GENDERED NATION: ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS IN BRITISH LETTERS
1707-1830

by

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B.A., Simon Fraser University, 1996
M.A., Simon Fraser University, 1998

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Department of English)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April 2003

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Vancouver, Canada

Date 23 April 2003.
Gendered Nation: Anglo-Scottish relations in British Letters 1707-1830
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Dissertation Abstract

My dissertation argues that national tropes are continually in a state of flux as they are employed to respond to historical, socio-political and cultural events and trends, and demonstrates that their state at a specific moment encapsulates struggles between various concepts of national identity. I trace shifts in the configuration of Anglo-Scottish relations by undertaking a microanalysis of two specific recurring tropological categories – familial and homosocial tropes – in a number of key moments in cross-border relations between 1707 and 1830.

The first chapter, directed at the years surrounding the Union of Parliaments, traces the suppression of cross-border dissonance in homosocial egalitarian tropes which define Anglo-Scottish relations in the work of pro-union pamphleteers, and contrasts this strategy of containment with the disruptive presence of familial tropes in the pamphlets of anti-union writers. The second chapter traces the reappearance of this conflict in the decade following Culloden. Roderick Random, written from the margins by Tobias Smollett, reveals a discomfort with unifying tropes, although it ends with a cursory gesture towards a national marital union. James Ramble, in contrast, written by the English Edward Kimber, deflects dissonance onto Jacobitism, suggesting through tropes of friendship that all aspects of Anglo-Scottish relations are seamlessly integrated into British unity.

Chapters three and four foreground the 1760s, a decade in which Scottish agency, in the person of Lord Bute, the Lord Treasurer, seems to reach new heights. Yet it is also a decade of rampant Scotophobia, incited by the Wilkites to undermine Bute’s authority. Tropological warfare is an important element of this rhetorical conflict. In chapters five and six, I uncover two competing concepts of Britishness, primarily created by English and Irish writers, which emerge in the 1790s. The first engages with homosocial tropes to foreground Scottish agency in nation-building and empire-building projects, but does so at the expense of a distinct Scottish culture. The second, also produced by English and Irish writers, reifies and celebrates Scottish culture through tropes of cross-border courtship, but tends to represent the emergent concept as endangered, lacking national agency. Chapter six analyzes the Scottish response to this tropological binary.
Table of Contents

Abstract ii
Table of Contents iii
Dedication iv
Acknowledgements v
Introduction 1

Chapter 1 21
Marital Discord: Anti-Union Pamphlets as Precursors to the National Tale 1706-1715

Chapter 2 79
Post-War Tropologies: Responding to Culloden

Chapter 3 126
Over her Dead Body: Female Pathos as an Instrument of National Mediation

Chapter 4 178
Tropological Warfare: Smollett, Wilkes and the Bute Dispute

Chapter 5 236
Figuring Agency, Building Nations: Britain in the 1790s

Chapter 6 308
Union as Passe: Scottish Alternatives to Traditional Tropes

Conclusion 394

Works Cited 411
For Agnes Macdonald Dunn and Marion Henderson who blazed the trail.
Acknowledgements

This work emerges from a constellation of voices to which I owe a deep debt of gratitude, the voices of scholars, colleagues, friends and family. I am deeply indebted to the constant scholarly support of my committee, Nicholas Hudson, Miranda Burgess and Leith Davis, whose intellectual brilliance, generosity with resources and time and ever-present encouragement enabled me to take an enormous mass of material and sculpt it into shape. I would particularly like to thank Leith Davis for her course in Robert Burns, out of which the seeds of this project emerged. There are many other scholars who have also inspired me over the years, too many to name here in full, but I would like to mention in particular: Pamela Dalziel and Susanna Egan, who have been a constant source of inspiration in more ways than I could possibly list here: Ian Ross, for setting aside time to work with me as I began to envision my project; June Sturrock, Alan Rudrum and Sheila Roberts who introduced me to the joy of research, and who, along with Mary Ann Gillies and Mary-Ann Stouck, offered me considerable wisdom, encouragement, support and rigorous training throughout my early years in the academy; and Chin Banerjee, Paul Delany and Betty Schellenberg, who initiated my interest in literature of the long eighteenth century.

