottish in this passage, in particular focusing on the image of the Highlander. While backed by the French, Charles Edward Stuart's army consists almost entirely of Scots, so the "incursion of Barbarians" can only refer to the Scottish. Fielding only once refers to the French's methods as "barbarous" in the pamphlet, but uses "Barbarian" or "barbarous" three times in three sentences here. The French are not Barbarians or "Savages" who inhabit a "barren" land. France may be many things to the British, but barren is likely not a word commonly associated with the country. Scotland, however, is practically synonymous with "barren" in the lexicon of the English. If terms like "Barbarians" and "Savages" were not a clear enough indication that Fielding is referring to the Scottish, their use of swords to "cut their Way into the Wealth of richer Climates," is a clear reference to the Highlanders, famed for their use of broadswords on the battlefield. The swords are also a means to the "wealth of richer Climates," linking financial and material abundance to place. This recalls the stadial theory of development discussed in Chapter One. The "Savage" and less-

[220] *Serious Address*, 44.

advanced Highland Scot is attempting to circumvent natural progress through "plunder." Fielding finally references an "innate Love of Rebellion and Civil War," implying an internal (not foreign) conflict. Interestingly, however, Fielding ties the Scots to the idea of foreignness through his rhetoric. He calls them "Banditti," tying them to the Italian (and therefore Catholic) outlaws and compares them to the "Huns" and "Vandals" that plagued the Roman empire. "Banditti" is one of Fielding's preferred terms for Highlanders/Scots, as we shall see, but he was not alone in this usage. The poet of "The Highland Invasion," for example, declares "A Chevalier is come / Attended with Banditti." By using this term, both authors are able to associate the Highlanders with both violent criminality and foreign Otherness. They are rendered as an opposing image to Englishness.

Although not explicitly declaring the Scottish the enemy, Fielding relies on accepted tropes and anxieties to paint them as such. He emphasizes this in his closing remarks, calling forth "the old *English* Spirit in this truly *English* Cause." This is not a British cause, but an *English* cause. He is not calling forth a general spirit, but an "old" English spirit, presumably a spirit older than the current Union. Fielding uses this Scotophobic rhetoric at the very end of the pamphlet to inspire fear of the immediate danger. Fielding presents the Scottish as a foreign Other and engages in Scotophobia to rouse the (English) public against them. While the threats of France, Spain, and Rome are the foundation of Fielding's argument, he uses Scotophobia to make the danger present and personal to his reader. The external threats are intellectual and hypothetical, but the internal threat is physical, at the border, and carrying swords. The "Incursion" by this "Rabble of Thieve and Outlaws" will result in "Rapine and Massacres" and "Plunder."

What is fascinating about this rhetorical pivot toward Scotophobia in the pamphlet is

that it is seamless. Fielding shifts from presenting the respective threats and influences of France, Spain, and Rome, respectively and collectively, to a more specific rebuttal of the claim " a popish Pretender [. . .] will maintain a Religion to which he is a profest Foe." This leads to a further argument of the Jacobite/Catholic threat to both legal and financial protections, even to those who wish to remain neutral. This is the "Curse" to be "imposed" on the English by "this Incursion of Barbarians." There is no transition from an external foreign threat to the implicitly Scottish Banditti. This rhetorical elision makes the threats one and the same to Fielding's readers. The inclusion of fear-inspiring Scotophobia at the end of *A Serious Address* is a strategic effort by Fielding to get Britons to take the Jacobite threat seriously and uphold the Hanoverian and Whig status quo.

Fielding carries on these efforts in his second October 1745 pamphlet, *The History of the Present Rebellion in Scotland* (October 7, 1745). In the pamphlet, Fielding claims to present an objective telling of the Rising, assuring his readers "that as the utmost Pains have been taken to procure the best Intelligence, so he may safely rely on the Truth of the Facts related."[221] Most of the text maintains this tone of pseudo-objective reportage, but Fielding's purpose is still to "engage the Attention of every *Briton.*" This means he editorializes about the threats of Catholicism, Stuart tyranny, and English apathy. Fielding incorporates a smattering of strategic Scotophobia to underscore the immediate threat of the Highlanders. In this pamphlet most of the anti-Scottish rhetoric is couched in anti-Catholic passages, but what is presented is meant to generate fear of the brutality of the approaching Highlanders. One of the primary themes of the *History of the Present Rebellion* is to illustrate the arbitrary nature of Catholicism and how the Young Pretender rewards or excuses ill-behavior from fellow Catholics. For example, Fielding

[221] *Present Rebellion*, 2.

relates a story of how a (Protestant) Highlander in the Pretender's troops stole a sheep, for which he was court martialed and shot, yet another (Catholic) Highlander was pardoned despite having raped an 11 year old girl.[222] The latter's defense is only that the girl, as a Protestant, was a heretic. While the story is meant to illustrate the abuses of Catholic rule, where "against [Protestant heretics] all things were lawful," the subtext is that the approaching army of Highlanders is full of thieves and rapists. This anecdote, which is not sourced (despite Fielding's claims to the best "Intelligence") is an example of the subtle ways Fielding incorporates Scotophobia into his writing during the war. The fact that these crimes were committed by Highlanders (whether real or not) is presented as granted. Fielding also describes one of the first skirmishes and how the Highland Guard defeated "a small Party of the King's Forces," and a "Serjeant, even after the Battle, was cut all to Pieces."[223] This demonstrates a delicate balance of different Scotophobic tropes. On the one hand, the focus is on the merciless brutality of the Highlanders and their uncivilized conduct toward a defeated foe. Despite this threat, on the other hand, it is implied the Highland Guard were only able achieve victory because it was a "small Party" of British troops. Strategic Scotophobia is used here to generate outrage and fear, while also presenting the threat as containable. Fielding then indicates the same fate would await all of the prisoners if an officer hadn't held them back, underscoring their undisciplined barbarity.. Again, the supposed objective presentation of "history" demonstrates the innate savagery of the Highlanders as fact. Strategic Scotophobia is used to simultaneously shock and inure the audience to the violence of the Highlanders.

While much of Fielding's anti-Scottish commentary is explicitly focused on the Highlanders, he is not above more subtle jabs at Lowland Scots. In commenting on the

[222] *Present Rebellion*, 15.
[223] *Present Rebellion*, 11-12.

surrender of Edinburgh to the Pretender, Fielding includes this parenthetical aside: "whether it arose from Fear or Favor I will not determine."[224] In many ways Fielding presents the surrender of Edinburgh as the result of the same apathy he is trying to rouse the English out of with these pamphlets. Yet this aside is indicative of a certain contempt for the Scottish, at least in this instance. Fielding presents only two reasons why the people of Edinburgh might have capitulated: cowardice or treason. He rather politely declines to "determine" which is the case in this false dichotomy, but either option he makes available reflects negatively on the Lowland Scots. The implication is that if the Scots were truly loyal they would have fought and died to defend their city. Like the matter of fact brutality of the Highlanders, the cowardice and treachery of the Lowlanders becomes part of the accepted reality. The stream of negative depictions of the Scots is part of the process of Othering them to encourage taking the Rising seriously and take action to preserve the English way of life.

With the launch of his weekly paper, *The True Patriot, and The History of Our Own Times*, in November 1745, Fielding continues to deploy strategic Scotophobia to position the Scottish (especially the Highlanders) as an invading force, a savage Other on England's doorstep,. The paper ran every Tuesday for 33 weeks from November 5, 1745, to June 17, 1746. As with his October 1745 pamphlets, Fielding writes the paper with the clear purpose of rousing the English public to take the Rising seriously. Importantly, however, part of his stated purpose is to properly direct and focus patriotic zeal.

He states in the first issue, "it is rather the Business of a good Public Writer, in some measure, to moderate and direct this Spirit, which now so gloriously animates us."[225] Interestingly, one of the first points Fielding makes in his "moderation" of public animation is

[224] *Present Rebellion*, 29.
[225] *True Patriot*, 38.

to condemn the "indiscriminate Censure which some over-hot Men are at this Season too apt to vent on the whole Body of the Scottish Nation."[226] This is somewhat ironic, given the examples of Scotophobia examined in his previous pamphlets (two of which were advertised on the same page as this statement), but it highlights an important distinction that Fielding and many others sought to make between the Lowland and Highland Scots. Such distinctions are somewhat practical in that the ties between Lowland Scots and the English are closer. Although more specifically an expression of geological difference—the Highlands are more mountainous and the Lowlands are then at a lower elevation—the distinction is just as much a cultural distinction. Part of the distinction is the Lowlands are closer to England, but also that the Lowlands include most of the major Scottish cities (Some of which are technically further north than major portions of the Highlands). Geographic, political, and, primarily, economic ties between England and the Lowland cities meant a greater alignment of values and culture. On the other hand, the Highlands were much more distant, geographically and culturally, were seemingly windswept and barren, and the Highlanders perceived as less civilized.

Yet this distinction is ultimately slight in the minds of the English. Miriam Austin Locke, in her introduction to *The True Patriot*, quotes a comment from the time explaining that Scotland "to the great generality here [in England] is the same as Norway"[227] The foreignness of Scotland and the Scottish, regardless of the height of their land, is generally universal, if perhaps to different degrees. This distinction, however, serves an important role in strategic Scotophobia. In such rhetoric, any seemingly sweeping discrimination is tempered by the allowance of "good" exceptions.[228] Whether Fielding genuinely believes in the distinction or

[226] *True Patriot*, 38.
[227] Locke, *True Patriot*, 10.
[228] For example, Fielding mentions the "gallant" Earl of Loudoun and Colonel Gardiner, "born a Scotchman," died in battle "with the Spirit of a Roman."

not, his use of Scotophobia frequently blurs the distinction, as we shall see. In the first issue of *The True Patriot*, however, he attempts to distinguish between the Lowlanders and Highlanders:

> True it is, that the Rebellion with which we are threatned, broke out in that Corner of *Great Britain*: A Circumstance very unfortunate for the Honest and Loyal [. . .] But let us consider of what Persons this rebellious Rabble consists; and we shall find them to be the savage Inhabitants of Wilds and Mountains, who are almost a distinct Body from the rest of their Country. Some Thousands of them are Outlaws, Robbers, and Cut-throats, who live in a constant State of War, or rather Robbery, with the civilized Part of *Scotland*.[229]

One must admire the skillful rhetoric Fielding wields here. While acknowledging the threat of the rebellion, he manages to contain it in merely a "corner" of the nation. Again, we also see him appeal to the Union by referring to that nation as "Great Britain," as opposed to just "England." He then contrasts the "Honest and Loyal" Scots (implicitly the Lowlanders, but presumably any loyalists) from the "rebellious Rabble." Honesty is then exclusive of rebels, who as disloyal "rabble" are implicitly dishonest. This is confirmed by Fielding in his description of the Highlanders as "Outlaws, Robbers, and Cut-throats." To be a Highlander, not just to be a rebel, is to be a criminal.

He then sets up the principal dichotomy at the heart of his strategic Scotophobia by contrasting the "savage" Highlanders from the "civilized" Scots of the Lowlands. This distinction is part of Fielding's rhetorical strategy. Anti-Highlander Scotophobia is made to seem reasonable and founded on fact because it is not prejudice against all Scots. Fielding claims the "Common People of the Lowlands" are "as well affected" to George II as anyone in England. He goes on to call them "Fellow-Protestants" and "Fellow-Sufferers" with the English ("Ourselves" is what Fielding says—making his own Englishness clear and maintaining a separation between Scotsman and Englishman while appearing inclusive) who "will most

[229] *True Patriot*, 38.

assuredly [. . .] exert that Courage for which they are, in common with us [the English], renowned." Fielding compares the Lowland Scots with the English, a comparison not extended to Highland Scots. Yet, Fielding's rhetoric also keeps the Lowlanders as a distinct "Them" to the English "Us" in his apologia for the Scottish. He also hedges in claiming the Scots will resist Charles Edward Stuart, noting they will "most assuredly" but not "certainly." This contrast between the Scots allows Fielding to continue to villainize the Highlanders and use Scotophobia to motivate action without condemning all Scots. He leaves room, however, for this contrast to be collapsed if needed.

The contrast seemingly attaches to the landscapes, as well, as the Highlands are "Wilds and Mountains" and the Highlanders are at constant war "with the civilized Part of *Scotland*." It is not just the people of the Lowlands that are civilized, but that whole "part" of Scotland. This synecdoche of people and place cements the idea that the Highlanders form "almost a distinct Body from the rest of their Country." The use of "almost" in this statement is interesting. While "almost" can be read as a qualifier that indicates that Highlanders are not, despite appearances, in fact a separate species from their fellow Scots, it can also imply the reverse. Fielding, in this hedging "almost," leaves a connection between the Highlanders and Lowlanders. They are *almost* distinct peoples, but the Lowlanders cannot entirely escape the association. This simple hedge, even if just an unintentional turn of phrase, again leaves the opportunity for Fielding to collapse any distinction, should it suit future purposes.

Fielding gives with one hand as he takes with the other, however. Although Fielding uses space in the first issue of *The True Patriot* for his Scottish apologia, this is undercut by the song which precedes it on the same page: "A Loyal Song, With a Chorus, to the Tune of Lillibullero." The song is not Fielding's composition, but a loyalist song circulated in a number

of periodicals in November 1745.[230] The song is a call to arms that hinges on Scotophobia and anti-Scottish violence. The song opens "O Brother Sawney," immediately using a common derogatory epithet for a Scot. The chorus (which is most of the song) carries this spirit forward:

> Twang 'cm, we'll bang 'em, and hang 'em up all.
> To Arms, to Arms,
> Brave Boys, to Arms !
> A true English Cause for your Courage doth call,
> Court, Country and City,
> Against a Banditti.
> Twang 'em, we'll bang 'cm, and hang 'em up all.[231]

The "cause" is English, of course, and the "brave Boys" of England are called to fight the "Banditti." "Banditti," as explained in Chapter One, is a common epithet used for the Highlanders, but not exclusively. Following "Sawney," however, the association here is clear. This is reinforced by references in the rest of the song to "Scotch Plad," "Highland Money," and "broad swords." The Scottish enemy is made threatening, but the threat is contained by the jaunty martial tune of Lillibullero. The threat is also manageable by the violence directed at the Scots who will be "Twanged," "banged," and "hanged." The calls to "bang 'em" and "hang 'em" are fairly obvious physical threats. To "twang" in this usage is less clear, but also indicates violence against the rebel Scots. Although not defined as such in the OED, eighteenth-century dictionaries, including *A New General English Dictionary* (1744), define "twang" a "to sound like the snapping of a whip" as well as a stringed instrument.[232] Regular usage also ties the

---

[230] The song appeared in both the *London Magazine* and the *Scots Magazine* for November and was even published in the February issue of *The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* in Boston.

[231] *True Patriot*, 38.

[232] Thomas Dyche and William Pardon. *A new general English dictionary; peculiarly calculated for the use and improvement of such as are unacquainted with the learned languages. [. . .] Originally begun by the late Reverend Mr. Thomas Dyche, School-Master at Stratford le Bow, Author of the Guide to the English Tongue, the Spelling Dictionary, &c. and now finish'd by William Pardon, gent.*, 4th ed. Dublin: printed for Peter Wilson, at Gay's-Head, in Dame-Street, Bookseller, MDCCXLIV. [1744]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online.* <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0111503021>. Accessed February 24, 2020.

word to the sound of a bowstring. Given the context, the association with whipping seems to be the intention here. The inclusion of this song by Fielding serves multiple functions. For one, it is part of the general effort of the periodical to encourage readers to reject the Jacobites and take up arms. Its presence, however, especially given its placement right before his Scottish apologia, also serves to maintain Scotophobia even as Fielding denies it.

Fielding's fearmongering Scotophobia reaches its peak in the third number of *The True Patriot*, published November 19, 1745. Fielding describes a nightmare predicting the horrors that await London upon the success of the approaching Jacobite army taking the city. When this issue was published, Charles Edward Stuart's army had already crossed the border into England on November 8 and had taken Carlisle in North West England (about 260 miles from London) by November 15. The Jacobites' rapid march south and repeated (and seemingly easy) victories suddenly made the possibility of their success a very real prospect to Londoners. The surrender of Carlisle was especially alarming to the English as Field Marshal George Wade, Commander-in-Chief of the British army led his troops to Newcastle upon Tyne in North East England (about 50 miles east of Carlisle and the Jacobites), which meant there was no army between the Jacobites and London. Although Prince William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland had landed in October, he was still gathering troops in the South of England. It is in this moment of heightened alarm, with Charles Edward Stuart's army in England, that Fielding published his prophetic nightmare.

In this vivid "dream," a group of "ill-looked rascals" in "Highland dresses, with broad swords by their sides" charge into Fielding's (or, rather, the anonymous Patriot's) home to take

him prisoner.[233] The Scottish "Ruffians" then grab Fielding's son and "dashed [the boy] against the Ground" before violently drag Fielding from the house. The Patriot is then tried for "High-Treason" for his publication of *The True Patriot* in a trial presided over by a chief justice speaking in "broken *English*," in a court guarded by "Highlanders, with drawn swords." Being found guilty, he is led to execution. It is here where Fielding describes the great horrors of the Highlanders' invasion (beyond the tyranny of arbitrary rule). As he is led to his execution he passes "a young lady of quality" ravaged and bloodied by two rough Highlanders "struggling with each other for their Booty." The victim's hair is "dishevelled and torn, Her eyes swollen with Tears, her Face all pale, and [bore] some marks of Blood both on that and her Breast, which was all naked and exposed." In addition, the condemned Fielding is walked past "dead bodies every where" littering the streets, the result of a "Massacre," and witnesses Protestants roasted in fires. This nightmare, Fielding indicates, is the likely outcome, should the rapidly approaching Jacobite army, teeming with savage Scottish Highlanders, successfully take London.

Fielding's fictional nightmare aims to raise very real fears in the minds of his readers. By positing this as a dream, Fielding is able to present this exaggerated imagery as a natural product of the waking anxieties all should be experiencing. He implies, however, that perhaps it is much more by twice referring to the nightmare as a "Dream or Vision." The use of "vision" implies a prophetic aspect to the images Fielding presents. Fielding gets to have it both ways, where the dream is just a dream but may reveal more to readers who may be "interested in some Parts of it." Principally, however, Fielding takes advantage of the dream motif to present

[233] Miriam Austin Locke notes that the story itself seems to be part of Fielding's creation of the persona of the writer/editor of *The True Patriot*. The children referenced in the dream are not Fielding's, as he did not have a son. Locke argues the boy, at least, was created to "heighten the pathos of the picture." Locke, *True Patriot*, 57.

extreme versions of the potential horrors of a Jacobite victory without ascribing reality to them. He can raise genuine fear without saying such things *will* happen; it's just a dream. Using the conceit of a (possibly prophetic) dream allows Fielding to rouse his audience into useful action by presenting an exaggerated version of what *might* happen if they are *not* roused to useful action.

Fielding's fearful vision hinges upon Scotophobia, capitalizing especially on the public fears of the "barbarous" Highlander. The Highlanders are "ill-looked" "Ruffians" who indulge in wanton violence, murdering children and raping women. More subtle Scotophobia, however, is the association of Scottishness with foreignness that Fielding presents. Fielding's greater anxiety is the inevitably arbitrary rule of a Catholic monarch; in the dream, this is communicated through his mock trial. He is not tried before a jury, but a Chief Justice who speaks "broken" English. The nationality of the Justice is unclear, but his broken English means he is *not* English but instead a foreign Other. He may be French or Italian, but the implication is that the Chief Justice is Scottish. The English he uses is described as being merely imperfect—not having the particular attributes of a specific accent. This failure to speak proper English, combined with the Highlander guards surrounding the court, implies the Scottishness of the Justice. Regardless of this judge's nationality, however, his foreignness is explicit, tying the Highlanders and Scots to the Other, a nation and people apart from Fielding and his English audience.

There is also an interesting focus in this dream on the "broad swords" of the Highlanders. The repeated attention on these swords seems intended to call to the mind of the reader an image of primitive savagery. Like tartan plaid, the basket-hilted broad swords became iconic signifiers of the Highlander, representing the brutality and savagery of these men and the

fearsomeness of the Highland Charge. The presence of these swords in Fielding's dream (at his arrest and during his trial) highlights the associated violence.

The third issue of Fielding's *True Patriot* also includes a letter addressed "To Charles Stuart, Esq." from the True Patriot himself in which Fielding continues his use of strategic Scotophobia from the description of his dream. The letter directly addresses Charles' Declarations of October 9 and 10, 1745, and rebuts some of the claims made within. One of Fielding's core arguments is a response to the Stuart "endeavor to insinuate [their] Reliance on the Subjects of this Realm."[234] A significant part of this response is his appeal to the foreignness of Highland Scotland: "But in reality, Sir, where did you land? And what were the Subjects on whom you relied, and now do rely? Did you not land in a Part of the Island inhabited by Wildmen and Savages? Have you not an Army of these Barbarians, who are scarce subjected to any Prince, or to any Laws, invaded that civilized Part of this Kingdom?"[235] Again we see the now-expected descriptions of the Highlanders as wild "Savages" and "Barbarians." Given its frequency, this image of the inhumanity of the Scottish no longer shocks and thereby becomes more potent. Fielding also again ties the Highlanders to foreignness, as the questions quoted above come immediately on questions of the Stuarts relying on help from Spain and France. The Otherness of the Highlander is underlined by Fielding's distinction between the Highlands and the "civilized" part of the Kingdom. Presumably the Lowlands are included in this civilization, but Fielding does not make that explicit. The result is an implication against all of Scotland.

Fielding relies on extreme Scotophobia to generate fear and encourage action against the Jacobites. This Scotophobia is strategically calibrated to build upon English anxieties at their

[234] *True Patriot*, 54.
[235] *True Patriot*, 54.

peaks. He is careful, however, not to rely solely on fear. While dehumanizing the Highlanders as raping and pillaging savages has its advantages in rousing people to action, too much fear can result in terrified inaction. To balance the threat of the Rising with the belief that the threat, while serious, is manageable, Fielding also uses more subtle forms of Scotophobia to mock Jacobites and the political opposition. The goal remains to support and uphold the Whig and Hanoverian status quo.

Often in Fielding's work between 1745 and 1749, the Scottish and Highlanders are not the focus of his arguments, yet Fielding relies on Scotophobic tropes to help villainize his political targets. In his third October 1745 pamphlet, *A Dialogue between the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender* (October 15, 1745), Fielding incorporates Scotophobia into his satire of Catholicism and the Jacobite cause. The pamphlet, as the title implies, is a dialogue in which the Pope explains to the Devil his plot to spread Catholicism into England through the Pretender and his son. The Pope's plan hinges in part on the rebellion starting in "a Part of *Scotland*, inhabited by Men almost Savages, whom my Priests will soon convert to their Religion, and whom Poverty and Hunger will easily animate to any Undertaking when there is Hope of Plunder."[236] Unlike the use of the Highlanders as boogeyman in his earlier pamphlets and *The True Patriot*, Fielding uses them more as an emblem of backwardness and susceptibility to Catholic influence. The obvious and expected comparison of the Highlanders to savages is present, of course, but Fielding also uses Scotophobia in this instance to draw a contrast between them and the English. Despite the Pope's confidence the Highlanders will be easy to convert, the Devil worries that the same would not be the case in England. He fears a "Spirit of Liberty" and "Common Sense" may lead the English to unite and fight back. He also doubts the

[236] *Dialogue*, 37.

Highlanders will be able to defeat the British army that will return from the continental war ready to "cut off [the] Highland Banditti with as much ease as a Mower doth Thistles." The Highlanders are predisposed to "Plunder," but Fielding offers a cause for the Highlanders drive for plunder in the Scots "Poverty and Hunger." This fits with Scotophobic tropes of Scotland as a barren wasteland, reinforced by the comparison of the Highlanders to thistles (a classic symbol of Scotland) and its people as starving. He portrays not just a state of being in Scotland but rather a reason for rebellion. This "Poverty and Hunger" is put into contrast to the English who "have tasted the Sweets of Liberty in Church and State too long." The desperation of the Highlanders is meant to highlight the ease and luxury of the English. In Fielding's attempts to preserve the status quo in this pamphlet, he uses brief moments of Scotophobia to demonstrate the failings of not upholding English ideals. He associates the Scottish with Catholicism and the Jacobite cause strategically to make these causes simultaneously foreign, backwards, and threateningly close at hand.

Fielding carried on this strategic reduction of Scotophobia to Other opposing political ideas when it suited his purposes, even after the Forty-Five. In December 1747, Fielding began publishing *The Jacobite's Journal*, a new weekly newspaper aimed at satirizing any opposition (primarily Tories) to the Pelham administration. Although the threat of a Jacobite Rebellion had been quelled, Fielding's political Whig allies wanted to similarly stifle any political opposition to Henry Pelham's Broad Bottom administration.[237] Fielding returned to his post as political writer with the focus of his writing this time against the opposition party. Fielding wrote this

[237] It is worth noting that Pelham's time as First Lord of the Treasury (i.e., the Prime Minister) from1743-1754 was briefly interrupted in February 1746 when George II sought to replace him with William Pulteney, 1st Earl of Bath. Pelham pulled the rug out from under these plans when he and his administration resigned. On February 10, 1746, the Earl of Bath and Lord Granville (John Carteret) scrambled to form a ministry but were unable to. After two days, Pelham and his ministry resumed power. The Bath-Granville ministry was understandably the butt of many jokes and is remembered as the "short-lived ministry" or the "Silly Little Ministry."

time in the guise of a member of this opposition, John Trott-Plaid, Esq., with the goal of linking any opposition to Jacobitism (and thereby generally Catholicism). As with *The True Patriot*, Fielding attempted to rouse the reading public to reject opposition politics in favor of the Whiggish status quo. He used many tactics to combat the continued "Jacobite" threat, deploying satire and irony as well as an implicit Scotophobia.

The *Jacobite's Journal* ran weekly from December 5, 1747, until November 5, 1748. As mentioned above, it is likely the government bought up 2,000 copies each week and distributed them freely, indicating a direct interest in the content of the paper as a means of propaganda, if not a form of indirect patronage. Although of a similar format to *The True Patriot*, the lighter (initially) ironic tone sets the *Journal* apart and ultimately allows Fielding more editorial freedom to discuss issues and art of the day, since he is no longer responding to an immediate threat of the Rebellion. One of the important distinguishing factors of this publication, for our purposes, is the almost total absence of not only Scotophobia but also of Scottish people, overall.

I say "almost" because Fielding still relies upon a certain level of linkage between the Jacobites and Scottishness. To begin with, the name "John Trott-Plaid" evokes the Scottish plaid of the Highlanders. Plaid here acts as a shorthand synecdoche for both Scottishness and Jacobitism. Obviously, the Highlanders were known for their plaids, but it became a symbol for Jacobitism, as well, when Charles Edward Stuart wore plaid while in Scotland. By Number 17, published March 26, 1748, Fielding drops the ironic costume of Trott-Plaid, stating "I am weary of personating a Character for which I have so solemn a Contempt [. . .] Here then I shall pull off the Masque; and openly avow that I John Trott-Plaid, Esq; notwithstanding my Name, do,

from my Heart, abhor and despise all the Principles of a Jacobite."[238] It is important to note that here Fielding drops the ironic Jacobite facade, but not the name. He declares, *despite* his name being "Trott-Plaid," that he is unequivocally not a Jacobite. The implication is clear: "Plaid" connotes Jacobite. The association between plaid and Jacobitism was certainly not a new phenomenon. In fact, it is likely that Fielding is responding to a trend of disaffected Britons wearing plaid and toasting the Jacobite cause well after the Rising. Tobias Smollett relates in his *Continuation of the Complete History of England* (1763) a trend in 1748 where "Many individuals, animated by the fumes of inebriation, now loudly extolled that cause which they durst not avow when it required their open approbation and assistance. Smollett also recounts that at this time a group of foxhunters in Lichfield "appeared in the Highland taste of variegated drapery" and hunted a fox "dressed in a red uniform" like a British soldier. Even the woman in the party wore "the chequered stuff." The wearing of plaid in Scotland, of course, had been outlawed as of August 1, 1746, by the Act of Provision. The so-called "Dress Act" clause in the legislation came with a penalty of 6 months in jail and transportation for a second offense. Although the disarming portions of the bill only applied in the Highlands, the Dress Act applied to all of Scotland. The Act did not apply to England, so Jacobites and other opposition thinkers, as well as protesters, could wear plaid to signal their disaffection for the current administration and monarch. Fielding is tapping into this emblem of resistance in his Trott-Plaid persona. The plaid, however, is also inseparable from Scottishness. By using the plaid as a symbol, Fielding is relying on the inherent Scotophobic association to undermine and satirize the Opposition.

The first 12 issues of the newspaper also feature an image of a man and woman dressed in plaid, riding a donkey which is being led by a Catholic friar [Figure 2]. The image itself is

[238] *Jacobite's Journal*, #17

Figure 2: Woodcut from *The Jacobite's Journal* Number 1, which appears under the title of the paper in Numbers 1-12.

attributed to William Hogarth, although it is possible he only came up with the design.[239] The headpiece uses certain emblems to associate the Jacobite ideals (being satirized in the Journal) with negative stereotypes. The plaid associates Jacobitism with a Scottish Highland Other, but the persona of Trott-Plaid is not himself Scottish. He is a London Jacobite (Fielding's intended political targets). This is reinforced by the imagery of London in the background and the presence of the *London Evening Post*, a Tory paper. He Catholic Friar associates the Jacobites with the Catholic Church, of course, but his swarthy complexion depicts him as foreign. The

[239] The Royal Collection Trust has a chalk sketch of the design for this headpiece and attributes it to Hogarth, The New York Public Library also has a print from an engraving by "Rvd. Livesay" after Hogarth and printed by Hogarth's print company in 1781, over 15 years after Hogarth's death.

friar is presumably Italian, or perhaps French, but aspects of his features and the attention he draws to his own nose also hints at associations with Jewishness. As discussed in Chapter One, such associations are common aspects of Othering groups in eighteenth-century England. Importantly, the friar is leading a donkey, which is seemingly resistant, while the rider (presumably Trott-Plaid, or a similar Jacobite) does not hold the reins. Instead the rider is holding a cup, presumably to toast the Stuart king, and waving his cap and cheering "Huzza." His female companion holds a sword aloft, hearkening back to accounts of the Scottish Jacobite women, such as the mythologized Jenny Cameron, who fought in battle. The donkey is also spurred on by a sign attached to its tail featuring the fleur-de-lys emblem of the King of France and the name "Harrington" along the edge. Trott-Plaid notes in the third issue of The Jacobite's Journal that this is a reference to James Harrington (1611-1677), a political writer and the author of *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656), (a text that laid out a vision of a utopian republic). The fact that this writer who promoted a pure republic (and was arrested by Stuart King Charles II) is connected to a foreign monarch (a symbol of hereditary right) is meant to satirize the paradoxical (supposed) Jacobite position: "Jacobite upon Republican principles." This is an idea Fielding previously satirized in *A Dialogue Between a Gentleman of London, Agent for Two Court Candidates, and an Honest Alderman of the Country Party* (1747), when the "Honest Alderman" makes this exact claim. The alderman argues, "no King [has] any Right at all, and therefore, whenever we have Grievances to redress, I would exchange him." As Thomas Cleary notes, this line of thinking is an "absolute red herring" that was not held by anyone, but Fielding "relished an opportunity to pretend ministry *versus* opposition was tantamount to Hanover *versus* Stuart.[240] With the image heading *The Jacobite's Journal*,

[240] Cleary, *Henry Fielding: Political Writer*, 234.

Fielding represents this straw-man version of opposition thinking to illustrate the supposed inherent stupidity of the opposition. Fielding uses Scotophobia as an aspect this wider tableau to criticize and ridicule the opposition. This use of Scottish signifiers has tones of Scotophobia, of course, but Fielding otherwise is very careful not to entirely conflate Scottishness and Jacobitism in *The Jacobite's Journal*.

For the most part, Fielding deploys Scotophobia sparingly after Culloden. As we've seen, however, he still relied on Scotophobic signs and stereotypes to associate any opposition thinking with Jacobitism and the Highland Other when it served his rhetorical needs. Conversely, Fielding also divorces Scottishness from Jacobitism in other rhetorical situations, especially those situations wherein his purpose is focused more on reinforcing Anglo-Scottish Union. Such a divorce is not easy, however, because it is hard to discuss the Forty-Five rebellion without reference to Scotland and the Highlanders. Fielding handles this difficulty by rhetorically distinguishing between the Scots and "Rebels," where the latter is framed as (or corrupted by) an external, non-British force. These "rebels," existing in a national vacuum with no fixed origin, are untethered from Scottishness, allowing Fielding to refer to the rebels without referring to the Scots or Highlanders. This separation accounts for the noticeable reduction in instances of Scotophobia by Fielding in his texts after Culloden, leading to an almost complete reversal of attitude toward the Scots overall, such as in his farewell address in the final issue of *The True Patriot* discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Fielding's rhetorical separation of Scot and Rebel enables him to reaffirm the Union while also maintaining an Anglo-centric, Whiggish hegemonic order.

Fielding began to separate Scot from Rebel and to strategically reduce Scotophobia even before the Battle of Culloden. In Number 17 of *The True Patriot* (February 25, 1746), Fielding

expresses relief as Cumberland has chased the rebels into Scotland and victory was near-certain: "The Clouds which have so long hung over this Nation, and threatned us with the blackest Tempests, begin at length to disperse themselves. Our Fears of an Invasion are at an End, and the wicked Rebellion against the best of Princes, is, by the Bravery of his glorious Son, [. . .] reduced to its primitive Insignificance."[241] In this extended metaphor, the Jacobite threat is a storm looming over the people of "this Nation" that has been cleared away by the "glorious Son" (or sun) that is the Duke of Cumberland. Despite the Jacobite's victory at Falkirk Muir a month before,[242] the Jacobites began withdrawing to Inverness in February 1746. Fielding's imagery of dispersing clouds, then, is apt. The description of the rebellion being reduced to "its primitive Insignificance" is interesting, however. While today we may expect "primitive" here simply to be a derogatory dig at the Scottish Highlands, such usage of the word would have been more nuanced in the mid-eighteenth century. Fielding refers mostly to the rebellion's "origin" or early stages of insignificance.[243] For Fielding, the word is also a reference to the simple and isolated nature of the Highlands and the people who live there. In this reference is also an implication of a stadial theory of development (as discussed in Chapter One), echoing the Patriot's description of the Highlanders as "almost a distinct body" from the "civilized part of Scotland" in the first issue of *The True Patriot* (November 5, 1745). Yet even in the sense of "rudimentary; unsophisticated, crude," the *OED* notes that usage of "primitive" would be "Originally with commendatory implication," allowing Fielding to have it both ways. Fielding, however, seems to quickly disassociate the "Rebels" from the Scots, stating, "the Rebels are

[241] *True Patriot,* 154.
[242] Many have described this as victory in name only as the Jacobite army failed to fully defeat Henry Hawley's troops, which allowed them to retreat and reform in Edinburgh. Here they were joined by Cumberland at the end of January, and the process that would take them all to Culloden was set into motion.
[243] "primitive, n. and adj.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://oed.com/view/Entry/151351>.

compelling the Northern Inhabitants of Scotland to join them on Pain of Death."[244] This important rhetorical distinction demonstrates Fielding's shift from Scotophobia, separating the "Rebels" and "wicked Agents" of the Pretender from the Scottish and, most remarkably, the Highlanders who are being "compelled" to join. Fielding is already distinguishing between "Scot" and "Rebel" and attempting to direct blame appropriately.

This separation of "Scot" and "Rebel" is also noticeable in a dramatic epilogue attributed to Fielding and printed in this same issue of *The True Patriot*. In the epilogue, written for actress Margaret "Peg" Woffington, the speaker chastises British men as cowards for "retreat[ing] before a scrub Banditti" and volunteers herself to take up arms for liberty. Again we see one of Fielding's favorite terms, "Banditti," to refer to the rebels, but gone is the usual "Highland" adjective. In fact, there is no mention of the Scottish, Highlanders, or Scotland in the epilogue at all. Instead, the language only alludes to a single nation, such as when the speaker calls upon her audience to "vindicate the Glory of our Isle." This invocation of "*our* Isle" is indicative of a shared nation and Union. This appeal to Union is underscored when the speech ends with a call for "British Rights [to] be sav'd by British Beauty." The appeal to "British" rights is juxtaposed against "Popish Treason" by "Sons of Rome" earlier in the epilogue. What we see in these rhetorical moves is Fielding's strategic dropping of Scotophobia (which renders the Scottish as Other) and a taking up of a united "British" identity against the foreign Other(s) who fomented this rebellion.

Once victory over the Jacobites is achieved, Feilding further abandons Scotophobia in *The True Patriot* in favor of a rhetoric of Unity. In *True Patriot* Number 26, of April 29, 1746 (the first issue published after news of Cumberland's victory and decisive defeat of Charles

[244] *True Patriot*, 154.

Edward Stuart's Jacobite rebellion on April 16, 1746—and its implications—had reached London), an exuberant Fielding declares, "no Nation hath ever emerged so suddenly from the very Brink of Ruin, to a State of present safety, and to the fairest Prospect of future Felicity."[245] He then lists the various calamities the Nation so recently faced from other nations, as well as a "dangerous successful Rebellion in the very Heart of our own Country." The "Nation" and "our own Country" seemingly now include all of Britain. Immediately after Culloden, we can see a direct shift from the Us-versus-Them rhetoric of the earliest issues highlighting the foreignness of the Highland Scots, to the now inclusive "our own Country." Fielding does not mention Scotland or the Scottish at all in the opening essay, and, as in the epilogue from Number 17, he refers to the rebels as "Banditti," not specifying the nationality of them. Fielding slips a bit in the subsequent issue, Number 27, and refers to the "Scotch Banditti," but also refers to Scotland as "North Britain" and his readers as "Britons," indicating an effort to promote and reinforce Anglo-Scottish Union.

The irony, of course, is that at the moment Fielding is celebrating the survival of this shared country, Cumberland's troops were killing Scots—rebels and innocents alike—and pillaging and burning homes and villages. It is also probable that Tobias Smollett was sharing his poem *The Tears of Scotland* (1746) highlighting this violence at the same time (discussed in Chapter Four). For Fielding's purpose, however, the reprisals reinforce division rather than Union and, more importantly, reflect negatively on the administration and the royal family Fielding is writing on behalf of. In fact, Fielding does not appear to ever write about the reprisals in Scotland, although he later would write justifying the Proscription (and Dress) and Heritable Jurisdiction Acts in his work for the Pelham ministry.

[245] *True Patriot*, 209.

Fielding was, in fact, called upon again by the ministry when Pelham called an early election on June 20, 1747. This snap election was precipitated by moves made by Frederick, Prince of Wales (the eldest son and heir of George II, and future George III) to strengthen his own position and effect a Tory victory in the planned 1748 election. Pelham's election maneuver meant Frederick did not have time to mount much of an opposition campaign. Fielding, on behalf of the Pelham government, published *A Dialogue Between a Gentleman of London, Agent for Two Court Candidates, and an Honest Alderman of the Country Party* on June 23, 1747, days before the election began on June 26, 1747 (it would run in different constituencies until August 4, 1747). In this dialogue, a London Gentleman tries to convince his country counterpart to support the Whig candidates—subtly named "Sir John Protestant" and "Mr. English"—in the election. The Alderman is supporting opposition candidates, "Sir Thomas Leadenhead" and "Mr. Toastum." The former is a "known Jacobite" while the latter "calls himself a Whig" but isn't really.[246] The two men debate, the Alderman raising reasons, or "grievances," to justify voting for the opposition, which the London Gentleman easily counters. Among many grievances raised by the Alderman is the claim the current ministry "have broken the Union," referencing the "late Bill for abolishing Heretable Jurisdictions in Scotland."[247] The Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1746 abolished the traditional right (upheld in the 1707 Act of Union) of clan chiefs in Scotland to appoint the sheriffs presiding over the Scottish judicial system. The Act transferred judicial authority to the Crown and centralized governmental control between England and Scotland. The London Gentleman responds to this argument by pointing out that the heritors were compensated (so not a violation of the Union act), but more

[246] Mr. Toastum's name implies that he too is a Jacobite. As indicated before, it was common (or at least a common accusation) in this era that many men were Jacobites while drinking, toasting the "King over the water" but were not when it came time to join the cause actively.
[247] *London Gentleman*, 74.

importantly that it is for the common good of Scotland and the Union, either way. He argues the Act frees the Scots from "any Oppression and servile Dependence upon his Fellow-Subject" and puts them under the direct "Protection of the King, and the Law."[248] Ultimately, he claims, this Act brings the two nations together as the Scottish government comes "to a nearer conformity with the of England." This argument is Anglo-centric and condescending, of course. When the Alderman asks if it is wise to "offend" the Scottish at this time, the Gentleman seemingly scoffs at the idea and claims this Act, as well as the Act of Proscription and the Dress Act, are not punishments. Instead they are "given to them [the Scottish] as national Benefits, and happy Fruits of the Union." The condescension of this revisionist argument undercuts the overall appeal to Union. However, it fits Fielding's purpose of convincing an English audience to support the Whiggish vision of an Anglo-centric Union. The arguments are also important for our purposes in how they separate the Scottish from the cause for which these Acts were instituted. The only association between the Forty-Five and the Scottish is a claim that Charles Edward Stuart himself would dissolve the Union and be "under the highest Obligations to France, and to the worst Part of Scotland." This brief moment of Scotophobia is part of Fielding's larger purpose, however. To separate Jacobitism from Scottishness, Fielding relegates the rebellion to "the worst Part." Presumably he means the Highlands, but importantly is not the whole country, as with France, or even explicitly the whole Highlands. This "worst part" does not exclude the rest of Scotland from the "happy fruits of the Union."