Many friends and colleagues contributed to this project. I am particularly grateful to the English graduate study group at the University of British Columbia, who helped me to find clarity in intermittent moments of mystification. Many of their ideas and suggestions have been integrated into the completed work, although any errors are solely my own. It has been a privilege to be a member of such an intellectually lively group of scholars. I would, in particular, like to thank Karen Selesky for her willingness to read and respond to drafts and for her constant assistance in finding cutting-edge resources, Kina Cavicchioli for her meticulous stylistic advice and Andrea van Deijck for her ongoing help with obscure library references.

Most of all, I would like to thank my family – Alan, Crystal and Amethyst – for their eternal enthusiasm, energy, patience and support. Alan’s willingness to engage in vigorous debates on crucial parts of my arguments and to constantly listen as I worked and reworked the same material was invaluable. My mother, Marion Henderson, inspired this work from the beginning and my sister, Holly Nelson, provided me with a role model for academic excellence.

This dissertation could not have been completed without the SSHRC, the David Macaree Memorial Scholarship and the Gilean Douglas Scholarship. I am very grateful for the generosity of the university, SSHRC and the individual donors who enhanced my ability to research.
Introduction

Recent Critical Work on Tropes and the Nation

This book is concerned with tropological transformation within a framework of distinct power inequity between England and Scotland. It is intent on exploring the causal factors that contribute to transforming tropes and their function in formulating and re-formulating Anglo-Scottish relations between the Union and the end of the Napoleonic Wars. I hope to demonstrate in this work that national motifs, tropes and metaphors, responding to historical, socio-political and cultural events and trends, are continually in a state of flux and that their state in a specific given moment encapsulates struggles between various concepts of Anglo-Scottish identity. While particular metaphoric vehicles frequently recur, such as marriage, birth and friendship, their shape in a particular historic moment often indicates that the tenor – the perceived state of Anglo-Scottish relations – has shifted, influenced by the place and moment of production and by the socio-political position of the agents, collective or singular, who engage with the trope. Paul Monod and Murray Pittock, in their works on Jacobitism, give us examples of this transformation by comparing certain Jacobite tropes in different time periods and national regions. Monod, in his study of Jacobitism as a “system of expressions or of signs,” notes that the trope of the lost lover, while occasionally used in relation to James II, gains increasing currency when it is associated with his son, James Francis (7, 63-64). Optimistic connotations of heroism and fertility are more appropriately connected with a young man, who lacks the controversial past of his father. This optimism is heightened, as Monod points out, because the historical moment is close enough to the Glorious
Revolution to make a Stuart return seem possible, though “endlessly deferred” (68).\(^2\)

Time and circumstances transform the trope once again when it is used in relation to Charles Edward Stuart. “For all his bravado,” Monod suggests, “Charles Edward Stuart never succeeded in entering the pantheon of English folk heroes, as James Francis Stuart had through the lost lover ballads” (68). In his discussion of the lost lover trope, Murray Pittock emphasizes the influence of regional difference on the fluctuation of tropes. In Irish writing, he argues, the trope manifests itself in a very particular way, based on Irish generic and literary convention. The configuration of the lost lover centers on a feminized Irish identity rather than on the lover himself (190).

Recent criticism has emphasized the importance of tropes to the negotiation of cultural, national and political relations. These works tend to foreground the malleability of certain tropes, pointing to their appropriation by various groups for a spectrum of socio-political ends. Katie Trumpener, in her seminal work *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (1997), foregrounds the trope of the bard in a range of genres in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, noting how it is simultaneously used by “nationalist antiquaries” as a “mouthpiece for a whole society, articulating its values, chronicling its history, and mourning the inconsolable tragedy of its collapse, and also by English poets who “imagine the bard...as an inspired, isolated and peripatetic figure” (6). Srinivas Aravamudan, in *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688-1804* (1999), theorizes this mutability when he locates the tendency of tropes to “turn through various contexts” in the suppressed difference between tenor and

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\(^1\) I am not defining Scotland as a colony, although the power differential between Scotland and England after the union does make some of the categories of power common in colonial readings relevant to an analysis of Anglo-Scottish relations.

\(^2\) Here, of course, I mean a Stuart other than Mary or Anne.
vehicle, a surplus remainder that can be reappropriated by various other positions (5).

Aravamudan goes on to explain the factors involved in such tropological shifts. He notes, “I characterize motivated instances of such change within colonist contexts as tropicalizations. By motivated, I would like to suggest a gamut of causal factors, including discursive, historical and psychoanalytical determination in addition to the conscious intentions of agents” (5).³

This book focuses on such transformations – influenced by time and region – in two specific recurring tropological categories used to convey national union through private relationships: familial tropes and homosocial tropes. There has been substantial interest in recent years in familial tropes as sites on which England’s relationship with its peripheries may be negotiated, much of it conducted under the rubric of genre criticism. Critics like Katie Trumpener, Miranda Burgess, Ina Ferris and Mary Jean Corbett discuss the significance of familial power relations in the emergent national tale and historical novel, genres which frequently engage with national issues through cross-cultural romance. The generic approach has been rich and fruitful, particularly within scholarship of the Romantic period, where it has ably grappled with the complexity of intersecting relations of power, that is, the tendency of these genres to use a set of gendered power relations, marriage or romantic union, to signify national power relations and national union between the metropolis and the peripheries. Corbett, for example, referring to the connection between the subordinate social status of women and Ireland, notes that “in the

³ Franco Moretti in Signs Taken for Wonders (1988, 1997) similarly argues that “the relationship between ‘topic’ and ‘comment,’ or subject and predicate, established by metaphorical combination is never originally a ‘peaceful’ one but always implies a risky transaction between two terms” (7).
English-Irish context, gender provides perhaps the most fundamental and enduring discursive means for signifying Irish political incapacity, as in the English typing of Ireland as an alternately dependent or unruly daughter, sister, or wife” (16). In contrast to the emphasis on familial tropes there has been little work done on tropes centered on masculinity, an area this book will explore further.

Ironically, given the emphasis of my work on gender and nation, the first four chapters are centered on male writers. I would have liked to consider in more detail differences in cross-border tropology that could potentially emanate from the gender of the author, and this is something I do examine in Chapters Five and Six. However, little relevant material could be located earlier in the century that used cross-border tropes. This is not to say that women did not engage with political issues. Jane Barker’s *Love Intrigues* (1713), for example, begins with a discussion of military battles, civil war and the loss of wealth of the heroine’s royalist father. Likewise, the “little histories” of Delarivière Manley are saturated in socio-political issues of the time. Yet the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish relations does not appear to be a central part of women’s writing until later in the century. This is not to say that their work ignored this issue. Manley’s *New Atlantis* (1709) refers to Scotland under the satirical name Utopia, noting that its inhabitants are

a people happy in their climate, miserable in themselves...so fond are they of change, that they barter all ...enjoyments for their opposites and call out loudly for a revolution....No merit can there be said to gain an universal approbation.... When they are in peace, they call for nothing but war, and that war, when once begun...they grow weary of and call yet
louder for peace....Bold to face an enemy, foolhardy, they love cruelty
and bloodshed, and rather than not fight would be contented to be beaten.

(Ballaster 190)

Manley’s position on the union, typically Tory in its sentiments, does not extend beyond
such general insults. Anglo-Scottish literary negotiations appeared to be primarily the
terrain of male writers before the second half of the century.

Defining Terms

Before outlining my own contribution to the relationship between trope and
nation, it is important to define how I am using the term “trope.”