Despite his plaid-named persona, in the *Jacobite's Journal* (December 5, 1747 - November 5, 1748), Fielding continues to keep Scots separate from Jacobitism (if not always the other way around). He generally avoids talking of individual British nations, mostly

[248]*London Gentleman*, 75-76.

referring to "the Kingdom" as a whole. Fielding only writes explicitly and directly about Scotland in Number 16, published March 19, 1748. In an essay entitled "Occasional Thoughts or Suggestions for improving and civilizing the Highlands of Scotland," Fielding lays out a plan for making the Scottish Highlands a more productive and civilized part of the Kingdom. Fielding's arguments highlight his attempt to combat certain preconceived notions regarding the Highlands and its people (of which Fielding is himself guilty of promoting previously) and to move toward collaboration and Union. While in *The True Patriot* he once described the Highlanders as "the savage Inhabitants of Wilds and Mountains, who are almost a distinct Body from the rest of their Country,"[249] he now posits that with "due Encouragement, [the Highlands] would prove an unexhaustible Fund of Wealth to the Nation."[250] The plan, however, is a colonialist text that, while avoiding explicit Scotophobia, reinforces implicit biases against the Scottish Highlanders. Like so many colonialist documents, Fielding's essay seems to portray his genuine interest in helping cultivate the Highlands (to the mutual benefit of Scot and Englishman) but is ultimately condescending and ignores the historical and systemic reality of the situation. His plan also represents a new aspect if strategic Scotophobia: erasure.

Fielding begins by stating, "It would be thought a Paradox, to advance that the Highlands of Scotland are the richest Part of this Kingdom."[251] He then posits the argument that the Highlands, "with Respect to the Climate, Soil, and Situation" are the greatest potential source of wealth in the United Kingdom. His argument primarily rests on the untapped natural resources suited for the mining, fishing, cattle, lumber, and shipping industries. What is most notably absent from his plan for the Highlands are the Highlanders themselves. He does

[249] *True Patriot*, 38.
[250] *Jacobite's Journal*, #16
[251] *Jacobite's Journal*, #16

mention the cheapness of Highland labor, as "the People are known to be laborious, when they have suitable Encouragement." However, the acknowledgement of his central idea of the potential of the "barren" Highlands as a "paradox" feeds into the cultural stereotyping that he hopes to undo. As with any colonialist proposal, Fielding's argument is founded on a principle of exploitation. The Highlands are no longer barren but are resource-rich lands that need proper cultivation. The Highlanders are no longer wild savages but are "laborious" (and cheap) and "the Spirit of Industry" will imbue these people. The people are empty vessels into which English values can be poured in order to then extract industry from them through "suitable Encouragement."

Fielding's plan, in essence, is for the government to purchase large tracts of land throughout Scotland (10,000 acres total, divided in 50 different lots of 200 acres) to be erected into 50 Townships, with "certain Immunities and Privileges."[252] These townships will then be populated by various officials, ministers, schoolmasters, and families "coming to settle," each of whom will be granted land and seed. These plots would be situated on lake or sea shore, on Account of Navigation and Fishing, as well as Manufactures, which may thereby be easily transported, also the Fishing would help them to live." Fielding doesn't seem fully aware that what he is suggesting is the establishment of colonies in the Highlands, but he is very aware that such cultivation is not just an economic expedient, but a political one:

> Another Motive for this Care, even of the Extremities of the Nation, is, that if any Evil lies lurking there, it may sometimes endanger the principal Parts: We have had in our Time Instances of it, particularly in the late unnatural Rebellion, when the Capital was put into a Pannic and Consternation that will not soon be forgot; to prevent the like for the future, and the immense Charge occasioned by it, is worthy the Care and Attention of the Public.

[252] *Jacobite's Journal*, #16

His concern is avoiding a future threat of rebellion, especially a threat to "the Capital." The solution to this concern, as Fielding sees it, is not through violent suppression but through economic development. His proposal represents a self-interested desire for preservation of the Union through the erasure of Scottish identity. The best way to ensure peace is to establish incentives for cooperation. "Religion, Liberty, and Property are the great Incitements to Industry, good Neighbourhood, and Submission to the Laws; and if these were establish'd in the Highlands of Scotland, the Arts of Peace would flourish, and the Sweets derived from thence would soon diffuse themselves, to the great Improvement of that Country in Manners, Traffick and Wealth." This language intimates an underlying belief in the backwardness of the Highland Scots on the part of Fielding (and presumably his audience). Yet despite this continued tone of condescension, it is a notable shift from the animalistic imagery Fielding deployed in *The True Patriot*. Of course, such rhetoric, while attempting to be positive and productive, reinforces Scotophobic bias and implies that the Highlanders, if not outright savages, are unsophisticated and require the help of (read: exploitation by) their more civilized fellow-subjects in England. The fact that this is the only direct extended reference and discussion of the Scottish in the *Jacobite's Journa*l reflects how Fielding no longer needs to deploy explicitly anti-Scottish rhetoric. Because Fielding's (or at least his ministerial patrons') vision of Union is inherently Anglo-centric (and Anglo-supremacist), Scotophobia is replaced by Scottish erasure.

Scottish erasure and Scotland's general absence in Fielding's work in the years following Culloden is most notable in his masterpiece, *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* (1749). Fielding began the novel before the height of the rebellion and resumed it after the Jacobite defeat. Upon resuming the narrative, Fielding decided to set the events during the recent Forty-Five. In the novel, shortly after Tom Jones is exiled from his home by Squire

Allworthy, he encounters a company of soldiers. Fielding explains:

> [The men are] marching against the rebels, and expected to be commanded by the glorious Duke of Cumberland. By which the reader may perceive (a circumstance which we have not thought necessary to communicate before) that this was the very time when the late rebellion was at the highest; and indeed the banditti were now marched into England, intending, as it was thought, to fight the king's forces, and to attempt pushing forward to the metropolis.[253]

Tom, a true patriot, decides to join the soldiers and march north with them as a volunteer. He never makes it to the front, however, due to a series of misadventures that takes him south to London. By his entry into London, all direct reference to the present rebellion disappears from the text. This Jacobite interlude, as one might call it, offers Fielding further chances to criticize the Jacobite cause, but most interesting for our purposes is the fact that there is almost no reference to Scotland or the Scottish in the entire novel. As we see, Fielding's preferred word to describe the Jacobite rebels, "banditti," makes an appearance, but no other descriptor. The Jacobite army is almost exclusively referred to broadly as "rebels," without any national identification. Importantly, all of the Jacobite supporters in the novel are English (and not to be taken seriously), most notably the comical Partridge and the blustery Squire Western. The novel represents an almost complete separation between Scotland and Jacobitism. The only reference to the Scottish is when Sophia Western is mistaken for "Jenny Cameron," the supposed lover of Charles Edward Stuart. Upon learning this, Sophia's maid, Mrs. Honour, becomes indignant that she might be supposed to be the servant of a "nasty Scotch wh—re." While indicating a possible prejudice against the Scottish, this is the only reference, and Honour seems more alarmed at the implication of ill-repute.

The general absence of the Scottish, let alone anti-Scottish rhetoric, is fairly remarkable

[253] *Tom Jones*, 367.

considering Fielding's use of strategic Scotophobia during the Forty-Five. We must assume that the absence of Scots from the novel is meaningful in some way, because Fielding consciously sets *Tom Jones* during the Forty-Five. Although not including any specific dates in the novel, Fielding reveals several details that help us situate the book in time. When Jones first encounters the soldiers, the narrator reveals the events take place "when the late rebellion was at the highest" when the Jacobites had "marched into England." This means the plot must take place after November 8, 1745, when Charles Edward Stuart and his troops crossed the border. While Sophia is at an inn somewhere near Coventry, we learn that the Jacobites "had given the Duke the slip" and "got a day's march" from London.[254] This presumably indicates the Jacobites arrival in Derby on December 4, 1745, for Fielding himself reported in *The True Patriot* Number 6, on December 10, 1745, "On Friday last [December 6], the Alarm of the Rebels having given the Duke the Slip, and being in full March for this Town [. . .] struck such a Terror into several public-spirited Persons."[255] He uses the same language of "given the Duke the slip" in both the contemporary report and the novel making it likely that the moment described was the same. In this same issue, Fielding also reports a rumor of French ships intending to land at Suffolk—the same rumor reported to Sophia's landlord by a "a famous Jacobite squire" that convinces the landlord that Sophia is actually Jenny Cameron, the Young Pretender's supposed lover.[256] Sophia (and Tom who is also in Coventry) is only about thirty miles away from Charles Edward Stuart and his army. Fielding clearly wants attention paid to the Forty-Five as thematically relevant, placing the characters in the height of the rebellion, and

[254] *Tom Jones*, 647.
[255] *True Patriot*, 76.
[256] My calculations place these events later than Martin Battestin whose notes to the text place it at November 25, 1745. Because of the evidence I list above, however, I think my calculation is more precise. I do agree with Battestin, though, that Fielding probably did not intend for his readers to date the events so exactly. See Battestin's note: *Tom Jones*, 368.

even mirroring the Jacobite march and retreat in their movement. Yet there is no direct reference to the Scottish or even the Highlanders outside the oblique mention of "banditti" and the "Scotch Wh-re." Jenny Cameron, who is not actually in the novel, is the only Scottish figure mentioned.[257] This absence is made more remarkable given that Fielding does not shy from negative portrayals of the Irish in *Tom Jones* (most notably Mr. Fitzpatrick). What accounts for this Scottish absence?

Given the prominence of the Forty-Five in *Tom Jones* (1749) and the notable absence of Scots, I argue this is a strategic erasure on Fielding's part. In the novel, Fielding uses the Forty-Five as means to reconfigure the story of the rebellion and Anglo-Scottish Union. As Stevenson argues, Fielding re-imagines the Stuart cause through the character of Tom Jones, who parallels Charles Edward Stuart. Like Charles, Tom is exiled and (he discovers) has a legitimate claim as heir to Squire Allworthy's estate—as he is Allworthy's first-born nephew. Unlike Charles, however, Tom ascends to his rightful place. It is important to note that Fielding is not supporting the principle of hereditary right which he had bashed so often in his political writings. Tom succeeds where Charles fails because he is not trying to claim his right in the wrong way. Tom's rival (and apparent half-brother) Blifil ultimately becomes the Stuart figure because of his deceit and treachery. It is Tom's loyalty and ultimate honesty that earns him his reward, not his heritage. It is this central revision of what Lipking calls the "Jacobite plot" that is the key to understanding Fielding's strategic erasure of the Scottish in the novel.

When Squire Allworthy discovers the truth about Tom and Blifil's deceit, the narrator

[257] "Jenny Cameron" was a mythologized version of Jean Cameron of Glendessary, a Scottish Jacobite gentlewoman whose family joined Charles Edward Stuart. Jean was not actually Charles' lover, nor even marched with the army. Nevertheless, loyalist press spread and repeated stories that depicted this so-called "Jenny Cameron" as either Charles' mistress or an Amazon warrior that led men into battle, or often both. Despite the fact the Jean Cameron was in her 40s, popular images of her depicted her as either a young beautiful woman (like Sophia Western) or as dressed in men's clothes.

reflects, "As a conquered Rebellion strengthens a Government, or as Health is more perfectly established by Recovery from some Diseases; so Anger, when removed, often gives new life to Affection. This was the Case of Mr. *Allworthy*."[258] This observation echoes a similar statement in *A Dialogue Between a London Gentleman* (1747):

> What a Hurricane did we go through, when, besides two great foreign Wars, we had a rebellion to contend with at Home! What an advantage did that give to our Enemies! Yet, by the Blessing of God, by the Wisdom of His Majesty, the Valour and Conduct of his Son, and the Care of his Administration, that Danger hath been conquered, and his Throne and Kingdom, nay, I may say, the, whole Constitution have gained an additional Strength from the Attempt so wickedly made to overturn them.[259]

I argue that idea explains the absence and erasure of the Scottish in *Tom Jones*. One of the major themes of the novel, exhibited through the many connections to the Forty-Five, is the reinforcement of a Protestant and Whiggish vision of Britain. Tom Jones, though a flawed character, is rewarded for staying true to these ideals. His marriage to Sophia Western, the daughter of a Jacobite, and his friendship and redemption of Partridge, another Jacobite, are representations of the strengthened "Kingdom" and "Constitution." The Nation, the Government, the Constitution, the Union, are all stronger for having been through and won the Forty-Five. Unfortunately, Fielding's vision of a strengthened Union is explicitly Anglo-centric, which results in the erasure of the Scottish as separate and distinct people in the Anglo-Scottish Union.

We can look at the absence of the Scots from Fielding's later works as a logical extension of the ameliorative reframing in the final issue of *The True Patriot*, Number 33, published on June 17, 1746. This erasure is another form of Fielding's strategic Scotophobia. His purpose, throughout all of these works, albeit in varying ways, has always been to uphold a

[258] *Tom Jones*, 933.
[259] *London Gentleman*, 67.

vision of Protestant and Whiggish hegemonic order. In these works, Anglo-Scottish Union is not an inherent source of tension or anxiety but rather the status quo, the proper order of things. If the Forty-Five was an "unnatural rebellion," Anglo-Scottish Union under Protestant Hanoverian and Whig rule must be natural.

Chapter 4 – "This united kingdom": Tobias Smollett and Anglo-Scottish Union

When news broke in London of Prince William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland's victory over Charles Edward Stuart's Jacobite army at Culloden Moor (April 16, 1746), Tobias Smollett and Alexander Carlyle, Smollett's friend and fellow Scot, were dining at the British Coffee House at 27 Cockspur Street, London. When the two Scots left the coffeehouse, Carlyle writes in his autobiography, "London all over was in a perfect uproar of joy [. . .] The mob were so riotous, and the squibs so numerous and incessant that we were glad to go into a narrow entry to put our wigs in our pockets, and to take our swords from our belts and walk with them in our hands." Smollett further cautioned Carlyle, "against speaking a word, lest the mob should discover [his] country and become insolent, 'for John Bull,' says [Smollett], 'is as haughty and valiant to-night as he was abject and cowardly on the Black Wednesday when the Highlanders were at Derby.'"[260]

Although the two men made it home unscathed that night, the same could not be said for many of their countrymen in Scotland. At the battle itself, Cumberland's orders called for "Quarter to None," so as the Jacobite lines broke and the Highlanders retreated, his dragoon troops pursued them and cut them down as they fled toward Inverness. The Reverend George Innes, a witness to the events, reported that it was "hard, if not impossible, to say what was the precise number of the kill'd on either side" during the battle itself, but he had no doubt that the "greatest slaughter was in the pursuit."[261] After the initial rout and chase, it was reported that government troops, "like so many savages, went up and down knocking such in the head as had

[260] Alexander Carlyle, *The Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk* (W. Blackwood and Sons, 1860), 190.
[261] Robert Forbes, *The Lyon in Mourning*, ed. Henry Paton, vol. III (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1896) 11-12.

any remains of life in them, and [. . .] refusing all manner of relief to the wounded."[262] In the days that followed, Cumberland's troops raided and pillaged Inverness and the surrounding areas in search of remaining Jacobites, arms, and provisions. Houses were searched for suspected Jacobites and were ordered "burnt and all within them, and if any offerd to come out that they should be shot."[263] Prisoners (what few were taken and not hanged) were stripped, starved, and beaten. Women were brutalized and raped, children and babies killed or maimed. Further, after Culloden and Cumberland's swift and brutal reprisals against the Scots, the British government also placed new oppressive laws and restrictions on the Scottish, particularly the Highlanders.

Although not a Jacobite, as a Scot and, most importantly, a Briton, Smollett felt angry and disgusted by Cumberland's disproportionate punishment of the Scots. Smollett was also all too familiar with Scotophobia and its effects (as highlighted by his warning to Carlyle to hide his accent on their swords-out walk home). While some might expect Smollett's anger to incline toward an anti-English stance—this after all is Laurence Sterne's "Smelfungus"—instead I argue he channeled his disaffection into pro-Union literature and action. The uprising's aftermath inspired one of Smollett's first published works, the poem *The Tears of Scotland* (1746), and it stuck with him into his later work as a historian, critic, propagandist, translator,[264] and novelist. In this chapter, I explore the Scottish literary participation in the negotiation of British identity through the work of Tobias Smollett, as part of the larger cultural conversation about the significance of the Forty-Five and its impact on Anglo-Scottish Union and memory. I examine how Smollett, as a Scot living in London, responded to the aftermath of Culloden in

[262] Forbes, *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. III, 12.
[263] Forbes, *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. II, 302.
[264] Though beyond the scope for this chapter, it is worth noting that Smollett returns to this moment in history through his commentary and translation of Voltaire's works in Volumes 1, page 72, and Volume 8, pages 42-43.

the years following the Forty-Five and attempted to separate Scottish national character from Jacobitism and promote Anglo-Scottish Union. Unlike Henry Fielding's Anglo-centric and Whiggish vision of the Union discussed in Chapter Three, Smollett promotes an idea of ameliorative union in which distinct national identities are retained under a shared British identity. Specifically, I argue that Smollett's works, especially his poem, *The Tears of Scotland* (1746) and his first novel, *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748), are part of his attempt to reform/renegotiate Scottish identity under a larger British identity of Anglo-Scottish Unionism in the wake of the Forty-Five.

As with all civil wars, the Forty-Five was not a clear-cut case of "us versus them," and the violence against not only Jacobite rebels, but against innocent Scots—fellow Britons— in the wake of Culloden soured the victory for many throughout Britain. In his *History of England* (1757), Tobias Smollett makes this souring clear in a vivid account of the battle and its aftermath:

> The glory of the victory was sullied by the barbarity of the soldiers. They had been provoked by their former disgraces to the most savage thirst of revenge: Not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed in the heat of action, they traversed the field after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring: [. . .] the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninspired by sentiment, untinctured by humanity. [. . .E]very house, hutt, or habitation [was plundered and burned], without distinction; all the cattle and provision were carried off; the men were either shot upon the mountains, like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial; the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. [. . .] Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be found in the compass of fifty miles; all was ruin, silence and desolation.[265]

The anger of many Britons toward the Rising (and the Scots)—the kind of anger that follows a

[265] Tobias Smollett, *A Complete History of England*, vol. 4 (London: printed for James Rivington and James Fletcher, 1757), 674.

great fright—found vent in the defeat of the Jacobites. For months, British fears over the results of a Jacobite victory and another Stuart Restoration had been stoked by the government and the press. Fears of pillage and tyranny—of violence and occupation—of slaughter and savagery—had left the English, as Smollett noted to Carlyle, "abject and cowardly" when Jacobite forces seemed poised on victory in December 1745. After the Jacobite lines broke and fled at Culloden, however, it was the government forces that committed such acts against the Scots. As fear abated and tempers cooled—as the ideological crisis of the Forty-Five dissipated—such reprisals seemed extreme. Such "horrid barbarities committed in cold blood, after the battle was over"[266] earned Cumberland the nickname "The Butcher"[267] and left Britons feeling ambivalent about the defeat of the Jacobites. Smollett, a loyal Scot but no Jacobite, felt keenly this ambivalence and the brutality of Cumberland.

In some ways, Smollett is uniquely situated to respond to the Forty-Five. As a Scottish "immigrant" living in London, a former Naval surgeon, a Tory, and an aspiring writer, Smollett was both an insider and an outsider. As such, he was able to tap into and express something that others, like Henry Fielding for example, could not have. Fielding, who wrote extensively against the Jacobites (and Scottish/Highlanders) in pamphlets and *The True Patriot* (1745-1746), only briefly addresses the Forty-Five in *Tom Jones* (1747) before it quickly vanishes from the text—an incident to be forgotten (as discussed in Chapter Three). Smollett, on the other hand, decidedly refused to forget. His response to the Forty-Five clearly resonated with readers, as well, given that *Tears of Scotland* (1746) was reprinted many times throughout the century (including being set to song by Scottish composer James Oswald) and *Roderick*

[266] Forbes, *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. III, 11.

[267] This reputation emerged almost immediately, as Horace Walpole noted in an Aug. 1, 1746 letter to Horace Mann, "It was lately proposed in the city to present him [Cumberland] with the freedom of some company; one of the aldermen said aloud, 'Then let it be of the Butchers!'"

Random (1748) itself was a runaway success. The immediacy of these two works to the Forty-Five and their critical and commercial success make them important texts in the negotiation of Scottish and British identity after Culloden.

Although there is of course a lot of scholarship on Smollett, especially on his novels, not much attention has been paid to his work in relation to the Forty-Five.[268] Many studies focus on Smollett's attention to national identity in his works, especially in *Roderick Random* (1748) and *Humphry Clinker* (1771), with the Forty-Five often mentioned, if only in passing.[269] Some, such as Jerry Beasley, build on the work of Louis Martz and Kenneth Simpson and position Smollett's works in the context of the tension and ambivalence at the heart of Smollett's writing: "Was he a Scot or an Englishman?"[270] Alfred Lutz links Smollett's examination of personal and national identity to his representations of Scotland and England in *Random* and *Clinker*. Lutz also sees a connection between British identity and English commerce in Smollett's novels. Suvir Kaul builds on a similar idea in his post-colonial analysis of *Random*, tying British-identity-formation in Smollett (and others) to imperialist commercialism and luxury. Several scholars, such as Evan Gottlieb and Eric Rothstein, focus on how issues of Scotophobia/xenophobia provided Smollett "an agenda [. . .] to annul or, if possible, to turn to

[268] Scholars such as O M Brack, Paul-Gabriel Boucé, Louis Martz, Lewis Knapp, Kenneth Simpson, Juliet Shields, and many others helped pave the foundation for modern Smollett studies, covering in depth his life and works.