Tropes were
derived from the eighteenth century in relation to rhetoric and style. Ephraim Chambers’s
*Cyclopaedia* in 1741 defines a trope as, “in rhetoric, a word or expression used in a
different sense from what it properly signifies. Or, a word changed from its proper and
natural signification to another, with some advantage” (quoted in Aravamudan 1).

Over forty years later, in his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), Hugh Blair notes
that “all tropes are founded upon some relation or analogy between one thing and
another....the imagination plays between them with pleasure, and contemplates two
similar objects, in one view, without embarrassment of confusion” (Blair I: 287).

Eighteenth-century writers, then, recognized that tropes could be used *with advantage*,

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4 I use the general term “trope” rather than more specific terms (such as metaphor, metonymy etc.) because
the tropes I will discuss are composed in various different ways. My concern is with gender dynamics and
national power relations rather than the precise nature of each figure of speech. I also elect to use “trope”
over “allegory” because, while national tropes can employ allegorical figures (figures who clearly signify
Scotland and England), the texts in which the tropes appear do not necessarily operate as a national
allegory as a whole. My work interacts with that of Theresa Kelley in that I agree allegory continues to
exist in some form in the eighteenth century. However, while Kelley’s focus is on generic mixing, my
focus does not dwell on how allegory interacts with other genres. Rather, I investigate how specific figures
of speech embody or interact with socio-political agency and hierarchy outside the text.

5 The emphasis is mine.
and that they give pleasure. The function of this pleasure is made clear when Blair adds, "[f]igures are attended with this farther advantage, of giving us frequently a much clearer and more striking view of the principal object, than we could have if it were expressed in simple terms, and divested of its accessory idea" (I: 287). Despite their doublessness, tropes increase the clarity of vision of the reader, and "clarity," in this context, suggests that the reader's appreciation of the figure leads to his "enlightenment"; they are persuaded by the figure that they are seeing things more clearly. When I approach the primary texts in this tropological analysis, then, it is with an awareness that eighteenth-century writers were perfectly aware of the power of tropes and that tropes are developed, turned and deconstructed by authors who use them to their advantage, to convey and "clarify" their specific view of British identity, a view that emerges from a particular historical moment and their particular socio-political position.

My own definition of tropology, however, goes beyond the basic definition of one word or object standing in for another. Courtship and friendship tropes used to negotiate cross-border relations contain at least two characters, personifications of different nations. There are then three tropes that make up this configuration: two characters personifying each nation, and an overarching marital or friendship trope which connects them. The figure can become even more complex when other characters are introduced which represent different aspects of each region. In Arbuthnot's John Bull pamphlets, for example, Peg, the personification of Scotland, is distinct from the personification of Scotland's religion, Presbyterianism, Jack. In Tobias Smollett's Roderick Random (1748), the gentle Narcissa and her shallow mercenary brother can be said to reflect different elements of England. Further increasing the complexity is the nature of the
"overarching" relationship trope, which is a process – moving towards or away from unification and having to interact with potential obstacles on the way. My analysis, then, will focus on both tropes as a whole and on various components of the trope.

Aravamudan contends that the suppressed difference between vehicle and tenor can be potentially disruptive. Such disruption would seem to be even greater in complex tropes, in which dissonance in one component might influence the whole. There are moments in the tropes I will analyze in this book where discord appears to emerge uninvited. In William Wright’s *Comical History of the Marriage Union Betwixt Fergusia and Heptarchus* (1706), as we will see, Ireland is presented at one point, as Heptarchus’s enslaved sister but later is transformed into Fergusia’s sister, leaving the reader confused as to how she should or should not naturalise Anglo-Irish and Scots-Irish relations. Such instability might occur because of the difficulty of holding together complex multi-faceted tropes that show both Ireland’s subordinated position in relation to England and reveal similar traits between Scotland and England. The trope strains at the seams trying to contain complex material coherently.

On the other hand, I would suggest that, at times, a discordant vehicle can be an ideal category to capture the ruptured, complex, even contradictory tenor of Anglo-Scots relations. The courtship trope, for example, contains within it both desire for harmonic union and clear naturalized gender power hierarchies which have the potential to be disruptive. The vehicle – courtship – involves eighteenth-century concepts of gender hierarchy in which the male is dominant, but at the same time can also involve a mutual

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6 I use the term “complex” to mean that these tropes possess many components. I do not intend to imply that tropes without multiple vehicles are simplistic. Rather, I would suggest single vehicle tropes are “simple” in the sense that they employ only one tenor and one vehicle. Such tropes may still encapsulate a complex and multi-faceted tenor.
love and wish for union. The manner in which the trope is configured can foreground the desire, the hierarchy or even both. Positioning the Scottish Rose as female in *Waverley* and closing with a celebration of her union with the English Waverley, Walter Scott foregrounds Anglo-Scottish *desire* for union and progress and relegates disruptive elements to a nostalgic past. Over a century earlier, William Wright used the same courtship trope in *Fergusia and Heptarchus*, but he places emphasis on painful subordination to undercut claims of a natural desire for union. Similarly, friendship tropes can allow distinct identity to be maintained by each national personification, because there is no merging or reproduction involved. John Galt, in his novel *Andrew Wylie* (1822), allows his protagonist Andrew to maintain a distinct Scottish Lowland identity, despite his many friendships with the English aristocracy. On the other hand, James Kimber’s *James Ramble* (1755) contains a Britishness in which there is so little difference between England and Scotland that the main character believes he is English, although he is a Scot. The author, then, activates either the unifying forces of the trope or the potential dissonance and inequality, depending on the particular “clarity” he or she wishes to convey.7

*The Intervention of this Book in Current Critical Discussion*

i. Replacing Genre with Trope

My book hopes to supplement the existing body of critical work in three ways. First, I will use the organizing category of trope rather than genre to capture a substantial

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7 The trope itself can also represent agency. Tropes of union that display Scottish agency can both reflect increasing Scottish agency and inspire a sort of readerly agency. Readers of Galt’s *Andrew Wylie*, I would suggest, would be far more likely to be encouraged to seek success in London than those who read Smollett’s *Roderick Random*. 
amount of relevant material that appears in the century leading up to the emergent national tale in the 1790s. The literary negotiation of Anglo-Scottish relations occurs in a variety of genres throughout the long eighteenth century. Leith Davis makes this clear in several chapters of Acts of Union (1998) in which she performs a cross-genre analysis, comparing poetry and pamphlets, epics and travel narratives. My work takes this comparative analysis further by suggesting that, in a time of generic experimentation and change, tropes rather than genres were one of the most consistent elements of the work of nationalist writers of both North and South Britain, when dealing with Anglo-Scottish relations.8 There are many reasons that tropes migrate to different genres, reasons relating to the author, the reader and publication opportunities. Pamphlet writers at the beginning of the century, for example, trying to shift public opinion on the Union, likely wanted to reach a wide audience, including readers who could not have gained access to more expensive texts. The mid-century Scottish tragedies and epics, on the other hand, were produced by a particular middling-rank group of professionals, who sought to associate Scottish writing with prestigious forms. At the end of the century, when the novel gains in popularity and slowly starts to acquire status, it becomes a more acceptable form in which to work out national issues. Peripheral writers, until Dublin and Edinburgh increased their publishing power in the latter part of the eighteenth century, were also dependent on the generic preferences of an English (usually a London) publisher.9 Tropes, however, could be adapted to fit whichever genre seemed most likely to succeed

8 Mark Saber Phillips, in his recent work Society and Sentiment, notes the fluidity and multiplicity of historical genres as well as genres in general (11-12). J. Paul Hunter, in his discussion of the novel’s emergence from a variety of popular materials, confirms this multiplicity and interaction between forms. It is not surprising, then, that tropes can flow between genres, adapting to the requirements of each genre in that particular period.