[269] While many scholars deal with these two novels, a simple glance at the tables of contents or indices of books by Smollett scholars Boucé, Robert Donald Spector, and Knapp, among many others, will reveal almost no attention paid of *The History and Adventures of an Atom*. While some will mention the work in passing, it is often to summarize previous work by the few others that have paid serious attention to this lesser-known Smollett novel, as Spector does in *Tobias George Smollett*. For more in depth analysis of this text and its influences, please see Louis L. Martz' *The Later Career of Tobias Smollett*, Damian Grant's *Tobias Smollett: A Study in Style*, Wayne Douglass' "Done After the Dutch Taste: Political Prints and Smollett's *Atom*," and Day's "Introduction" to the Georgia edition, to name but a few. For an interesting examination of the political and bodily implications of the text, see Aileen Douglas' *Uneasy Sensations: Smollett and the Body*, Lynn Festa's *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*, and Annika Mann's "Waste Management: Tobias Smollett and Remediation."

[270] Jerry C. Beasley, "Tobias Smollett: The Scot in England," *Studies In Scottish Literature* 29 (1996): 15.

his persuasive advantage" anti-Scottish prejudice.[271] Others, like Juliet Shields and Rivka Swenson, focus their attention less on whether Smollett is "Scot or Englishman" and more on how he uses his texts to construct a national and literary British identity through Anglo-Scottish union. Leith Davis discusses national and Union identity in Smollett as well, but argues that "Roderick Random suggests the impossibility of any attempt to identify a cohesive nation in post-'45 Britain."[272] In opposition to Davis' reading (building on Rothstein, Shields, and Swenson), I argue that while Smollett's works represent and distinguish traditional English and Scottish identities, his texts move his characters and his readers towards an ameliorative Anglo-Scottish Union in response to the Forty-Five. Rather than an "impossibility," building a "cohesive nation" through Union following the Forty-Five is presented as essential in Smollett's work from the *Tears of Scotland* (1746) to *Humphry Clinker* (1771).

In addition, as Smollett is mostly known and appreciated for his novels, few scholars focus on his poetry. Howard Swazey Buck's *Smollett as Poet* (1928) is the only monograph that treats exclusively with the poetical works of Smollett, although several scholars have included his poetry in their examinations of his complete works. Those that do attend to his poetry most often focus on the *Tears of Scotland* (1746) and necessarily discuss it in the context of the Forty-Five. In particular, Aileen Douglas links the poem and Smollett's anger at the aftermath of the Forty-Five to his penultimate novel, *The History and Adventures of an Atom* (1770), as does Swenson. Both Swenson and Shields (although mostly the former) position *The Tears of Scotland* in the continuum with Smollett's other texts as part of his emphasis on Anglo-Scottish Union. My analysis of the poem builds on the work of these scholars but seeks to go deeper in

[271] Eric Rothstein, "Scotophilia and Humphry Clinker: The Politics of Beggary, Bugs and Buttocks," *University Of Toronto Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (1982): 63.
[272] Leith Davis, *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation, 1707-1830* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 67.

understanding its meaning(s) and argue that its composition is a pivotal moment in Smollett's movement toward ameliorative Union.

The Tears of Scotland (1746) represents Smollett's immediate response to the violent aftermath of the Jacobite defeat at Culloden and mourns for Scotland and her people. The poem paints the picture of a once proud nation burned to the ground, its men slain, and its women and children left out in the cold—images, as we see, he returned to in his *History*. Smollett, of course, composed the poem at the same time that the monthly periodicals discussed in Chapter Two were framing Cumberland as a savior and beginning the debate on mercy and Henry Fielding was winding down *The True Patriot* (1745-1746). While Fielding and the editors of the magazines avoided almost all reference to the brutality in the North, Smollett made it the central focus. *The Tears of Scotland*, while not particularly celebrated for its style, reveals a depth of feeling and genuine reaction to the subject matter. As Oliver Goldsmith noted two decades later, the ode "does rather more honour to the author's feelings than his taste [. . .] but the pathetic it contains [. . .] is exquisitely fine."[273] Despite this question of quality, the sentiment made the poem popular and successful, leading to its circulation and several reprints in collections (including Goldsmith's). An indication of the poem's quick popularity is that it was used as the main selling point when it was set to song and sold by Scottish composer James Oswald in his printed collection of songs, *The Land of Cakes* (1746). The title page and the advertisement printed in the *London Evening Post* of December 4, 1746 proclaim the book is a collection "Containing six Songs set to Musick in the true Scots Taste. To which is added, *The Tears of Scotland*." That Smollett's poem, at this point still printed without his name (and his career/reputation as a writer still nascent), was clearly popular enough that it was considered a

[273] Oliver Goldsmith, *The Beauties of English Poesy. Selected by Oliver Goldsmith. In Two Volume*s, vol. 2 (London: printed for William Griffin, 1767), 87.

selling point speaks to its immediate resonance with audiences.

The power of the poem does not simply lie in its resonant pathos, however. In addition to reflecting the sorrow and anger of Smollett at the news of his native country's ruin, the poem serves two important purposes: it lays out an implicit criticism at the brutality of Cumberland and the British/English army, and it defines the character of Scotland and her people positively despite the attempted uprising.

The Scotland of Smollett's poem is innocent and pastoral,[274] the mothers "pious" and the roofs "hospitable."[275] He contrasts an image of (former) rural simplicity and happiness—the heath alive with "The rural pipe and merry lay" and "social scenes of gay delight"—with what is now a "silent plain" broken only by "sounds of woe" "stretch'd beneath the inclement skies." Smollett's characterization of the Scottish people and Scotland is made obliquely through the depiction of their suffering—more specifically, innocence and happiness replaced by death and suffering. Smollett also associates Scottish identity with a noble and historical past. By choosing to call his nation "Caledonia," he characterizes Scotland as a regal and ancient land—the men are "for valour long renown'd," and the country's "spirit" is "tow'ring" with "martial glory, crown'd with praise." Scotland could not be defeated by any foreign army, but was defeated by "civil rage, and rancor."

Smollett is careful, however, to distance the Caledonia of this poem from Jacobitism, that "baneful cause."[276] Smollett's poem does not mourn the fallen Jacobite soldiers in the battle

---

[274] Davis, *Acts of Union*, 65.

[275] Tobias Smollett, *The Tears of Scotland*, in *Poems, Plays, and The Briton*, ed. Byron Gassman and O M Brack, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 23-26. All quotes for this text from this edition.

[276] In most of the earliest known editions of the poem, the cause is "baleful" rather than "baneful." The OED defines both as roughly similar: "Full of malign, deadly, or noxious influence; pernicious, destructive, noxious, injurious, mischievous, malignant" and "Life-destroying; poisonous [and] Destructive to well-being, pernicious, injurious," respectively. "Baleful," however, also carries an association of sorrow and mourning.
"baleful, adj.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://oed.com/view/Entry/14864>.
"baneful, adj.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://oed.com/view/Entry/15188>.

so much as "the naked and forlorn" facing Cumberland's wrath after the battle—reinforcing the innocence of those now being brutalized.[277] Smollett is not criticizing the suppression the rebellion at the battle at Culloden, nor sympathizing with the Jacobites. Instead, he is criticizing the excessive violence and reprisals against the rest of "hapless Caledonia," those punished for the sins of others. The poem implies the violence in the "rage of battle" may be justified, but what followed cannot be. He does not excuse the Jacobites for their sins but sees the reprisals on the innocent after the defeat of the rebels as a greater sin.[278] By focusing on the mothers and children, the families torn apart by the war and its aftermath, and the nation's torn "laurels," Smollett characterizes the Scottish as innocent and noble, while highlighting the cruelty of Cumberland, Scotland's "insulting foe," in punishing the innocent with the guilty. This criticism of Cumberland (albeit veiled) stands in contrast to the poetry effusively praising the Duke as Britain's savior examined in Chapter Two. Smollett is tapping into an emergent structure of feeling, anticipating (and contributing to) Cumberland's lasting legacy as "the Butcher."

Although Smollett never directly mentions Cumberland or the army in *The Tears of Scotland*, the devastation and ruthlessness he describes "hapless Caledonia" suffering indirectly criticize Cumberland and his soldiers' actions. Throughout the poem, Smollett is careful not to mention the actors in the reprisals; almost all the suffering described is put in the passivevoice. He portrays the suffering, violence, and destruction experienced by the Scottish, but there is no agent carrying out these deeds. Sons lie "slaughter'd on their native ground," virgins are "ravish'd," and "pious" mothers are "doom'd to death," yet there is no mention of those that

[277] Aileen Douglas, *Uneasy Sensations: Smollett and the Body* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 139.
[278] Smollett ponders in his *History* what Charles Edward Stuart must have felt "when he beheld these spectacles of woe, the dismal fruit of his ambition?" (*History*, 674). Douglas notes that Smollett here compares Charles to Milton's Satan, and thereby distancing himself from the Jacobite cause if not from a sympathy for the "grief and horror" of the innocent left in the desolation of Cumberland's reprisals (Douglas, *Uneasy Sensations*, 142).

slaughtered, ravished, and doomed them except for one brief mention of the "victor's soul" unappeased by the end of the battle. This presentation of the effects, however, implies the cause. Despite this absence of a destroyer, the destruction itself reveals Smollett's criticism. The "victor" that didn't stop "when the rage of battle ceas'd" is the one that has burned homes, raped women, and pillaged towns, as well as condemned innocent men, women, and children to horrible death "stretch'd beneath th' inclement skies." He doesn't call the English troops cruel, raping, baby-killing murderers; he just describes the cruelty, rape, infanticide, and murder. It would be easy enough for a reader to not envision the persecutors in Smollett's attention to the persecuted due to his careful attention to the passive-voiced effects. Easy, that is, until the final stanza.

The story goes, according to anecdotes reported separately by his friends John Moore and Robert Graham, that Smollett composed the poem after hearing of the violence in Scotland. When he shared the poem with his friends, they suggested it went too far and might get him in trouble, to which Smollett apparently responded by adding the final stanza[279]:

> While the warm blood bedews my veins,
> And unimpair'd remembrance reigns,
> Resentment of my country's fate,
> Within my filial breast shall beat;
> And, spite of her insulting foe,
> My sympathising verse shall flow:[280]

Smollett's splenetic reputation (whether just or not) is on full display in this anecdote. This late addition to the poem changes it from an ode mourning Caledonia's undeserved suffering to an angry promise to never drop his resentment of that suffering. The poem ends as it begins: "Mourn, hapless Caledonia! mourn / Thy banish'd peace, thy laurels torn!" But because of the

[279] Douglas, *Uneasy Sensations*, 139.
[280] *Tears*, ll. 49-54.

addition of the above lines, the poem's impact changes. What starts as a dirge of sorts becomes a rallying cry to "never forget" this resentment. One can imagine reading the poem aloud or hearing it sung set to James Osmand's music and recognizing the shift in tone in the final stanza. It is these additional lines that readers like Goldsmith no doubt responded to; they voice an anger and resentment that expressed an emergent structure of feeling of dissatisfaction at the aftermath of the Forty-Five.

It is also in this final stanza that the point of view of the poem shifts. Written in a distanced third person throughout the poem, the final stanza suddenly switches to first person with the recurring use of "my": "my veins," "my country," "my filial breast," "my sympathising verse." Smollett himself, and his anger, become the subjects of the poem. His cry of "Mourn, hapless Caledonia! mourn" is no longer an abstract poetic address, but a deeply personal expression of his own anger, sorrow, and resentment. By inserting himself into the poem, he personalizes the aftermath of the Forty-Five. He feels it and wants the reader to feel that burning resentment as well.

Smollett also identifies an agent of all the suffering outlined in the poem in the final stanza. Although still not naming the ruthless victor, or even making it any specific individual, Smollett calls out Scotland's "insulting foe." With this line, Smollett makes clear that Cumberland and his army have made themselves not just the enemy of the Jacobites, but of Scotland itself. This phrase is interesting because of the meanings associated with both "foe" and "insult." "Foe" of course means "enemy," but it also carries implications of personal prejudice. The "foe" Smollett refers to could be the "hostile force" of Cumberland's army, an "enemy in battle" to Scotland, but "foe" can also refer to someone "opposed to or prejudiced

against" something, or even refer to a "personal enemy."[281] The use of "foe" implies a prejudiced enemy pursuing a personal vendetta. This reading is reinforced by the use of "insulting." To insult is "to treat with scornful abuse or offensive disrespect."[282] The "foe" is "insulting" because of the scorn and indignity inherent to the violence of the reprisals.

Another indication of the disrespect felt and expressed by Smollett is the use of "spite." This line, "And, spite of her insulting foe,"—as seen in most editions of the poem—appeared in the earliest printed version of the poem as "In Spite of her insulting Foe."[283] Although there is no certainty that either version is Smollett's, we can reasonably assume that both are his.[284] This alteration from "In" to "And" can change how we understand the speaker's meaning. "In spite of" implies "despite" or "in defiance of, with an indication of contempt. This (presumably) original construction is active—the "verse shall flow" out of contempt for the "foe." The "And, Spite" construction, however, has an additional possible meaning.[285] While both can indicate the same meaning as "despite" or "regardless of," the "and" construction with a comma can also

[281] "foe, adj. and n.". OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https://oed.com/view/Entry/72373>.
[282] "insult, v." *OED Online*. December 2019. Oxford University Press. <https:// oed.com/view/Entry/97244>.
[283] Tobias Smollett. *The Tears of Scotland*. (Edinburgh?: n.p., 1746?). Eighteenth Century Collections Online. In the song version of the poem appearing in *Land of Cakes*, the phrase does not have a comma, but subsequent editions—starting with a printing in *The Union: Or Select Scots and English Poems* (1753)—appear with the comma.
[284] Byron Gassman points out in his textual commentary that there's no real indication that Smollett was involved in the printing of the earliest version as there are no identifying attributions, including no printer or bookseller listed. Although not absolute proof of Smollett's involvement in this first(?) printing, there are signs it was printed by the same person/shop who printed Smollett's *Advice: A Satire* (September 1746). In particular, the doubled horizontal lines on the first page of each poem and the brackets around the page numbers, as well as some other setting/typographical similarities. I think we can say with more certainty that Smollett had a hand in the revised version. The "And" first replaces the "In" in the *Land of Cakes* (December 1746) where it is set to music by James Osmand. Since Smollett had already collaborated with Osmand on his first published work, *A New Song* (1745) previously and remarked in a letter to Carlyle that he had a "paternal interest" in its success makes it likely that this alteration was made by (or at least with the knowledge of) Smollett. Most subsequent versions of the poem/song follow the *Land of Cakes* language, although almost all include the comma after "and" in the line, which isn't in the *Land of Cakes* version (as most of the punctuation is removed in favor of the melody). The one significant exception that I found that Gassman did not list in his fairly comprehensive list of significant reprints of the poem is its inclusion in a 1750 collection *Poems on Several Occassions* which follows the earliest printed version of the text.
[285] The edition of the poem in *The Union* is unlikely to be connected with Smollett as the poem is not attributed to any author but another of Smollett's poems included is attributed to "Mr. Smallet."

indicate the "spite" is a feeling belonging to the speaker. If we read the line as possessive, it is the spite *of* (i.e., belonging to) the speaker. "Spite" in this context can mean "A strong feeling of (contempt,) hatred or ill-will; intense grudge or desire to injure; rancorous or envious malice." The lines can communicate, then, that the speaker's sympathizing verses will flow *out of* spite—i.e., out of a contempt and malice against the "insulting foe." Reading the lines this way also explains why the words were changed. If we assume that the "and" is Smollett's own emendation, it only makes sense as a change of meaning. The change from "in" to "and" in the line doesn't change the meter of the line (the entire poem is written in iambic tetrameter rhyming couplets), so it would not appear to be a change made in the translation to song. If we examine the *Land of Cakes* sheet music with the lyrics, the line in question would line up with the line "Thy hos_pi_ta_ble, Roofs no more" (punctuation from the original) which indicates that even when sung this line retains a clear iambic cadence. This kind of change also seems in keeping with the Smollett who would add the whole last stanza seemingly out of that same spite. Ultimately, such a reading only reinforces the outrage Smollett is communicating through the poem.

The outrage Smollett expresses at this foe is that they should *not* be enemies. This was not a war between nations, but a civil war: "What foreign arms could never quell, / By civil rage and rancour fell." This uprising was not a conflict between opposing sovereigns, but between families: "The sons against their father stood, / The parent shed his children's blood." This is the great tragedy of the Forty-Five and Culloden; it was not a war against foreign invaders, but a war between Britons. Smollett, whose grandfather had been instrumental in crafting the Act of Union only four decades previously, opposed the "baneful cause" of the Jacobites, but resents the reprisals against all of Scotland from fellow Britons. The poem is as much an expression of

disappointment and betrayal as it is of anger and recrimination. Although in the moment of composition Smollett may be expressing spite and outrage, these reactions are indicative of a larger idea on his part of the significance of the violence against the Scots. Cumberland's retaliatory violence is a punishment of the Scottish, not just a punishment of the Jacobites. From Smollett's perspective, as presented in the poem, Cumberland turned quelling a rebellion into something akin to a civil war. The fact that this was made into a civil war is why the "foe" is "insulting" in Smollett's final stanza.

Smollett kept his promise in the final stanza of *The Tears of Scotland* (1746) to let his "sympathising verse flow" and resentment in his "filial heart [. . .] beat" so long as "warm blood bedews [his] veins, / And unimpair'd remembrance reigns." His lingering resentment and criticism can be seen in some of his later works, including his *A Complete History of England* (1758-1760) and *The History and Adventures of an Atom* (1769). Tobias Smollett's *History of an Atom* is an understudied and potentially undervalued satire,[286] which challenges the reader to make sense of its intricate political allegory, deluge of scatological humor, and bizarre atomic narrator. *History of An Atom* is a very dense but thinly veiled allegory satirizing recent British history and politics, where the history of ancient "Japan," standing in for Britain, is dictated to a British haberdasher by an atom that has taken up residence in his brain.[287] While the primary

[286] Due to the challenges Smollett's novel poses to the reader, critics over the centuries have had a hard time knowing what to do with such a text. Because it can be a difficult text, it has been left to relative obscurity. Robert Adams Day, in his introduction to the Georgia edition of Smollett's lesser known work, notes that probably only a "handful" of people have read it. While certainly this work is more widely read now than in Day's time (in no small part to Day's scholarly edition), it is still relatively unknown and has not been published since the Georgia edition. Robert Adams Day, Introduction to *The History and Adventures of an Atom*, by Tobias Smollett, ed. O M Brack, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), xxv.

[287] Part of what limits readership of the text is its very complex political satire, which typically requires a key to understand. As *Atom* was published in 1769, Smollett's contemporary readers would have less trouble understanding who the Japanese figures in the novel were supposed to represent, but most modern readers would be completely lost without a key to guide them. To give a sense of the complexity of Smollett's satire, Robert Adams Day's thorough key in the Georgia edition lists approximately 130 names, locations, and terms used in Smollett's 132-page novel. Most of these have historical counterparts unidentifiably obscure to the average modern reader but (likely) would have been familiar to Smollett's audience.

focus of the allegory is on the events of the Seven Years' War, embedded in Smollett's tale are other moments of recent history and politics, including the relation of an uprising of Ximo, one of the islands of Japan, against Nippon, the main island of Japan, clearly representing the Jacobite conflict of 1745. Smollett shrouds his criticism and exposes the complicated, violent, and conflicted relationship between England and Scotland.

Written a quarter of a century after the Forty-Five, Smollett's fake history of Japan echoes his own *History*, but unleashes the full spleen of the disillusioned and bitter Scot and offers full-throated criticism of Cumberland (in the character of Quamba-cun-dono). While in *The Tears of Scotland* (1746) Smollett merely offers implicit criticism of Cumberland through a description of the destruction, in *History of an Atom*, he mocks Cumberland and those that would defend him by ironically offering a description of how kind and generous Quamba-cun-dono was in the aftermath of the Forty-Five:

> He accordingly by his valour crushed the rebellion; and afterwards, by dint of clemency and discretion, extinguished the last embers of disaffection. When the insurgents were defeated, dispersed, and disarmed, and a sufficient number selected for example, his humanity emerged, and took full possession of his breast. He considered them as wretched men misled by false principles of honour, and sympathized with their distress: he pitied them as men and fellow-citizens: he regarded them as useful fellow-subjects, who might be reclaimed and reunited to the community. Instead of sending out the ministers of blood, rapine, and revenge, to ravage, burn, and destroy, without distinction of age, sex, or principle; he extended the arms of mercy to all who would embrace that indulgence: he protected the lives and habitations of the helpless, and diminished the number of the malcontents much more effectually by his benevolence than by his sword.[288]

This passage presents an alternate history of the aftermath after Culloden. Smollett envisions a scenario wherein the rebellion was put down without excessive violence and where rebels were

[288] Tobias Smollett, *The History and Adventures of an Atom*, ed. O M Brack, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 23. All citations for this text from this edition.

"defeated, dispersed, and disarmed" and only a "sufficient number" punished as an example. This alternate history posits that the "insurgents" were merely "misled by false principles." Importantly for Smollett, these misled men should be regarded as "fellow-citizens [. . .] as useful fellow-subjects" to be "reclaimed and reunited to the community." This language echoes several texts immediately following Culloden, including a letter printed originally in the *Westminster Journal* of May 24, 1746 and reprinted in the May 1746 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* in which the writer argues for a plan to rehabilitate the rebels. He argues it is "a greater glory to save a citizen, than kill an enemy" and that "every rebel we destroy, we deprive the king of a subject, or one that should be a subject" (discussed in Chapter Two).[289] Henry Fielding also laid out a similar argument in the March 19, 1748 issue of his *Jacobite's Journal*, which I discussed in Chapter Three. The key difference between these other authors' arguments and Smollett's is that Smollett's is not condescending. While the anonymous author and Fielding both essentially argue that the Highlanders, as a less advanced people, are in need of help rather than punishment, Smollett makes the case that they need to be "reunited" as well as "reclaimed." They are not backwards savages who need to be brought "nearer to a resemblance of the present *English*,"[290] but "fellow-citizens" who were "misled by false principles." Although they are "Ximian" and not "Japonese," they are still "fellow-citizens," just as the "Scottish" and "English" are all Britons.

Quamba-cun-dono, unlike Cumberland, is humane and benevolent in what he does after the rebellion and is able to prevent any further disaffection "by dint of clemency and discretion." As Robert Adams Day notes, however, Smollett is relating what Cumberland

[289] GM May 1746, 261.
[290] GM May 1746, 262.

"should have done but did not do."[291] But the simplicity of this observation understates the criticism implied against Cumberland. The ironic tone of this passage implies not just what Cumberland "did not do," but is an attack on what he *did* do. By ironically noting that Quamba-cun-dono's "humanity emerged," Smollett is calling out Cumberland's inhumanity. When the text states Quamba-cun-dono did not send out "ministers of blood, rapine, and revenge, to ravage, burn, and destroy, without distinction of age, sex, or principle," Smollett is telling us that Cumberland *did* do exactly that. As Day suggests, the irony of this description also underscores what Cumberland should have done. Smollett condemns Cumberland for his cruelty and for his failure to be merciful. A dangerous failure as the final line implies, for if Quamba-cun-dono reduced the "malcontents" more effectively "by his benevolence than by his sword," then Cumberland's sword has only served to increase the number of malcontents. Smollett's language challenges any of Cumberland's defenders who would have it that Cumberland was merciful and humane and made the kingdom safer. Smollett's claim that Cumberland's failure to be benevolent doesn't effectively reduce "malcontents" is a pro-Union position. Smollett, in essence, presents the idea the violent reprisals only served to keep resentment alive in Scotland, but that "benevolence" would have been more effective in "reuniting" the two nations. Through satiric irony, Smollett condemns Cumberland, a Prince of the united Kingdom of Great Britain, for his failures to treat the Scots as subjects of that kingdom and seek reconciliation through reinforcement of Anglo-Scottish Union.

Smollett's condemnation in *History of an Atom* extends beyond Cumberland himself and onto the English people. The bloodlust of the army is supported by the fears of the people in England and their desire for revenge. The public criminal proceedings and executions that

[291] Robert Adams Day, Notes to *The History and Adventures of an Atom*, by Tobias Smollett, ed. O M Brack, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 153.

followed the uprising were mostly carried out in England and Smollett satirizes the bloodlust of the people in a particularly vivid passage:

> The southern Japonese [the English] had been terribly alarmed at this insurrection, [. . .] While the amiable Quamba-cun-dono was employed in the godlike office of gathering together, and cherishing under his wings the poor, dispersed, forlorn, widows and orphans, whom the savage hand of war had deprived of parent, husband, home, and sustenance; [. . .] judges in the South, were condemning such of their parents and husbands as survived the sword, to crucifixion, cauldrons of boiling oil, or exenteration; and the people were indulging their appetites by feasting upon the viscera thus extracted. The liver of a Ximian was in such request at this period, that if the market had been properly managed and supplied, this delicacy would have sold for two Obans a pound, or about four pounds sterling. The troops in the North might have provided at the rate of a thousand head per month for the demand of Meaco [London]; and tho' the other parts of the carcase would not have sold at so high a price as the liver, heart, harrigals, sweet-bread, and pope's eye; yet the whole, upon an average, would have fetched at the rate of three hundred pounds a head; especially if those animals, which are but poorly fed in their own country, had been fattened up and kept upon hard meat for the slaughter.[292]

This description of cannibalism obviously echoes Swift's *Modest Proposal* in its matter-of-fact tone and practical consideration of eating fellow Britons. Rather than using cannibalism as an extreme to highlight an absurdity, however, Smollett goes further with the imagery. Smollett's cannibalism metaphor highlights the bloodthirsty quest for revenge by the English. It is not merely enough that the Jacobites be punished; instead, their punishment must be made a spectacle, appeasing the English people's desire for revenge. These scenes of execution are intended to remind readers of the Jacobite trials and public executions in the summer of 1746. As discussed in Chapter Two, the trial and execution of the so-called Jacobite Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock were covered extensively in the press. By detailing how the "Japonese" indulged "their appetites by feasting upon the viscera," Smollett implicates the people of England in the slaughter and violence against "wretched men misled by false principles of

[292] *Atom*, 22-23

honour" along with Cumberland. Those who would seek bloody retribution against the Scots are just as complicit in the violent aftermath as those committing the violence. The passage is calculating in its gory and cold savagery. The disgust felt by the reader at the violence and cannibalism in the fiction is the same disgust they should feel in reality at the aftermath of the Forty-Five.

The passage also highlights how the dehumanization of Scots, especially Highlanders by the English during (and before and after) the Forty-Five, undermines the Union. W.A. Speck details how Scots were compared to "wild beasts," "hungry wolves," "savages," and the like—all classic tropes of Scotophobic rhetoric. As discussed in Chapter One, such Scotophobia racializes Scots as a foreign Other rather than "fellow-citizens." Speck argues that the English who "felt resentful that their way of life had been disturbed by the Highlanders who lived beyond the pale of civilization, found vent in [the] bloodletting" after Culloden.[293] It is this bloodletting, the treatment of the Scottish like animals and savages, that Smollett lays at the feet of the English. Smollett's narrator carries this idea forward by reducing the Ximians, "those animals," to mere "heads" of cattle, valuable only as butchered parts. This comparison also reinforces the image of Cumberland as "The Butcher." This characterization and treatment of the Scottish as merely animals in *History of an Atom* is designed to trigger the same revulsion in the reader as the thought of feeding on their viscera. By combining the spectacle of execution with the butchering of cattle, Smollett attacks the dehumanization of this violence by drawing attention to the human bodies on both sides of it. In the reader's presumed rejection of the reduction of people to animals set for slaughter, Smollett reclaims the humanity of the

[293] W.A. Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the 45*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 147.

Scottish.[294]

Clearly the initial emotion and criticism Smollett expressed in 1746 continued to resurface throughout his career, keeping his promise from the final stanza of *Tears of Scotland*. His anger at Cumberland's brutality[295] lingered on, but, as I've indicated, this anger only encouraged Smollett's promotion of reconciliation through Anglo-Scottish Union. While Smollett's resentment and criticism of the violent aftermath of Culloden in *Tears of Scotland* could be read as anti-English, a closer examination shows that his disappointment is a result of his belief in Anglo-Scottish Union. Smollett's criticism is at the mistreatment of Scotland by *fellow* Britons. Scotland has its own identity distinct from England, yes, but Smollett does not isolate that identity. In his pointing to "civil rage and rancour" rather than "foreign arms," Smollett makes clear his belief that this was not a war between different nations but an internal national struggle. A civil war requires civil reconciliation at the end, which Smollett would go on to promote in his first novel, *Roderick Random*, published just two years after Culloden.

From the very first sentence of *The Adventures Roderick Random* (1748), Smollett establishes an emphasis on the Union as an inextricable part of the narrative. Random, our protagonist and narrator, begins his tale with his birthplace: "I was born in the northern part of this united kingdom."[296] Although both Random and Smollett are proudly Scottish, Random's

---

[294] It is worth noting that Smollett continues his characterization of the Scottish by also drawing attention to how many Scots "are but poorly fed in their own country." This evokes in some ways Samuel Johnson's famous definition for "oats": "A grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people." Again, we see the comparison of the Scottish to animals, but also the poverty and hunger those people must experience. Where Johnson is perhaps seeking a cheap laugh, Smollett is reflecting the reality of the hunger in Scotland.

[295] Smollett was not alone in this lasting impression of Cumberland. As an indication of his enduring infamy, despite initially being heralded as Britain's savior, *BBC History Magazine* named Cumberland the "worst Briton" of the 18th century. "'Worst' Historical Britons List." BBC News. December 27, 2005. Accessed April 03, 2017. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4561624.stm>.

[296] Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, Introduction and notes by James G. Basker, Paul-Gabriel Boucé, Nicole A. Seary. Ed. by O M Brack, Jr. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 17. All citations for this text from this edition.

place of birth is not Scotland, but the north of "this united kingdom." Leith Davis argues that Smollett's use of the phrase "united kingdom" here is ironic and merely highlights a problematic "construction of language."[297] With Smollett, ironic satire is a fair assumption, but I challenge this reading. Smollett, as Davis also suggests, is attempting to negotiate a national identity after the Forty-Five, but where he sees an ambivalent and tenuous Scottish/British identity, I argue Smollett is attempting to renegotiate a (re)unified British identity. Random is not Scottish first and foremost, but a Briton. Smollett does not even distinguish it as "North Briton" but the "northern part" of the United Kingdom. Even the use of the word "this" to describe the kingdom places an emphasis on the Union. It is a shared kingdom.

Smollett's choice to open the novel in this way—in this place, with these words—is not accidental but a carefully calculated rhetorical move. Smollett is fully aware that his Scottish protagonist is not the archetypal hero, purely because of where he is from. Random is perhaps the first Scottish protagonist in a novel—a distinction notable enough that Smollett felt the need to justify this choice in his preface to the novel:

> It now remains to give my reasons for making the chief personage of this work a North Briton, which are chiefly these: I could, at a small expense, bestow on him such education as I thought the dignity of his birth and character required, which could not possibly be obtained in England, by such slender means as the nature of my plan would afford. In the next place, I could represent simplicity of manners in a remote part of the kingdom, with more propriety than in any place near the capital; and lastly, the disposition of the Scots, addicted to travelling, justifies my conduct in deriving an adventurer from that country.[298]

Even in this justification Smollett is careful to identify the hero as "a North Briton" rather than explicitly label him as a Scot. Random cannot just be Scottish, a fellow Briton, but his origins must be defended and justified by the author.

---

[297] Davis, *Acts of Union*, 68.
[298] *Random*, 4-5.

Shrewdly, Smollett, in defending his choice of protagonist, highlights the character of Scottishness in a positive light. Being Scottish especially justifies Random's education. A man of similar means in England would not be likely to acquire an education which would include Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, let alone be trained in medicine. While not explicitly a dig at England, Smollett emphasizes the superiority in Scotland's education available "by such slender means." The titular hero of Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), a supposed foundling with no claim to anything has to rely on the benevolence of Squire Allworthy to achieve a similar education. The "simplicity of manners" such a character would need is a result of the "remoteness" from London, which does not require being from Scotland.[299] But Smollett also plays into his audience's expectations and stereotypes regarding the Scots. Smollett uses this stereotype in part to draw attention to anti-Scottish prejudice and the frequent need for Scots to travel to find work and income because of the "outsider" status Scotland often has in Britain.[300] Even though there are many travelers in the story from all over the kingdom, Smollett uses this stereotypical "disposition" of his countrymen as part of his justification for a Scottish character. The protagonist as itinerant traveler, however, was already well established as a trope in other picaresque tales, romances, and novels. Again, Fielding's Tom Jones, although coming after Roderick Random, also travels through England without the precondition of being Scottish. Smollett's hero doesn't need to be a Scot to travel, so this justification is somewhat weak rationalization. Before the novel begins Smollett is already drawing upon Scotophobic tropes in order to refute their validity and to build his satire.

Perhaps, however, the choice to make Random Scottish is merely to suit the

[299]For example, Samuel Richardson's Pamela is from Bedfordshire while Frances Burney's Evelina is from Dorsetshire. Of course, a character need not even be from outside of the city to have a simplicity of manners, as Sarah Fielding's David Simple is from Ludgate-Hill in the heart of London.

[300] Davis, *Acts of Union*, 68.

autobiographical elements of Smollett's tale, as some have pointed out.[301] This makes a certain amount of sense. Smollett is Scottish and borrowing heavily from his own experiences to compose his first novel, so it would follow that his hero would be like him. But this is surely not sufficient explanation. Random doesn't need to be a ship's surgeon to end up in Cartagena, so his education and training isn't necessary to get him to some of the same places in the novel. His simplicity of manners could be accomplished in a number of other ways. Smollett offers several justifications for his use of a Scottish protagonist, but none were absolutely necessary in terms of the plot. It would have been easier, or perhaps less controversial to "delicate" readers, to make Random from the Midlands, for example. The very need (or at least the appearance of such a need) of the justification indicates the choice to make Random a Scot is part of Smollett's negotiation of Anglo-Scottish union and identity.

Roderick Random's Scottishness is not an authorial expedient; it is the point. In his preface Smollett goes out of his way to justify his hero's native country not to dismiss the issue but to bring it to the reader's attention. Random's Scottishness is an essential part of Smollett's themes and satire. Smollett's preface begins as an explanation of the novel as a "satire" embedded in "the course of an interesting story" that rings true to nature. Smollett goes on to explain his aims for the novel: "I have attempted to represent modest merit struggling with every difficulty to which a friendless orphan is exposed, from his own want of experience, as well as from the selfishness, envy, malice, and base indifference of mankind." Random is meant to be liked, though he has his flaws (a source of satire and humor itself) and sympathized with in his struggles and difficulties. It is, as Juliet Shields notes, a risk in the shadow of the Forty-Five not just to make the protagonist Scottish but to also ask readers to be "prepossessed" in his

[301] Scholars such as Jerry Beasley and John Skinner, among others.

favor and "espouse his cause" in order to learn from his struggles.[302] By explaining the satirical goals of his story and then justifying his reasoning for creating a Scottish protagonist, Smollett creates a clear link between these ideas. Random's Scottishness helps serve the satire of everything else. Although the Scots are not spared Smollett's satirical gaze, Random's Scottishness enable a critique of "the selfishness, envy, malice, and base indifference" of the English. If we are meant to sympathize with Random's "modest merit struggling," we must also sympathize with the fact that his nationality is a major factor in that struggle.

A significant factor in the reader's sympathies for Random is the barrage of Scotophobia he encounters in almost every interaction with English characters. Smollett uses these instances of Scotophobia to satirize the discrimination and casual xenophobia Smollett and his peers faced, before and after the Forty-Five. We are not meant to just be outraged by Random's mistreatment at the hands of others nor simply sympathetic to the injustice of his experiences, however. Smollett envisions *Roderick Random* as a satire meant to be "improving" to the reader according to his preface. Smollett explains in this preface that readers of satires like his, cloaked in an entertaining tale, are more likely to be attached to the hero: "he [the reader] espouses his [the protagonist] cause, he sympathises with him in his distress, his indignation is heated against the authors of his calamity [. . .] the contrast between dejected virtue and insulting vice appears with greater aggravation, and every impression having a double force on the imagination, the memory retains the circumstance, and the heart improves by the example."[303] The reader, through their sympathy for Random, should "retain the circumstances" of his misfortune and become better for it. The reader should reject the "insulting vice" represented in their own lives, be it their own behavior or someone else's. One of these "vices" is Scotophobia. This satire of

[302] Juliet Shields, "Tobias Smollett, Novelist: Brutish or British?" *Oxford Handbooks Online.* 2015, 6 Dec. 2018.
[303] *Random*, 3.

Scotophobia is meant to point out its absurdity and reinforce Smollett's theme of a united kingdom.

We know Scotophobia is being satirized because it is only expressed by those we are meant to scorn. Random's entrance into London sees him immediately greeted by this kind of Scotophobia. When asking for directions he and Strap are damned as "lousy Scotch Guard," immediately applying the common Scotophobic association with Scots/Scotland as lice-ridden and lice-like. Then the two Scots are intentionally splattered with mud by a passing coach, before getting into a bar fight when a man accosts them (to the laughter of others) and asks what's in Strap's knapsack: "Is it oatmeal or brimstone, Sawney?" Sawney is a common derogatory name given to Scots, while the oatmeal and brimstone refers to both the poverty of stereotypical Scottish diets and the Otherness of Presbyterianism. Later the same day, when asking for directions, the two Scots are sent on a wild goose chase by a footman who sends them in search of a pub called "Thistle and Three Pedlars," a clear dig at their Scottishness. The thistle, of course, is a regular symbol for Scotland but is regularly featured in anti-Scottish rhetoric as a metonym for Scots due to its prickly nature. The "pedlar" is also a recurring Scotophobic trope, which the editors of the Georgia edition relates to the peddler being "a pejorative stereotype of Scots [. .] suggesting a seedy, itinerant trader."[304] As explained in Chapter One, however, the peddler is also a common trope in antisemitic discourse of the era, linking the Scottish Other to the Jewish Other. It is only when they find a snuff-shop with the "sign of the Highlander," that they find someone willing to offer them honest direction. This all occurs in their first day in London.

[304] James G. Basker, Paul-Gabriel Boucé and Nicole A. Seary. Introduction and Notes to *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, by Tobias Smollett, ed. O M Brack, Jr (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2012) 407-8, n. 14.

We see this again when Random goes before a panel at Surgeon's Hall when seeking a ship's surgeon commission. One of his interrogators, when informed that Random was born in Scotland, declares, "we have scarce any other countrymen to examine here—you Scotchmen have overspread us of late as the locusts did Egypt."[305] This same person shortly after declares that Random's medical training is insufficient and "an affront upon the English." Finally, he is contemptuously dismissed by the panel at his request for change from his payment: "another threw me five shillings and sixpence, saying, I should not be a true Scotchman if I went away without my change." We see in this exchange several common anti-Scottish tropes, all of which also parallel antisemitic tropes. Again, we have the imagery of infestation and plague with the comparison of the Scots to "locusts" "overspreading" the country—not just Surgeon's Hall—like Egypt. These plagues are of course associated with the Hebrew Exodus. Even the word "countrymen" is scornful in this context. Random is not a *fellow* countryman but implicitly a *foreign* countryman. There is also an implication of Random being from the "country" rather than the city. He, in his Scottishness, poverty, and rurality, is an "affront" to the English—inferior before the implicit superiority of the Englishmen who make up the panel. This sense of superiority is false, however, as we are shown through their own ignorance and bias when they ask Random questions like how he would save a man "with his head shot off." We should be frustrated by them but amused by their own stupidity and foolhardiness. We also see a common accusation against Random for his penny pinching in his request for change. His request for change, of course, is perfectly reasonable, but it is used as a condemnation of the Scottish. The Scottish are often painted as exceedingly poor, but also as miserly skinflints in Scotophobic rhetoric, again mirroring antisemitic rhetoric.

[305] *Random*, 86.

Some, like Davis, might argue these abuses further highlight the difficult position of the Scot within the Union and imply Smollett's ambivalence toward a "united" British identity. I argue, however, that these scenes—while portraying the demeaning abuses Scots like Random and Smollett no doubt faced—serve to reinforce the theme of the need to renegotiate a unified Anglo-Scottish identity. Smollett in fact took pains to avoid or erase things from the text that might underscore division and replaces them with symbols of Union. For example, as noted by the editors throughout the Georgia edition, Smollett continued to remove divisive elements from the text in subsequent editions, including changing an inn's name to the "Union Flag" (from the "Sampson and the Lion") and omitting a passage where Narcissa states "she would never desire to live in any other part of the world" in reference to Edinburgh.[306] Given these efforts, the Scotophobia Random faces is not meant to highlight divisions but to reject them. The reader is meant to scorn these people and feel angry at the injustice shown our hero. By this point we are (presumably) "prepossessed" in favor of Random and sympathetic to his suffering because we have followed him through trouble and injustice already. When faced with accounts of such inhospitality by the English their sympathies should be further inflamed. Importantly, however, the reader is also meant to "improve" from these feelings of empathy, as Smollett notes should be the result of satire. The envisioned reader, presumably English, sympathizes with Random, but may also see themselves in his antagonists. The improvement doesn't come from feeling the injustice but recognizing the sources of those injustices. It is especially important that essentially all divisive rhetoric is directed *at* Scots by the English (and some Scots) but not *from* Scots at the English.

The English are not alone in their Scotophobia, however. Several Scottish characters in

[306] Basker et al, *Roderick Random*, xxxii, 598.

the novel also participate and buy into Scotophobic rhetoric in varying degrees. For example, Strap's friend who lives in London is a teacher of languages, but specializes in "pronunciation of the English tongue."[307] Later in the novel, Strap tells Random this schoolmaster "has undertaken to teach you the pronunciation of the English tongue, without which, he says, you will be unfit for business in this country."[308] The schoolmaster promotes a rhetoric of assimilation, of fitting in to be able to succeed. Random's Scottish accent is deemed unacceptable and marks him as an outsider. The irony, however, is that much of the schoolmaster's speech is "unintelligible." A point emphasized by Smollett's comical phonetic rendering of his speech.

The teacher also insists that Random part with his "carroty locks" and procure a periwig. The red hair of Scots is another stereotype that is used to racialize the Scottish as Other, but it is also a stereotype associated with Jews at this period. Jewish men are often described as having red beards. Red hair is also associated with Judas Iscariot, the disciple that betrayed Jesus (who is often depicted in art as stereotypically Jewish). The emphasis on Random's red hair from the schoolmaster draws attention to how this physical marker sets Random outside of Englishness (and implicitly associates him with the perennial Other, "The Jew"). This is not the first mention of Random's hair. When he first arrives in London and is assaulted in an ale-house his is grabbed by the hair which had just before had been described to the reader for the first time as being "of the deepest red."[309]Although Random assumes the assaulter identifies him and Strap as Scottish "by our dialect," there is an implied connection between Random's red hair and his accent.