9 Richard Sher, in his recent article “The Book in the Scottish Enlightenment,” writes that while Scots had participated in book production since the sixteenth century, “nothing before the 1740s gave adequate
in any particular moment, and I suggest that familial and homosocial tropes are particularly fluid in the configuration of national identity between 1707 and 1830.

To make this comprehensive project manageable, I undertake a microanalysis of familial and homosocial tropes in a number of key moments in cross-border relations. I pause to consider the unstable years surrounding the Union, the decade following Culloden, the Scotophobic sixties, the volatile 1790s, marked by numerous power struggles, and the post-Napoleonic 1820s. This methodology balances depth of analysis with a breadth that allows me to mark tropological transformations and the socio-political forces that influence them. In this way, I contribute to several critical conversations: discussions relating to such issues as the relationship between culture and agency in textual representations of Anglo-Scottish relations; the residual effects of an intersection between familial tropes and disruption in early tropes of disunion; and the gradual dissolution (and even dismemberment) of tropes of Anglo-Scottish union as British fin de siècle writers turn their attention away from the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish relations towards other historically contingent concerns.

warning of what would occur in the heyday of the mature Scottish Enlightenment. During the middle and late eighteenth century, the Scottish book trade expanded into a major industry, capable of producing hundreds of books each year" (40).

For the most part, the use of the term “culture” throughout this book refers to Buzard’s use of the term in regards to Waverley (the reification of an imagined Scottish culture that is normally disconnected from any sense of material or political power). In chapter 5, however, I suggest that English and Irish writers, producing nation-building novels, use tropes which connect Scotland with another meaning of “culture.” As Buzard points out, Raymond Williams has proffered another meaning of the term; a “general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development” (Beaten Track 7). The Scottish characters contained within tropes of union in these novels, encourage English characters to develop intellectually and even commercially. This use of culture, I suggest, does not separate Scotland from material agency.

In addition to uncovering what complex tropes reveal about the changing state of Britishness as it moves from union to empire, my examination of how tropes transform and interact gestures towards a theory of tropes and nation which can be used to engage with the literary representation of other cross-border relations, both domestically and across nations.
James Buzard, in his important essay “Translation and Tourism: Scott’s Waverley and the Rendering of Culture” (1995), suggests that *Waverley* can be read as Walter Scott’s reification of an imagined homogeneous Scottish culture – a loose collection of communal manners, traditions, historical moments and geographic images (33). Through an analysis of the cultural attributes that begin to saturate tropes of union in the second half of the eighteenth century, my work identifies the tentative emergence of this concept of Scottish culture over forty years earlier in works written after the Scotophobic 1760s. Moreover, the separation of political agency and culture which Buzard identifies at the end of Scott’s novel when he notes that “Scotland, in the unlikely figure of Fergus, is finally translated from time into space, from deliberative historical agent into static symbol” (48), I suggest, begins to crystallize in British literature in the 1780s and 1790s. Novels of the 1780s and 1790s which deal with Anglo-Scottish relations tend to depict either a vulnerable feminized Scotland rich in culture (tradition and unique manners) but lacking agency or to represent Britishness through homosocial tropes of empire-building egalitarian partnerships between robust Scottish men, who bear few cultural markers, and Englishmen. This split, I suggest, reflects the growing gap between the individual success of Scottish Britons and an ongoing awareness of a lack of power over national affairs north of the border.

The tropological approach also allows me to intervene in scholarly conversations centered on the disruptive intersection of family and nation. Miranda Burgess, in her article “Allegory, Gender, and Cultural Nationalism in Ireland” (1998), notes that despite the “Celtic nationalist imaginings” that yearn for closure through the fulfillment of romantic desire between the Scots-Irish heroine and English hero of Regina Maria
Roche’s *Children of the Abbey* (1796), their allegorical union is marked by violence (62). Likewise Mary Jean Corbett, writing of Sydney Owenson’s *Wild Irish Girl* (1806), argues that Owenson’s “liberal post-Union fiction raises the very issue of the violent origins of English power in Ireland that its conclusion seeks ultimately to repress” (93). My first chapter suggests that the intersection of familial tropes and regional resistance began in the scattered use of familial troping in peripheral pamphlets in the years surrounding the Anglo-Scottish Union. I suggest that these tropes, which were used by Anti-Union writers to convey rupture and unease in cross-border relations rather than legitimation, go through a range of historically-shaped permutations in a variety of literary genres before entering the emergent national tale in the 1790s.

William Donaldson, in his 1986 work *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland*, demonstrates a turning away from a concern with Anglo-Scottish relations in Scottish literature of the Victorian period. In particular, Donaldson traces a growing concern in popular periodicals and Scottish novels with Scottish matters and perspectives. An increasing use of dialect and a frequent concern with an “entirely local context” suggest that the desired readers of these works lived north of the border (99). An analysis of tropological transformations locates the emergence of this turn in the deconstruction or rejection of marital tropes of union, which became briefly popular after the success of Owenson’s national tale. Marital tropes of reconciliation are replaced in the 1820s by either a turn inwards, towards the domestic issues that concern Scotland, or a turn outwards, towards Europe or Empire. This turning away from tropes of Anglo-Scottish unity does not suggest that Britishness suddenly lacks importance, but merely that in that

12 “Allegories of Prescription: Engendering Union in the *Wild Irish Girl*.”
historical moment, matters of social class and empire are more urgent to the negotiation of national identity. Moreover, the history of tropological resistance to familial representation of Anglo-Scottish identity that my analysis uncovers suggests that it was the use of such tropes in Scottish writing, rather than the rejection of them, that was anomalous.

**ii. Including Homosocial Tropes in Discussions of National Negotiations**

Second, in addition to participating in critical conversations by supplementing models of genre with those of trope, I shall place alongside familial tropes another category particularly relevant to Anglo-Scottish literary negotiations: homosocial tropes. This book suggests that familial tropes are not as central to works that imagine North and South Britain as they are to Anglo-Irish negotiations in the works of the emergent national tale under Sydney Owenson. Scotland, like Ireland, had limited political power and suffered from recurring bouts of English xenophobia. Yet British letters, in their literary representation of Anglo-Scottish relations, tended to favour homosocial tropes of male friendship, business partnerships, and fellow citizens, although they sometimes appeared alongside (and in competition with) familial tropes. I suggest that the use of a differently gendered tropology from Ireland is worthy of exploration, given Scotland’s distinct position in Britain.

While both Ireland and Scotland were peripheral nations, Scotland lacked Ireland’s history of plantations and thus had a different concept of land, property and social hierarchy, one which did not result in the socio-political disenfranchisement of the majority of the population. Scotland did experience class oppression. The Highland Clearances at the end of the eighteenth century involved the eviction of tenants by
Scottish landlords in order to replace them with economically profitable sheep. Yet class oppression was less systematic and pervasive than it was in Ireland, and it was not as strongly linked to religion and national alliances. Scotland’s rapidly growing access to professionalization, publishing and the profits of empire led not only to the evolution of a relatively stable and powerful group of middling classes as the century progressed, but also to the increasing association in British letters of Scotland and professionalism. Ireland, in contrast, as David Lloyd argues in *Anomalous States* (1993), developed a more demographically fragmented middle class (138-140). Scotland, like Ireland, did experience religious division between Anglicans and Presbyterians, yet the negotiations surrounding the Union had guaranteed Scotland a religious freedom throughout the eighteenth century that Ireland lacked. While many in both Scotland and Ireland participated in empire, Scotland held a strong position in the emergent empire. Linda Colley notes that while some Scots, such as James Murray, the first Governor of Canada, achieved remarkable success through empire, “there were a multitude of lesser lights as well, and in some parts of the empire, a quite disproportionate number of these were Scottish” (128).