[307] *Random*, 72.
[308] *Random*, 94.
[309] *Random*, 68.

His clothes also are connected to his red-headed Otherness, as well. The schoolmaster is also shocked by his dress, which was first detailed by Random when he first notes his hair color: "I had dressed myself to the greatest advantage; that is, put on a clean ruffled shirt, and my best thread stockings [. . .] and the skirts of my coat reached to the middle of my leg; my waistcoat and breeches were of the same piece, and cut in the same taste; and my hat very much resembled a barber's basin, in the shallowness of the crown and narrowness of the brim."[310] This description of his clothing matters, as Roxann Wheeler argues that clothing and dress was a "crucial" means by which Europeans defined themselves and the Other as key to "the constitution of religious, class, national, and personal identity."[311] Random's clothes mark him as an outsider, a country bumpkin, despite him thinking he is dressed to his "greatest advantage." His clothing, too, is reminiscent of the clothing stereotypically associated with Jews in the eighteenth century, which was traditionally depicted as a long black coat and broad hat. This implicit connection is underscored by the schoolmaster's reaction to Random's clothes: "Dress (answered he) you may caal it fat you please in your country, but I vaw to Gad 'tis a masquerade here. No christian will admit such a figure into his hawse. [. . . Y]ou are like a cousin-german of an Ouran Outang."[312] Again, we see a connection between Random's "carroty locks" and his Otherness, by being compared to the first cousin to an orangutan. The implication, of course is that Random is barely human. It is his dress, however, that would preclude him from a Christian home. "Christian" is conflated with "civilized" and "proper" in the schoolmaster's exclamation, which in turn lumps Random outside that circle, again associating Scottishness with Jewishness. The irony, of course, is that the schoolmaster himself,

[310] *Random*, 68.
[311] Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 17
[312] *Random*, 72.

is wearing "a night-gown of plaid, fastened about his middle with a serjeant's old sash, and a tie-periwig with a fore-top three inches high, in the fashion of king Charles the Second's reign," marking him also as outdated and Other in his sixty-year-old fashion.[313] The plaid and association with Charles II also link to the teacher's Scottishness, even while describing Scotland as "your country" to Random.

An obvious figure of ridicule, wearing outdated clothes and an outdated periwig, this Scot has internalized Scotophobia and feels the need to teach pronunciation of English to fellow Scots and promote assimilation. Davis argues that, as Random himself seems to be able to successfully "hide" his origins later in the novel (such as when he is employed as a servant by Narcissa's family), that Smollett suggests this tactic of assimilation. The ridiculousness of this schoolmaster, however, would seemingly contradict such a message. Perhaps the satire is aimed at those that fail to *properly* assimilate, but there are no other such examples. Davis is correct that Random is constantly "hiding" his identity throughout the novel, donning different personas and, as Random himself puts it repeatedly, "disguises." He even does follow (to an extent) the schoolmaster's advice and cuts his hair, gets a (modern) wig, and buys new clothes. His ability to chameleon-like adjust his persona through the various fashions he dons does imply a certain level of assimilation. As Rivka Swenson points out, however, although he seems to be the "quintessence" of Kenneth Simpson's "protean Scot," Random always remains himself underneath, "without forfeiting the dignity of [his] character."[314] Another mark against interpreting Roderick Random as supporting assimilation is the protagonist's return to Scotland. While Davis argues this return is further proof of Smollett's ambivalence toward a "united" British identity, Swenson argues Smollett "embraces the notion that Scots can operate in

[313] *Random*, 72.
[314] Swenson, *Essential Scots*, 93. Quoting *Random*, 125.

English or British or global economies without losing their identities."[315] Smollett's protagonist retains his Scottishness but is also part of a larger British identity. Random embodies Smollett's vision that allows for one to be both Scottish and British under Anglo-Scottish Union.

The schoolteacher's attempts to assimilate are rendered ridiculous because he fails to be either English or Scottish. His overexaggerated pronunciation of English and outdated clothes means he is not authentically English, but he also rejects his Scottish identity. On the other hand, Random (and even Strap) is able to negotiate a British identity while remaining Scottish. We are meant to laugh at the language teacher and his ridiculous attempt to erase his Scottishness. That being said, this is an interesting satirical moment that does highlight the ambivalence Davis reads in these moments as Smollett simultaneously acknowledges the prevalence of Scottish teachers/tutors in England and mocks those that would seek to erase their Scottishness. This ambivalence is heightened when we acknowledge that Smollett himself sought to reduce and eliminate Scotticisms from his (and others') writing. These efforts were not Smollett's alone, however, as several prominent Scottish writers (most notably Adam Smith and David Hume) also strove to eliminate Scotticisms from written English. These writers justified their practice as part of their larger efforts toward Anglo-Scottish Union.[316] While a unified (written) language may help such a union, these attempts illustrate the strength of internalized anti-Scottish rhetoric even to those who'd oppose and mock such rhetoric,

We see additional internalized Scotophobia in the figure of Mr. Cringer, the member of parliament to whom Random is sent as a means of proper introduction into the city and the Naval Office. Cringer doubts that Random will be successful, however, saying, "there being

[315] Swenson, *Essential Scots*, 95.
[316] James G. Basker, "Scotticisms and the Problem of Cultural Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 15, no. 1-2 (1991): 81-95.

already such a swarm of Scotch surgeons at the Navy Office, in expectation of the next vacancy, that the commissioners are afraid of being torn to pieces, and have actually applied for a guard to protect them."[317] Again we see traditional anti-Scottish imagery—speaking of the Scots as a "swarm" and implying a violent temperament that would require protection. Cringer, like the schoolmaster, is meant to be mocked. It is revealed that, although he is currently a member of parliament, he used to be a footman to Random's grandfather. His clearly spiteful treatment of Random is designed to elicit scorn and derision from the reader, but his use of similar language used by the panel at Surgeon's Hall is also telling. He has benefited in some ways from a system of institutionalized Scotophobia and perpetuates this hegemonic order. Both Cringer and the language teacher enact an anti-Scottish dominant structure of feeling.

Smollett satirizes this Scotophobic rhetoric by putting it into the mouths of fools, cheats, hypocrites, and pompous jerks to emphasize the cruelty and absurdity of it all. Despite his foibles, Random remains sympathetic to the reader in the face of this Scotophobia. Random does himself, however, fulfill many of the common stereotypes: he is a traveler, usually broke, a surgeon who travels south to London, joins the military, etc. Smollett deploys these traits, however, to make the point that these are *not* elements to scorn or ridicule. Random is not the figure being satirized but those that would use these stereotypes against him are. Smollett plays with these expectations intentionally to "contrast between dejected virtue and insulting vice" with the hope that the "heart" of the reader "improves by the example." Random is not especially exceptional—he is smart, honest, and capable, but he is not ultimately that much smarter, more honest, or more capable than others. The only thing that sets him somewhat apart is his family's status, which he is mostly excluded from. As Rivka Swenson points out,

[317] *Random*, 77.

"[Random] is not unique, but is instead an individual example of a type. Roderick in his desperation is thus emblematic."[318] Random (as his name implies) could be any Scot. Sympathy for him, therefore, is sympathy for those for whom is a stand-in. Random is not meant to represent "one of the good ones" but just another "one." Smollett takes the negative implications of stereotypes in order to manipulate the reader's understanding of those types. Random's presence as the hero and his embodiment of prominent Scottish stereotypes displays the dominant structure of Scotophobia while also representing an emergent structure of acceptance and union. Again, Smollett does not call Random a "Scotchman"—the term used in the rest of the novel, mostly by English characters derisively—but a "North Briton." Random, like the expected reader, is British first. By framing Random as a fellow Briton—despite his Scottishness— not as a foreigner but as a fellow countryman, Smollett establishes a theme of reconciliation and union in the wake of the Forty-Five.

Despite the novel's closeness to the Forty-Five, and its events potentially overlapping with the uprising, however, it is surprising that there is no mention of the conflict in *Roderick Random* (1748). We have seen from *The Tears of Scotland* (1746) (and Smollett's later works) that he never forgot about the Forty-Five and Culloden, so its absence from the novel is notable. The absence of the Forty-Five helps develop Smollett's theme of ameliorative union, as its inclusion would only remind the reader of recent divisions.

Because the novel does not include any specific dates, it can be hard to pin down the timeline of Random's adventures. This vagueness of time in the novel means we cannot place these events with any real certainty. There are some spots where we can make informed guesses, however. The most important detail that ties Random's timeline to reality is the Battle

[318] Swenson, *Essential Scots*, 76.

of Cartagena vividly described in the novel and based on Smollett's own experiences in this conflict. Random's/Smollett's naval service occurred during the War of Jenkins' Ear between the British and the Spanish and the British attack on Cartagena was a major moment in that campaign. Random describes the attack on the fort of San Luis at Boca Chica Castle, which occurred in March 1741. Despite some initial success, the campaign was a disaster for the British who retreated to Jamaica at the beginning of May 1741. Random (and Smollett) was involved in the entire Cartagena Expedition, so we know definitively that the events of the novel take place in the years before and after 1741. From this solid shore, however, we must wade into the treacherous waters of speculation and guesswork.

While we might be tempted to read *Roderick Random* as semi-autobiographical based on the inclusion of the Cartagena chapters, we should be cautious on how much we rely on Smollett's timeline to offer insight into Random's. We may, however, find some parallels useful. Smollett himself returned to England in September 1741 after an illness and some time spent in Jamaica after the battle at Cartagena.[319] We can deduce that Random likewise would have returned to England in September 1741 based on some details in his narration: Random returned to Jamaica in May 1741, then spent a few weeks sick with the "terrible distemper" (yellow fever), then spent a few more weeks in Jamaica before being transferred to another ship, sailed within a week, then shortly thereafter was put ashore with the sick and wounded for at least ten days, before setting sail for England on a seven-week voyage. All these weeks put together would add up to approximately three to four months after mid-May, i.e., August or September.

When he gets to England, he is robbed and abandoned by his crew mates after a

[319] Kenneth Simpson, "Smollett, Tobias George (1721–1771), writer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008, Retrieved 6 Dec. 2018.

shipwreck and soon finds himself in the service of his future wife, Narcissa, where he "remained eight months in the station of a footman."[21] After leaving Narcissa's service and being kidnapped by smugglers to France, Random then spends approximately seven months in France before being reunited with his friend Strap. During this time in France, Random enlists with the French army and sees action at the Battle of Dettingen, which occurred in June 1743.[320] From there, time gets harder to track, but he spends months here and there attempting to find a rich wife, before reuniting with his uncle, Captain Bowling, and joining him on a trade ship for a voyage of six months to Africa, then on to the West Indies again, where he meets his long-lost father. After further adventures and further weeks in the West Indies, Random makes an eight-week voyage home to England, sets out to find and marry Narcissa. After all his adventures Random finally settles back in his family home in Scotland.

Again, if we add up all the months and weeks and days mentioned in the narrative, we can estimate that another two or three years have passed, meaning when Random settles down at last it is at least 1744 or '45. This aligns somewhat with Smollett's own adventures, returning to England in 1744 after spending time and getting married in Jamaica. Smollett's wife did not join him until 1747, however, the year he also began composing *Roderick Random*. Also, just as Roderick notes that Narcissa shows signs of pregnancy at the end of the novel, Smollett's wife Ann would have been in a similar situation in 1747 with their daughter, Elizabeth.[321] So, does

[21] *Random*, 208.

[320] British forces at the Battle of Dettingen were led by George II himself and the battle is where the Duke of Cumberland first saw military action and was wounded in the battle. It is interesting that Smollett places his protagonist in direct opposition to these two men fighting on the side of their enemy. Smollett seems to include a bit of a jab at the Hanoverian royals, suggesting that battle may have gone disastrously for their allied troops because (according to Random) they had overruled John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair the commander of the allied forces. The allies won the battle, but the outcome could easily have been otherwise. Lest we fear that Random is not a true Briton, after the battle when his French compatriots boast about their own success, he does the same on behalf of the English troops.

[321] We know Elizabeth was born in 1747 or '48, as she sadly died at the age of 15 in 1763.

Roderick's "felicity" at the conclusion of the book occur in 1744, before the Forty-Five uprising, or in 1747, a year after Culloden? This question, while having no real bearing on the plot of the novel, matters to Smollett's thematic motivations. If the former year, Smollett is returning his hero to Scotland at a time that would associate him with the wrong side of the uprising. As a clear Unionist throughout the novel, we may assume Random would side against the Jacobites. Yet we also know that Random is a loyal Scot and already joined an enemy force when he briefly enlisted in the French military so contemporary readers certainly could not rule out the possibility he would join Charles Edward Stuart's campaign. If the latter year, Random leaves the conflict—a conflict that would have impacted him in several ways as a Scot—unmentioned.

Regardless of the timeline, however, the absence of the Forty-Five is quite telling. In *Roderick Random*, the Forty-Five is rendered invisible—unseen, unheard, and unacknowledged—but it is still present. This invisible uprising, an event no doubt still fresh in the minds of both Smollett and his readers, haunts the novel, floating just at the edge of the reader's peripheral vision. With the novel being written in 1747 and published in 1748, the uprising becomes conspicuous in its invisibility.

Smollett's avoidance of any explicit or implicit mention of the Forty-Five and the Jacobites, especially in connection to Scotland, is part of his larger thematic goal of Union. To acknowledge or resurrect the ghost of the uprising would only further inflame the divisions between the Scottish and the English. As we've noted, his use of a Scottish hero and bitter representation of Scotophobia in the novel serve to reinforce a sentiment of British union. Although Random resents any prejudice from the English towards his native land, he resents just as equally any such prejudice from foreigners toward Britain and the British. For example,

while in France (and serving in the French military), Random gets into an argument with his French sergeant over politics. The sergeant says unflattering things about the notoriety of the English "insolence to their kings." Roderick jumps to England's defense, exclaiming, "every man has a natural right to liberty; that allegiance and protection are reciprocal; that, when the mutual tie is broken by the tyranny of the king, he is accountable to the people for his breach of contract, and subject to the penalties of the law; and that those insurrections of the English, which are branded with the name of rebellion by the slaves of arbitrary power, were no other than glorious efforts to rescue that independence which was their birthright, from the ravenous claws of usurping ambition."[322] Tellingly, Random speaks of "glorious" rebellions, implying the Hanoverian succession being lawful and just, and the limits upon a (Catholic) absolute monarch as necessary. The denigration of the Britain leads Random to duel with the Frenchmen, just as he once boxed with an Englishman shortly upon arriving in London for accosting Strap and calling him "Sawney."

The absence of the uprising in the novel also serves to distance Scotland and the Scottish—including the protagonist—from any possible association with the Jacobites and the Stuarts. If Smollett has intentionally selected a Scot as his hero to garner sympathy for the Scots, as I argue he does, even the whiff of Jacobitism would sabotage this plan. As noted before, Smollett hopes readers might be "prepossessed" in Random's favor as a character and "espouse his cause." An English (and most likely a Scottish) audience is not likely to be prepossessed in favor of Random, or the Scottish overall, if there is any association with recent divisions. In fact, the only hints at the existence of Jacobites come in two brief mentions of "the Pretender," both in dismissive contexts. The first comes from Random's uncle, Captain

[322] *Random*, 223.

Bowling, who confronts a Scottish priest who seems to be attempting to convert Random. Bowling declares, "I meddle with nobody's affairs but my own; [. . .] I trust to no creed but the compass, and do unto every man as I would be done by; so that I defy the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender; and hope to be saved as well as another."[323] Bowling, in the same breath, lumps together three traditional "threats" to the British, including the Pretender, James Francis Edward Stuart. Bowling implicitly denounces Jacobitism with this dismissal. The Scottish priest living in France is likely a Jacobite himself—but he is not dismissed for this. Despite the offense he takes at the association of the Pope with the Devil, he and Bowling reconcile, and the priest continues to help Random. Such religious and political differences are not, according to the text, sufficient to create division between honest individuals.

The Pretender is mentioned again only briefly when Random is courting the wealthy Melinda. After drawing the attention of the public, Random's friend Banter informs him of the swirling rumors surrounding him. Among being suspected (correctly) of being a treasure-hunter, he is also suspected of being a Jesuit or "an agent from the Pretender."[324] Both are likely based purely on Random's Scottishness, but neither suspicion is dwelt upon or taken seriously. They are presented as absurd by Banter (and Smollett), keeping the distance between his protagonist and the uprising. The absence of the Forty-Five is also surprising from the author of *The Tears of Scotland* (1746), who proclaimed he would never forget what happened. This rhetorical shift from angry resentment to avoidance and reconciliation, however, is enacting an emergent structure of feeling calling for ameliorative union. Smollett avoids the specter of the divisive Forty-Five so he can focus the reader's attention instead on reconciliation through Union.

[323] *Random*, 216.
[324] *Random*, 250.

This theme of reconciliation through Union is an important aspect of much of Smollett's work, including his first novel, *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748), and his final novel, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), to reform/renegotiate Scottish identity under a larger British identity of Anglo-Scottish Union following the Forty-Five. In both novels, Smollett avoids the subject of the Forty-Five and recrimination and instead reimagines political Union through marriage. *Roderick Random* ends with Random marrying his love, Narcissa, and returning to Scotland with her and his father to reclaim his ancestral home. Random and Narcissa's marital union between a Scottish man and English woman mirrors the political Union between the nations. Importantly, Random only finds true happiness through union (and economic stability), and Smollett implies that such is the case for the country as well. Political union, like marital union, comes with it a need to move beyond what came before. Random's reflection that "The impetuous transports of my passion are now settled and mellowed into endearing fondness and tranquillity of love, rooted by that intimate connection and interchange of hearts which nought but virtuous wedlock can produce" applies equally to the union between Scotland and England as it does his own happy marriage. Where before there was "impetuous" passion in the form of political, military, and economic struggles between the two nations—with plenty of ups and downs, much like Random experienced—there is now "tranquillity" and "intimate connection." This double union of "virtuous wedlock" between individuals and countries is underscored and consummated with the imminent birth of Roderick and Narcissa's child—a child of both of Scottish and English heritage—much like *Roderick Random* itself.

It is also important that Narcissa joins Random in Scotland, rather than him settling in England with her. This, as Swenson points out, "inverts" the stereotype of the southbound

itinerant Scot.[325] It is the Scottish Random, who was born after his mother had a dream of a tennis ball, who is able to provide for his disowned English wife. Narcissa chooses Scotland, and Random remarks she "so well pleased with the situation of the place, and the company around, that she has not, as yet, discovered the least desire of changing her habitation."[326] Davis argues that the "as yet" indicates the "fragility" of the union—both the marital and political.[327] I argue , however, that this "as yet" underscores the flexibility the couple has to move freely about Britain because of the strength of a Union that also preserves distinct national identity. Such freedom is reinforced when just a bit later in the text Random explains they may be able to recover Narcissa's fortune, at which news he writes, "I would have set out for London immediately" but for the fact that Narcissa is showing signs of pregnancy which he hopes will "crown [his] felicity."[328] Neither Random nor Narcissa are held in any one place but are able to cross the borders freely. Swenson argues a similar point, noting that the novel does not conclude as a "Scottish-separatist pastoral" nor does it merely make Random "British," but instead concludes in "pragmatic" fashion.[329] Swenson also points out that Random's happy ending is a global affair, relying on the wealth his father—now Don Rodrigo—accumulated in South America, his English wife, and his globe-trotting experiences and connections.[330] Random is no longer forced to travel—he has the stability of wealth and family—but he is free to do so because of that same stability of union.

Smollett repeats this theme of marital and political union in his final novel, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771). In this novel, Welsh squire Matthew Bramble and his

[325] Swenson, *Essential Scots*, 90.
[326] *Random*, 366.
[327] Davis, *Acts of Union*, 69.
[328] *Random*, 368.
[329] Swenson, *Essential Scots*, 95.
[330] Swenson, *Essential Scots*, 95.

family tour Great Britain in a quest aid the suffering Bramble's gout. They move from Wales through England, stopping in London and Bath, and then into Scotland and Edinburgh, before all settling back at home in Wales. Along the way the family accrues the titular Humphry Clinker (who is revealed to be Bramble's son from a youthful indiscretion), the Scottish veteran Lismahago, and Lydia's (Bramble's niece) lover, George Dennison, and Bramble's friend Baynard. The novel ends with a series of weddings that, like Roderick Random's, reenact the Union. Humphry Clinker, son of Wales and England, marries the Welsh the maid Winifred Jenkins, the Welsh Lydia Melford marries the English gentleman George Dennison, and the Scottish Lismahago marries Bramble's sister Tabitha. The younger folks plan to return to Bath while Bramble, Baynard, and the older couples intend to return home to Wales, although it is implied the others will all join them there. Smollett uses these marriages between the Welsh, Scots, and English characters as s symbolic representation of the tri-partite Union between the three nations. They all come together to form a single, if somewhat disjointed, family, but retain their own identities. Lismahago, the Scottish veteran of American wars, a wayward and itinerant Scot, and Baynard and English gentleman fallen on hard times after an ill-fated marriage, are to be taken with the family to Wales, implying the transplantability of all Britons. All of the characters are able to move freely from place to place within Britain, and that movement and interaction with each other brings them all great wealth, happiness, and stability. Their familial and friendly union is a representation of the benefits of an ameliorative Union following the divisions of the Forty-Five.

Smollett keeps returning to this theme of ameliorative Union in his work and seems to believe it is the key to moving the British nation forward and prevent the kind of "civil rage and rancor" of Culloden he describes in the *Tears of Scotland* (1746). Although Union is not the

sole focus of his work, it is clearly central to much of Smollett's thinking. Even in his most bitter and harsh novel, *The History and Adventures of an Atom* (1770), wherein he lambasts and satirizes most of the events of the middle decades of the eighteenth century, Smollett indicates how reconciliation and Union may have prevented much of it. This theme is visible even in Smollett's work as chief propagandist for the ministry of John Stuart, Earl of Bute under George III. Smollett was brought to be the editor of a weekly paper supporting the Bute administration and respond to opposition attacks. The paper was titled *The Briton* (May 29, 1762 – February 12, 1763), which, according to Byron Gassman, is an allusion to George III's pronouncement he "gloried in the name of Briton."[331] While this may be part of Smollett's rationale, given his history and the language he used in past works, it seems like a strong statement about the kind of Union identity he hoped to promote in the weekly paper—much like Henry Fielding sought to demonstrate appropriate patriotism with his propaganda paper, *The True Patriot* (1745-1746). The best evidence for this assumption is the epigram of the first issue of *The Briton*, credited to Cicero. The lines, translated from the Latin by Gassman, read: "I have always intended to bring forth policies for the republic that would seem just and useful; this I will do especially at this time when if we establish harmony among us, having cast off strife and contempt, we shall both be safe ourselves and able to save others despite themselves."[332] While the inclusion of this

[331] Byron Gassman, Introduction and Notes to *Poems, Plays, and The Briton*, by Tobias Smollett, Edited by O M Brack, Jr (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 230.

[332] Gassman, Introduction and Notes to *Poems, Plays, and The Briton*, 477. Gassman notes that the passage does not appear in modern editions of Cicero. The only appearance of the passage seems to be from an "Oratio" called "De Pace" in a collection of Cicero's complete works from 1748-1749, in the tenth volume under a section labelled "Orationes Suppositae" (or "supposed orations"). "De Pace" does not seem to appear anywhere else, let alone attributed to Cicero. Nevertheless, the fact that Smollett includes it, and attributes it to Cicero, in an indication of the value he wished to imbue the passage with. Original in can be found in Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera quae supersunt omnia. Ad fidem optimarum editionum diligenter expressa. Voluminibus XX*. Vol. 10. Glasguae: in aedibus academicis excudebant Rob. et And. Foulis, Academiae Typographi, M.DCC.XLIX. [1749] [1748-49]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed March 25, 2020). <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0114982569/GDCS?u=avl_auburnu&sid=GDCS&xid=ad8768db>

epigram is most immediately in response to opposition papers against George III and Bute, it encapsulates Smollett's philosophy toward the Union as represented in his literary works. The goal of Union is to "establish harmony" between nations so that both may save themselves *and* each other. After the "strife and contempt" of the Forty-Five, Smollett used his work to promote a vision of ameliorative Anglo-Scottish Union and a shared British identity which retains distinct national identities that strengthen the whole.

Conclusion – After the Forty-Five

On August 15, 1822, King George IV disembarked from his ship the *Royal George* anchored in the Firth of Forth in Leith, just outside Edinburgh, becoming the first British monarch to visit Scotland in two centuries. The visit to Scotland had been organized by Sir Walter Scott, the Scottish author of many celebrated historical novels, including *Waverly* (1814) and *Rob Roy* (1817), which romanticized the Highlanders and Jacobites of the previous century. The royal visit was an enormous spectacle and Scott orchestrated the event as a showcase of Scottish national character, which included the wearing of tartan kilts and playing of bagpipes.[333] On Saturday, August 17, the King held a levee at which he appeared, according to the *Caledonian Mercury* of August 19, "superbly dressed in Highland costume, with trews of the Stuart tartan [. . .] and the manly and graceful figure of his Majesty was finely displayed in this martial dress."[334] This image of the fourth Hanoverian monarch, resplendent in "Stuart" tartan, as seen in Scottish artist David Wilkie's portrait from 1829 [Figure 3], brought together the Jacobite and the Hanoverian into one person. For Scott, this was a fulfillment of his own contradictory feelings, for he was at heart a Jacobite but at mind a loyalist Whig:

> Seriously I am very glad I did not live in 1745 for although as a lawyer I could not have pleaded Charles's right and as a clergyman I could not have prayed for him yet as a soldier I would I am sure against the convictions of my better reason have fought for him even to the bottom of the gallows. But I am not the least afraid nowadays of making my feelings walk hand in hand with my judgement though the former are Jacobitical, the latter inclined for public weal to the present succession.[335]

Scott was very keen to bring these two oppositional ideologies together, declaring in an

---

[333] In many ways this visit is credited with the creation of what is seen as Scottish historical character.

[334] *Caledonian Mercury*, August 19, 1822. *British Library Newspapers* (accessed June 12, 2020). <https://link-gale-com.nls.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/BB3205385044/BNCN?u=nlibscot&sid=BNCN&xid=68f09a3a>

[335] Quoted in J. C. D. Clark, "The Many Restorations of King James: A Short History of Scholarship on Jacobitism, 1688–2006," in *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad*, ed. Monod Paul Kléber, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 9-56.

Figure 3: "George IV" (1829) by David Wilkie. Portrait of George IV in Royal Stuart tartan, as he appeared on August 17, 1822. From The Wellington Collection, Apsley House. Copyright English Heritage.

anonymous pamphlet published before George's arrival, "King George IV comes hither as the descendant of a long line of Scottish Kings. The blood of the heroic Robert Bruce—the blood of the noble, the enlightened, the generous James I is in his veins. Whatever honour Worth and Genius can confer upon Ancestry, his Scottish Ancestry possesses."[336] By tying George's

[336] Walter Scott, *Hints Adressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, and others, in Prospect of His Majesty's visit. By an Old Citizen* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, Waugh and Innes, and John Robertson, 1822).

ancestry to James I and VI, a Stuart king, Scott attempted to draw a straight line between the Stuart and the Hanover lines. This claim is founded on fact, but is stretching the truth a bit: George I (1660-1727), who was George IV's (1762–1830) great-great-great-grandfather, was the grandson of Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662), Electress of the Palatinate and Queen of Bohemia, who was the daughter of James I and VI (1566–1625). In other words, George IV was six generations removed from the Stuart family line. In 1822, some went so far as to claim that George IV was himself the fulfillment of the Jacobite cause. According to the *Edinburgh Observer*, with the death of the last direct Stuart descendant, Henry Benedict Stuart (Charles Edward Stuart's brother and the last grandson of James II and VII), in 1807, George IV was the rightful Jacobite heir and inherited the Stuart "mantle."[337]

George's appearance in a tartan "Highland costume"—clothing that had been banned in Scotland after the Forty-Five by the Act of Proscription 1746 until its in 1782—was not just a show of solidarity with his Scottish subjects, then, but a sartorial appropriation of the Stuart and Jacobite legacies. His "costume" echoes Charles Edward Stuart's wearing of Scottish plaids at key moments during the Forty-Five. It is also no coincidence that George wore "Royal Stuart/Stewart" tartan that recalls the tartan pattern supposedly worn by the Stuarts, as seen worn by Charles Edward Stuart in a portrait by William Mosman (c. 1750) [Figure 4].

George IV's visit and the accompanying pageantry and spectacle were carefully orchestrated as symbolic of the strength of the Anglo-Scottish Union. The threat of the Jacobite risings and the savage Highlanders were now safely contained in romance. The banned attire and weapons of the Highland clans, such as the basket-hilted broadsword in the portrait of George IV, were now props of the Lowland and English elites, symbols of a romantic tradition

[337] John Prebble, *The King's Jaunt: George IV in Scotland, August 1822* (London: Collins, 1988), 206.

now subsumed by the prevailing hegemonic order. Scott's celebration of Scottish national identity and its merging with Hanoverian and Whiggish British identity in the body of George IV is a culmination of sorts of the aftermath of the Forty-Five explored in this dissertation.

This project has traced how Scottish and English writers actively attempted to renew a sense of Anglo-Scottish Union and shared national identity in the immediate aftermath of the

Figure 4: "Prince Charles Edward Stuart, 1720 - 1788. Eldest son of Prince James Francis Edward Stuart." (c.1750) by William Mosman. Portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart as a young man in Stuart tartan and Jacobite white cockade. From National Galleries of Scotland.

Forty-Five. Through a theoretical lens of nation, 'race,' identity, and ideology, I demonstrated a shift in the discourse regarding the Scottish and their place in the Union from negative and antagonistic before Culloden to generally positive and ameliorative immediately after in texts from 1745-1750. Despite the fractious effects of the conflict, I have shown that, as a site of ideological crisis for the Scottish, the English, and the Union, the Anglo-Scottish Union was ultimately strengthened by the conflict of the Forty-Five and the literary negotiation of Scottish and British identities by contemporary British writers immediately following Culloden. While my study builds on the existing conversation of Anglo-Scottish Union and identity—especially the work of scholars such as Rivka Swenson, Juliet Shields, Murray Pittock, Linda Colley, Lisa Freeman, Evan Gottlieb, and many others—my development of Scotophobia as a heuristic for examining Anglo-Scottish national identity is an important intervention.

In this study, I have demonstrated how influential contemporary magazines, the late works of Henry Fielding, and the early works of Tobias Smollett all participated in the literary and cultural negotiation of Anglo-Scottish national identity and their direct connection to the Forty-Five. Using the theoretical lenses of frame analysis and Scotophobia, I traced the shifting rhetoric in how Scottishness and Anglo-Scottish Union are framed in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, *The London Magazine*, and *Scots Magazine* during the Forty-Five. These periodicals moved from generally anti-Scottish/anti-Jacobite (with the London-based magazines especially relying on Scotophobic tropes) during the Forty-Five to more reconciliatory texts looking to reclaim, reform, and rehabilitate the Scottish under the Union immediately after the Rising. These periodicals are naturally put in conversation with Henry Fielding's political pamphlets, periodicals, and fiction (including *Tom Jones*, 1749) published between 1745 and 1749, wherein he deploys what I term "strategic Scotophobia" to uphold a vision of Protestant and Whiggish

hegemonic order. Fielding's works, like the periodicals, shows a similar shift in rhetoric and focus as the Rising progressed and then receded into the recent past. I then juxtapose Fielding's work during this period with Tobias Smollett's earliest published works, the poem *The Tears of Scotland* (1746) and the novel *Roderick Random* (1748), which promote a vision of ameliorative Anglo-Scottish Union and a shared British identity after the strife of the Forty-Five. Smollett, responding to the anti-Scottish sentiment expressed by the monthly magazines and authors like Fielding, used Scotophobic tropes to highlight the absurdity of such sentiment and reinforce a shared British identity. By putting these very different texts and authors into conversation with each other, I have shown how central the Forty-Five was in the discursive negotiation of Anglo-Scottish identity in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Although my study has only focused on the Forty-Five and its immediate aftermath (1745-1750), the 76 years between the Battle of Culloden and George IV's visit saw the continued literary and cultural negotiation of Anglo-Scottish national identity shaped by the specter of the Forty-Five. It is not entirely a coincidence that the Scottish Enlightenment truly began in earnest in the 1750s. Whiggish history may have attempted to diminish the Forty-Five in the memory of the world, but the last Jacobite Rising had an enormous impact on the British literary and political landscape. Beyond influencing of so much of the works of Henry Fielding and Tobias Smollett in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the impact of the Forty-Five extends into the twenty-first century. This impact can be seen in the literary and cultural negotiation of Scottish and British identities within an Anglo-Scottish—and later an Anglo-Scoto-Irish—Union throughout the last 275 years. The examination of the literary negotiation of Anglo-Scottish Union in this dissertation, especially the application of Scotophobia as an analytical lens, could be extended in future projects to other periods and other sites of

ideological, national, political, or military tension—including George IV's visit to Scotland, the Union with Ireland of 1800, the Jacobite Rising of 1715, the American and French Revolutions, Margaret Thatcher's disastrous Community Charge (the so-called "poll tax") of 1989, and the Scottish independence referendum of 2014.

The logical extension of the work of this dissertation is an examination of the continued attempts to negotiate Scottish identity within the British Union carried on a decade after Culloden in the burgeoning Scottish Enlightenment of the 1750s. The early Scottish Enlightenment before and immediately after Culloden focused on celebrating Scottish culture (and perhaps a sense of Scottish "exceptionalism"). Quickly, however, the discourse of David Hume and his contemporaries in the Select Society were also strongly focused in aligning Scottish identity with English/British identity. We can see this in the John Home's play *Douglas* (1756),[338] as well as the efforts of Hume, Adam Smith, and Hugh Blair in the fields of rhetoric/*belle lettres* and literary criticism. While *Douglas* is mostly ahistorical and apolitical, presenting an imagined Scotland of the past, Home's tragedy presents a paradoxical Scottish identity. It is sidestepping recent political events, but cannot help but create connections for the audience. The characters refer to a previous civil war within Scotland, and Lady Randolph bemoans civil wars as unnatural: "War I detest: but war with foreign foes,/ whose manners, language, and whose looks are strange, / is not so horrid, nor to me so hateful, / as that which with our neighbors oft we wage. / A river here, there an ideal line, / By fancy drawn divides the sister kingdoms."[339] Such speeches hint at the need for Union between sister kingdoms (such as

[338] Home's tragedy was first performed in Edinburgh on 14 December 1756 after being rejected by David Garrick for the London stage. After it's critical and commercial success in Scotland, Garrick invited Home to stage it in London.

[339] John Home, *Douglas: A Tragedy*. In *John Home's Douglas: A Tragedy: With Contemporary Commentaries*, ed. Ralph McLean (Glasgow: Humming Earth, 2010) 8.

England and Scotland separated only by an "ideal line"), and in the play only tragedy ensues from infighting and betrayal. Boosted by David Hume and many others as an emblem of high art, *Douglas* was a major success in Edinburgh before also being staged in London.[340] It was also a source of great controversy in Scotland where conservatives within the Presbyterian Church of Scotland railed against the play as immoral. Much of the scholarship surrounding *Douglas* examines this controversy. In particular, Ralph McLean's edition of Home's play includes numerous contemporary commentaries on the play from the production's ensuing pamphlet war. The controversy, as Mclean notes, was a result of the growing divide between the Moderate and orthodox clergy in the Kirk, a divide in part riding on the different opinions about the pursuit of "polite literature."[341] Lisa Freeman carries this argument forward that the Douglas controversy was not an isolated incident, but instead "a point of culmination in a decades-long struggle between orthodox factions of the Scottish kirk and the secular and secularizing forces of the Scottish Enlightenment."[342] *Douglas*, in its literary, nationalist, and secular ambitions, became an important ideological apparatus in the development of a Scottish identity in harmony with a united British identity.

We see similar efforts in the work of Home's friends and associates in the Select Society, a social club whose members included David Hume, Adam Smith, Alexander Carlyle, Lord Kames, and several other prominent Scottish Enlightenment figures. Their collaborations over the decades helped shape literature, language, natural philosophy, and economics, throughout the western world. Several of these men, including Home, also served as volunteers

[340] Lisa Freeman, "The Cultural Politics of Antitheatricality: The Case of John Home's Douglas, *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*, 43.3 (2002), 210.
[341] Ralph Mclean, Introduction to *John Home's Douglas: A Tragedy: With Contemporary Commentaries*, ed. Ralph McLean (Glasgow: Humming Earth, 2010) xiii.
[342] Lisa Freeman, *Antitheatricality and the Body Public* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017) 151.

in militias opposing the Jacobite advancements through Scotland during the Forty-Five, and all experienced the Rising and its aftermath. In the decade after the Forty-Five, members of the Select Society (founded in 1754) like Adam Smith, John Home, and David Hume were now in positions to help shape and promote a proud Scottish identity while simultaneously promoting assimilation into a more Anglicized British identity. In particular, in the decade after of the Forty-Five, we see the rise of the promotion of rhetoric and *belle lettres*. Charles Jones points out that the "pronounced Scotophobia" following the Forty-Five created an abhorrence for the Scottish and their language, leading to the suppression of that language. Importantly, he notes, "some of the most ardent proposers and supporters of an English Academy where the linguistic rectitude of 'correct' English would be maintained, were Scotsmen – Smollett, Kames, Hugh Blair, Adam Smith and Hugh Robertson."[343] I would argue, however, that the efforts by esteemed lecturers of rhetoric and *belle lettres*—Smith, Hume, and Blair—to suppress Scots language in favor of the "standardized" English of London, Oxford, and Cambridge, was not about eliminating a Scottish identity, but creating a more uniform British identity represented in a shared and uniform language. It is also important to note the way these men shifted rhetoric from a classical focus on invention and *oration* to a modern focus on belletristic *written* rhetoric. It seems logical that for individuals kept on the margins of a greater British literati for their "foreign" speech that they would emphasize a rhetoric of the written word, where all can stand on a level field as Britons. Ian Duncan demonstrates a similar point by identifying Smith's rhetoric as a "cultural technology" toward the fashioning of a "metropolitan identity," an identity the constitutes the "modern subject as a *reader*."[344] The rhetorical and belletristic turn

[343] Charles Jones, *A Language Suppressed: The Pronunciation of the Scots Language in the 18th Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1995), 2.
[344] Ian Duncan, "Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson and the Institutions of English," in *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, ed. by Robert Crawford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 41-42.

within the Scottish Enlightenment was a means to promote a more unified British identity after the divisions of the Forty-Five.

While ironically ushering in a new period of what Eric Rothstein calls "Scotophilia," George IV's visit to Scotland was not the last word on Anglo-Scottish Union nor Scotophobia. The monarch's visit came just two years after the so-called "Radical War," also known as the Scottish Insurrection of 1820, a week of strikes, marches, and political unrest in Scotland calling for electoral, political, and economic reforms. Ten years after George's visit the Scottish Reform Act of 1832 was passed (joining the Reform Act of 1832 in England and Wales), which expanded the Scottish electorate from 5,000 to 65,000.[345] Such an increase in the electorate meant a greater percentage of Scottish representation in Parliament, once again adjusting the terms of Anglo-Scottish Union. Anglo-Scottish relations, what it means to be "Scottish," and what it means to be "British" continue to be highly contested ideas, making any further understanding of the roots of these issues all the more important. In light of recent historical events, such as the Scottish independence referendum and Brexit, the work of understanding these roots all the more important. This dissertation seeks to offer a bit more to that understanding.

[345] Rab Houston, *Scotland: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford Univ Press, 2009), 26.

Bibliography

Allen, Theodore. The Invention of the White Race. 2 vols. Introduction and notes by Jeffrey B. Perry. London: Verso, 2012.

Althusser, Louis. *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006.

Andrews, Corey. "'The Glory and the Nothing of a Name': Sources of Charles Churchill's Scottophobia." *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer* 29, no. 1 (March 2015): 35–43.

Aravamudan, Srinivas. *Enlightenment Orientalism: Resisting the Rise of the Novel*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Bakhtin, M.M. "Discourse in the Novel," *The Dialogic Imagination*, Translated by Michael Holquist, Austin, Texas: Univ. of Texas Press, 1981.

———. *Speech Genres and other Late Essays*. Translated by Vern W. McGee. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1986.

Balakrishnan, Gopal, ed. *Mapping the Nation*. London: Verso, 2012.

Basker, James G. "Scotticisms and the Problem of Cultural Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 15, no. 1-2 (1991): 81-95.

Basker, James G., Paul-Gabriel Boucé and Nicole A. Seary. Introduction and Notes to *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, by Tobias Smollett, Edited by O M Brack, Jr. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2012.

Battestin, Martin C. "Dr. Johnson and the Case of Harry Fielding." In *Eighteenth-century Genre and Culture: Serious Reflections on Occasional Forms: Essays in Honor of J. Paul Hunter,* edited by Dennis Todd and Cynthia Wall. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001.

———. General Introduction and Notes to *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*, by Henry Fielding. 2 vols. Edited by Fredson Bowers. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1975.

Battestin, Martin C., and Ruthe R. Battestin. *Henry Fielding: A Life*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Beasley, Jerry C. "Tobias Smollett: The Scot in England." *Studies In Scottish Literature* 29, (1996): 14-28.

———. *Novels of the 1740s*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982.

Beatty, Aidan and Dan O'Brien, eds. Irish Questions and Jewish Questions: Crossovers in Culture. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2018.

Benchimol, Alex. "For 'the PROSPERITY OF SCOTLAND': Mediating National Improvement in the Scots Magazine, 1739-49." *Studies in Scottish Literature* 39, no. 1 (2013): 82–103.

Bertelsen, Lance. *Henry Fielding at Work: Magistrate, Businessman, Writer*. New York: Palgrave, 2000.

Black, Jeremy. *Geographies of an Imperial Power: The British World, 1688-1815*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018.

Block, Sharon. *Colonial Complexions: Race and Bodies in Eighteenth-Century America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

Boas, Franz. "Race and Progress." *Science* 74, no. 1905 (1931): 1-8. Accessed February 27, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/1657119.

Boucé, Paul-Gabriel. *The Novels of Tobias Smollett*. Trans. Antonia White. London: Longman, 1976.

Breuilly, John. "Nationalism and the State." In *Nations and Nationalism: A Reader*, edited by Phillip Spencer and Howard Wollman, 61-73. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005.

Broadie, Alexander, Editor. *Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

———. *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age and the Historical Nation*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001.

Brown, Iain Gordon, and Hugh Cheape. *Witness to Rebellion: John Maclean's Journal of the 'Forty-Five and the Penicuik Drawings*. East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 1996.

Bruce, Donald. *Radical Doctor Smollett*. Boston: The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1965.

Buck, Howard Swazey, *Smollett as Poet*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1927.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York, Routledge, 1990.

Campbell, Jill. *Natural Masques: Gender and Identity in Fielding's Plays and Novels*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Carlyle, Alexander *The Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk*. W. Blackwood and Sons, 1860.

Carnell, Rachel. “It's Not Easy Being Green: Gender and Friendship in Eliza Haywood's Political Periodicals.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 2 (1998): 199-214.

———. *Partisan Politics, Narrative Realism, and the Rise of the British Novel*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Cave, Edward, Editor. *The Gentleman's Magazine*. London: 1745-46-.

Choi, Inhwan. “The Scot in Empire: A Study of Smollett's *Roderick Random* and *Humphry Clinker*.” *British And American Fiction To 1900* 8, no. 2 (2001): 229-254.

Clark, J. C. D. “The Many Restorations of King James: A Short History of Scholarship on Jacobitism, 1688–2006.” Essay. In *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad*, edited by Monod Paul Kléber, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010: 9-56.

Claydon, Tony and Ian McBride, eds. *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Cleary, Thomas R. “Henry Fielding and the Great Jacobite Paper War of 1747-49.” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 5, (1978): 1-11.

———. *Henry Fielding, Political Writer*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1984.

Codr, Dwight. *Raving at Usurers: Anti-finance and the Ethics of Uncertainty in England, 1690-1750*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016.

Cole, Mike. *Racism: A Critical Analysis*. London: Pluto Press, 2016.

Coley, W. B. Introduction and Notes to *The Jacobite's Journal and Related Writings*, by Henry Fielding. Edited by W. B. Coley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.

Conway, Alison. *The Protestant Whore: Courtesan Narrative and Religious Controversy in England, 1680-1750*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Daiches, David. *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth-Century Experience*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Davidson, Jenny. *Breeding: A Partial History of the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Columbia

Univ. Press, 2009.

Davis, Leith. *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation, 1707-1830*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Davison, Carol Margaret. *Anti-Semitism and British Gothic Literature*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Day, Robert Adams. Introduction and Notes to *The History and Adventures of an Atom*, by Tobias Smollett, Edited by O M Brack, Jr. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Dean, Ann C. "Court Culture and Political News in London's Eighteenth-Century Newspapers." *ELH* 73, no. 3 (2006): 631–649.

Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. 3rd ed. New York: New York University Press, 2017.

Diangelo, Robin. *White Fragility: Why It's so Hard for White People to Talk about Racism*. London: Allen Lane, 2019.

Douglas, Aileen. *Uneasy Sensations: Smollett and the Body*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Downie, J. A. "Authorial Contexts: Connections Between Fielding's Novels and His Legal and Journalistic Writing." In *Approaches to Teaching the Novels of Henry Fielding*, edited by Jennifer Preston Wilson and Elizabeth Craft, 48-53. New York, NY: Modern Language Association of America, 2015.

———. *A Political Biography of Henry Fielding*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Drake, George A. "Historical Space in the 'History of': Between Public and Private in *Tom Jones*." *ELH* 66, no. 3 (1999). 707-737.

Duhaime, Douglas. "Between Excess and Inanition: Tobias Smollett's Medical Model of the State." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 26, no. 4 (2014): 565-591.

Duncan, Ian. "Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson and the Institutions of English." In *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, edited by Robert Crawford, 37-54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Eagleton, Terry. *Ideology: An Introduction*. New York: Verso Books, 2007.

Entman, Robert M. "Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication*, 43, no. 4 (1993): 51–58.

Eriksen, Thomas. “Ethnicity and Nationalism.” In *Nations and Nationalism: A Reader*, edited by Phillip Spencer and Howard Wollman, 135-148. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005.

Ewen, Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen. *Typecasting: On the Arts and Sciences of Human Inequality*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2008.

Felsenstein, Frank. *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Festa, Lynn. *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Fielding, Henry. *A Dialogue Between a Gentleman of London, Agent for Two Court Candidates, and an Honest Alderman of the Country Party*. London: Printed for M. Cooper, 1747. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, (accessed February 15, 2020). <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0104351140/GDCS>.

———. *A Dialogue Between the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender*. London: Printed for M. Cooper, 1745. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, (accessed February 26, 2020). <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0103982678/GDCS>.

———. *A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain. In Which the Certain Consequences of the Present Rebellion, Are Fully Demonstrated. Necessary to be Perused by Every Lover of his Country, at this Juncture*. London: Printed for M. Cooper, 1745. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, (accessed February 26, 2020). <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0105762080/GDCS>.

———. *The History of the Present Rebellion in Scotland. From the Departure of the Pretender's Son from Rome, Down to the Present Time.* London: Printed for M. Cooper, 1745. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, (accessed February 26, 2020). <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0104656882/GDCS>.

———. *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*. 2 vols. Edited by Fredson Bowers and Martin C. Battestin. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1975.

———. *The Jacobite's Journal*. *The Jacobite's Journal and Related Writings*, Edited by W. B. Coley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

———. *The True Patriot: And the History of Our Own Times*, Edited by Miriam Austin Locke. New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1975.

Fisher, Carl. “Mob Rules: Henry Fielding’s Developing Sense of the ‘Fourth Estate.’” In *Sustaining Literature: Essays on Literature, History, and Culture, 1500-1800: Commemorating the Life and Work of Simon Varey*, edited by Greg Clingham, 195-210.

Cranbury: Bucknell University Press, 2007.

Fitzmaurice, Susan. "*The Spectator*, the politics of Social Networks, and Language Standardisation in Eighteenth-Century England." In *The Development of Standard English: 1300-1800; Theories, Descriptions, Conflicts*, edited by Laura Wright, 195-218. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006.

Fleming, Kelly. "The Politics of Sophia Western's Muff." *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 31, no. 4 (Summer 2019): 659–84.

Fletcher, Angus. *Comic Democracies: From Ancient Athens to the American Republic*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016.

Forbes, Robert. *The Lyon in Mourning: Or, A Collection of Speeches, Letters, Journals, Etc. Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart.* Edited by Henry Paton. 3 vols. Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1895-1896.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.

Freeman, Lisa A. "The Cultural Politics of Antitheatricality: The Case of John Home's Douglas." *Eighteenth Century: Theory And Interpretation* 43, no. 3 (2002): 210-235.

———. *Antitheatricality and the Body Public*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.

Gassman, Byron. Introduction and Notes to *Poems, Plays, and The Briton*, by Tobias Smollett, Edited by O M Brack, Jr. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Glassman, Bernard. *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes Without Jews*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1975.

———. *Protean Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in England's Age of Reason*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998.

Goffman, Erving. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Boston: Northeastern Univ. Press, 2010.

Goldberg, David Theo. *The Racial State*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Goldgar, Bertrand A. "Fielding on Fiction and History." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 7, no. 3 (1995). 279-292.

———. "Fielding, Politics, and 'Men of Genius.'" In *Henry Fielding (1707-1754): Novelist, Playwright, Journalist, Magistrate: A Double Anniversary Tribute*, edited by Claude

Rawson, 257-270. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008.

———. “Fielding's Periodical Journalism.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Henry Fielding*, 109-121. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Gottlieb, Evan. “'Fools of Prejudice': Sympathy and National Identity in the Scottish Enlightenment and Humphry Clinker.” *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 18, no. 1 (2005): 81-106.

———. *Feeling British: Sympathy and National Identity in Scottish and English Writing, 1707–1832*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Prison Notebook*s, edited by Joseph A. Buttigieg. New York, NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 2011.

Grant, Damian. *Tobias Smollett: A Study in Style*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977.

Guthrie, Neil. T*he Material Culture of the Jacobites*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991.

Harris, Bob. *A Patriot Press: National Politics and the London Press in the 1740s*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001.

Hart, Francis Russell. *The Scottish Novel: From Smollett to Spark*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.

Harvie, Christopher. *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707-1994*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Hawkesworth, John. “[John Hawkesworth], review of *Adventures of an Atom*.” *Tobias Smollett: The Critical Heritage*. Compiled and edited by Lionel Kelly. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987. 203-205.

Heng, Geraldine. *England and the Jews: How Religion and Violence Created the First Racial State in the West*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Herman, Arthur. *How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of How Western Europe’s Poorest Nation Created Our World & Everything in It*. New York, NY: MJF Books, 2001.

Home, John. *Douglas: A Tragedy*. In *John Home’s Douglas: A Tragedy: With Contemporary*

Commentaries, Edited by Ralph McLean. Glasgow: Humming Earth, 2010.

Houston, Rab. *Scotland: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford Univ Press, 2009.

Hudson, Nicholas. "Social Contexts: Politics, Law, Religion, Class, and Gender." In *Approaches to Teaching the Novels of Henry Fielding*, edited by Jennifer Preston Wilson and Elizabeth Craft, 138-145. New York, NY: Modern Language Association of America, 2015.

Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*. London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2015.

Irvine, Robert P. *Enlightenment and Romance: Gender and Agency in Smollett and Scott*. Oxford, England: Peter Lang, 2000.

Jobling, Mark A., Rita Rasteiro, and Jon H. Wetton. "In the Blood: The Myth and Reality of Genetic Markers of Identity." *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 39, no. 2 (2016): 142–61. doi:10.1080/01419870.2016.1105990.

Jones, Charles. *A Language Suppressed: The Pronunciation of the Scots Language in the 18th Century*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1995.

Jones, Richard J. *Tobias Smollett in the Enlightenment: Travels through France, Italy, and Scotland*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2011.

Kauanui, J. Kēhaulani. "'A Structure, Not an Event': Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity." *Lateral* 5, no. 1 (2016). doi:10.25158/L5.1.7.

Kaul, Suvir. *Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Postcolonial Studies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.

Kidd, Colin. *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Kimber, Isaac, Editor. *The London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*. London: Printed by C. Ackers for J. Wilford, 1745-46.

Kirke, Thomas. *A Modern Account of Scotland; Being an Exact Description of the Country, and a True Character of the People and Their Manners. Written from Thence by an English Gentleman. To Which is Added, a Poem on the Same Subject; Very Proper to be Bound Up with the New Memoirs of Scotland*. London: Printed for J. Roberts, 1714. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, (accessed February 26, 2020). <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0103191661/GDCS>. Accessed 26 Feb. 2020.

Kuypers, Jim A. "Framing Analysis from a Rhetorical Perspective," In *Doing News Framing*

Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives. Edited by Paul D'Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers. New York, NY: Routledge, 2010: 286-311.

———, ed. *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2009.

———, ed. *The Art of Rhetorical Criticism.* Boston: AllynBacon, 2005.

Leissner, Debra. "Smollett Colonizes Scotland: Displacement and Absorption in *Humphry Clinker*." In *The Eighteenth-century Novel*, edited by Alberto J. Rivera, George Justice, and Margo Collins, 161-178. New York: AMS Press, 2001.

Leuschner, Eric. "Sophia's Smile: Reading Jenny Cameron in the Margins of Tom Jones." In Approaches to Teaching the Novels of Henry Fielding, edited by Jennifer Preston Wilson and Elizabeth Craft, 138-145. New York, NY: Modern Language Association of America, 2015.

Lincoln, Andrew. "War and the Culture of Politeness: The Case of The Tatler and The Spectator." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 36, no. 2 (January 2012): 60–79. DOI: 10.1215/00982601-1548036.

Lipking, Lawrence. "The Jacobite Plot." ELH 64, no. 4 (1997): 843-855.

Lockwood, Thomas. "Henry Fielding (1707-1754): The Comic Epic in Prose." In *The Cambridge Companion to European Novelists*, 72-88. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Loftis, John E. "Trials and The Shaping of Identity in *Tom Jones*." *Studies in the Novel* 34, no. 1 (2002): 1-20.

Lutz, Alfred. "Representing Scotland in *Roderick Random* and *Humphry Clinker*: Smollett's Development as a Novelist." *Studies In The Novel* 33, no. 1 (2001): 1-17.

MacInnes, Allan I. "Jacobitism in Scotland: Episodic Cause or National Movement?" *The Scottish Historical Review,* 86, no. 222 (2007): 225-52.

Mack, Douglas S. *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.

Mann, Annika. "Waste Management: Tobias Smollett and Remediation." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 25, no. 2 (2012-13): 359-382.

Manning, Susan. *Fragments of Union: Making Connections in Scottish and American Writing*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Martz, Louis L. *The Later Career of Tobias Smollett*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.

McCrea, Brian. *Henry Fielding and The Politics of Mid-Eighteenth-Century England*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1981.

McGirr, Elaine M. *Eighteenth-Century Characters: A Guide to the Literature of the Age*. Basingstoke (Hampshire): Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

McLean, Ralph. Introduction to *John Home's Douglas: A Tragedy: With Contemporary Commentaries*, Edited by Ralph McLean. Glasgow: Humming Earth, 2010.

Meurmann-Solin, Anneli. "Change from Above or Below? Mapping the *loci* of Linguistic Change in the History of Scottish English." In *The Development of Standard English: 1300-1800; Theories, Descriptions, Conflicts*, edited by Laura Wright, 195-218. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006.

Mohanram, Radhika. *Imperial White: Race, Diaspora, and the British Empire*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Monod, Paul Kléber. *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

———. "*Tom Jones* and the Crisis of Whiggism in Mid-Hanoverian England." In *"Cultures of Whiggism": New Essays on English Literature and Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century*, edited by David Womersley, Paddy Bullard, and Abigail Williams, 268-296. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.

Morgan, Megan Stoner. "Speaking with a Double Voice: John Home's Douglas and the Idea of Scotland." *Scottish Literary Review* 4, no. 1 (2012): 35-56.

Morris-Reich, Amos and Dirk Rupnow, eds. *Ideas of 'Race' in the History of the Humanities*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Murphy, Michael. "Marriage as a Metaphor for the Anglo-Scottish Parliamentary Union of 1707: The Example of Humphry Clinker." *Etudes Ecossaises* 3 (1996): 61-65.

Nisbet, Michael C. "Knowledge Into Action: Framing the Debates Over Climate Change and Poverty," In *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*. Edited by Paul D'Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers. New York, NY: Routledge, 2010: 43-83.

Paxman, David. "*Tom Jones* and the Paradox of Moral Purpose." In *The Eighteenth-century Novel*, edited by Alberto J. Rivera, George Justice, and Margo Collins, 113-136. New York: AMS Press, 2001.

Pentland, Gordon. "'We Speak for the Ready': Images of Scots in Political Prints, 1707-1832." S*cottish Historical Review*, 90:1 (2011): 64-95.

Pitcher, E. W. “Problems with Eighteenth-Century Periodicals: *The Monthly Miscellany*,” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 80, no. 2 (1986): 233-237.

Pittock, Murray G.H. “Jacobite Literature and National Identities.” In *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, Edited by David J. Baker and Willy Maley. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

———. *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997.

———. *Jacobitism*. London: MacMillan Press, 1998.

———. *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

———. “The Culture of Jacobitism.” In *Culture and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*, Edited by Jeremy Black. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.

———. *Culloden: (Cùil Lodair)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Plank, Geoffrey. *Rebellion and Savagery: The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Potter, Tiffany. *Honest Sins: Georgian Libertinism and the Plays and Novels of Henry Fielding*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2014.

Powell, Manushag N. “Eliza Haywood, Periodicalist(?).” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14, no. 4 (2014): 163-186.

———. “Parroting and the Periodical: Women's Speech, Haywood’s Parrot, and Its Antecedents.” *Tulsa Studies In Women's Literature* 27, no. 1 (2008): 63-91.

———. *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-century English Periodicals*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2014.

Prebble, John. *The King's Jaunt: George IV in Scotland, August 1822*. London: Collins, 1988.

Rader, Ralph W. “*Tom Jones*: The Form in History.” In *Ideology and Form in Eighteenth-Century Literature*, edited by David H. Richter, 47-74. Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1999.

Reese, Stephen D. “Prologue - Framing Public Life: A Bridging Model for Media Research,” in Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World. Edited by Stephen D. Reese, Oscar H. Gandy and August E. Grant. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003: 7-32.

Rhodes, Neil. “From Rhetoric to Criticism.” In *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, edited by Robert Crawford, 22-36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Richardson, John. “Atrocity in Mid Eighteenth-Century War Literature.” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 33, no. 2 (2009): 92-114.

Richetti, John. “Ideology and Literary Form in Fielding’s *Tom Jones*.” In *Ideology and Form in Eighteenth-Century Literature*, edited by David H. Richter, 31-46. Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1999.

Riding, Jacqueline. *Jacobites: A New History of the Jacobite Rebellion*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2016.

Rothstein, Eric. “Scotophilia and Humphry Clinker: The Politics of Beggary, Bugs and Buttocks.” *University Of Toronto Quarterly: A Canadian Journal Of The Humanities* 52, no. 2 (1982): 63-78.

———. *Systems of Order and Inquiry in Later Eighteenth-Century Fiction*. Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1975.

Scheuermann, Mona. “Visions and Revisions: The Feminist Rewriting of the Eighteenth-Century Novel.” In *Talking Forward, Talking Back: Critical Dialogues with the Enlightenment*, edited by Kevin L. Cope and Rüdiger Ahrens. New York, NY; AMS; 2002.

Scott, Walter. *Hints Adressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, and others, in Prospect of His Majesty’s visit. By an Old Citizen*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, Waugh and Innes, and John Robertson, 1822.

Seth, Suman. *Difference and Disease: Medicine, Race, and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Shields, Juliet. “Smollett’s Scots and Sodomites: British Masculinity in *Roderick Random*.” *Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 46, no. 2 (2005): 175-88.

———. *Sentimental Literature and Anglo-Scottish Identity, 1745-1820*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Simpson, Kenneth. *Protean Scot: The Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth Century Scottish Literature*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988.

Smollett, Tobias George. *The tears of Scotland*. [Edinburgh?]: n.p., [1746?]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (accessed January 30, 2020). <https://link-gale-com.spot.lib.auburn.edu/apps/doc/CW0112908801/GDCS?u=avl_auburnu&sid=GDCS&xid=66464952>.

———. *A Complete History of England*. London: printed for James Rivington and James Fletcher, 1757.

———. *Continuation of the Complete History of England*. By T. Smollett, M.D. Vol. 1, printed for Richard Baldwin, at the Rose in Paternoster-Row, MDCCLXIII. [1763] 1762-65. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0100677745/GDCS?u=aubu72210&sid=GDCS&xid=b5a68d5b. Accessed 21 Feb. 2020.

———. *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, Edited by O M Brack, Jr. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2012.

———. *The Briton*. In *Poems, Plays, and The Briton*, Edited by Byron Gassman and O M Brack, Jr. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

———. *The History and Adventures of an Atom*, Edited by O M Brack, Jr. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

———. *The Letters of Tobias Smollett*, Edited by Lewis M. Knapp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

———. *The Tears of Scotland*. In *Poems, Plays, and The Briton*, Edited by Byron Gassman and O M Brack, Jr. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Sommerville, C. John. *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Speck, W. A. *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the 45*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981.

Spector, Robert D. *Smollett's Women: A Study in an Eighteenth-Century Masculine Sensibility*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.

———. *Tobias George Smollett*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Subaltern Studies and Postcolonial Historiography," in *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*, 270-304. London: Routledge, 2014.

Stafford, William. "Representations of the Social Order in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* 1785–1815." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 33, no. 2 (2009): 64-91.

Stevenson, John Allen. "Tom Jones and the Stuarts." ELHh 61, no. 3 (1994): 571-595.

———. "Fielding's Mousetrap: Hamlet, Partridge, and the '45." *Studies in English Literature* 37:3 (1997), 553–71.

———. *The Real History of Tom Jones*. Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Stewart, Carol. "Eliza Haywood's *The Fortunate Foundlings*: A Jacobite Novel." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 37: (2013), 51–71.

Sudan, Rajani. *Fair Exotics: Xenophobic Subjects in English Literature, 1720-1853*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Swenson, Rivka. *Essential Scots and the Idea of Unionism in Anglo-Scottish Literature, 1603–1832*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2016.

Teynor, Hilary. "A Partridge in the Family Tree: Fixity, Mobility, and Community in Tom Jones." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 17, no. 3 (2005).

The London Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer. London: Printed by C. Ackers for J. Wilford, 1745-46.

The Scots Magazine. Edinburgh: Printed by Sands, Brymer, Murray and Cochran, 1745-1746.

Thomas, Donald. *Henry Fielding*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.

Varney, Andrew. "From Tennis-Ball to Fruit Tree: Smollett's Story of the Scottish Self." *Swansea Review* (1994): 549-560.

West, Cornel. "A Genealogy of Modern Racism." *Prophesy Deliverance!: An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003: 47-65.

Wheeler, Roxann. *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Wiles, Roy McKeen. *Freshest Advices. Early Provincial Newspapers in England*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1965.

Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Materialism*. New York: Verso, 2005.

Wolloch, Nathaniel. "The Civilizing Process, Nature, and Stadial Theory." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44, no. 2 (2011): 245-259.

Yadav, Alok. *Before the Empire of English: Literature, Provinciality, and Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.