Socio-economic differences between the two peripheral nations, I suggest, cause Anglo-Scottish relations to be frequently imagined through a different metaphoric language, a language which does not follow the tendency of some colonial models to naturalize hierarchical relations between the metropolis and the peripheries through a gendered trope. Mary Louise Pratt, in *Imperial Eyes* (1992), writes of “transracial love plots” in travel literature that seem to create temporary cultural harmony between colonial and imperial nations through romance before breaking down (97).
consistent use of a European man and a native (often mulatto) woman in these “love plots” reflects “a particular form of colonial sexual exploitation,” which did take place, in which “European men on assignment to the colonies bought local women from their families to serve as sexual and domestic partners for the duration of their stay” (95). At the same time, on the level of “political allegory,” Pratt reads the mutual desire celebrated in the text as an attempt to convey allegiances between “populations of non-enslaved people of mixed ancestry” who were gaining “new political importance in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the Americas” (101). Despite the emphasis on desire, there remains a clear disparity of power conveyed through the vehicle of a gendered relationship which reflects the hierarchy of the feminized colonial nation and the masculine imperial nation. Anne McClintock takes this familial model further in *Imperial Leather* (1995), in which she writes of Renaissance fantasies of a feminized world “spatially spread for male exploration” and Victorian transformations of racial categories into familial tropes which handily “came to figure hierarchy within unity” for the whole “family of man” (23, 45). It is this colonial model of feminization which seems to saturate much of the literature that engages with Anglo-Irish relations in the years surrounding the Anglo-Irish Union.

The homosocial tropes used to negotiate Anglo-Scottish relations do not necessarily imply a lack of hierarchy, nor, as my work will demonstrate, do they necessarily minimize dissonance. Pratt discusses the use of homosocial tropes in representing colonial relations.\(^{13}\) Friendship can be configured as mentoring, fellow-

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\(^{13}\) Pratt, in her discussion of reciprocity and the anti-colonial, writes of the scientific or bureaucratic traveler who seems self-effacing, humble and even a little foolish as he interacts with male natives within the contact zone, but who, all the while, represents the invasive, categorizing eye of empire, implicitly connected to the violence of military force (7, 57).
warriors need not be equals, and masculine relationships can be marked by violence. At the same time, homosocial tropes do not essentialize a social order based on place of origin. Examining homosocial tropes alongside familial ones increases access to some of the tensions inherent in imagining Britishness, particularly when both appear in the same work or are used in opposition to one another.

**iii. Focusing on Anglo-Scottish, rather than Anglo-Irish, relations**

Third, I want to focus on Anglo-Scottish relations, although it is Irish writers, such as Maria Edgeworth and Sydney Owenson, who are most closely associated, in genre studies, with the courtship trope as it appeared in the national tale. Tropes of Anglo-Scottish union, which came into being a century before Owenson’s work serve as an important point of comparison to works with similar tropes produced during or after the Anglo-Irish Union. The Anglo-Scottish focus, however, has meant that significant Anglo-Irish works that use gendered tropes in nationally relevant ways had to be excluded: I do not discuss works such as Sarah Butler’s *Irish Tales* (1716), *The True Life of Betty Ireland* (1753), or William Chaigneau’s *History of Jack Connor* (1753) and I make only brief mention of Jonathan Swift’s *Injured Lady* (1746). This neglect does not imply that an analysis of the tropology of Anglo-Irish relations throughout the eighteenth century is unnecessary, or that Scots “invented” the national tale. Rather, the exclusion of Ireland is an important gap that needs to be filled by future scholarship. Ian Campbell Ross, in a review of the new Pickering and Chatto edition of Owenson’s *Wild Irish Girl*, points out that there is a neglected eighteenth-century history of Irish writing that might help to contextualize the novel. He writes,
Certainly for all the celebrity of author and work, this can hardly be accounted the ‘first national tale’ (p.xv). For virtually a century beforehand Irish novelists – from Sarah Butler in *Irish Tales* (1716) through William Chaigneau, Thomas Amory, Frances Sheridan, Charles Johnstone, Thomas Leland, and Regina Maria Roche to Edgeworth in her own ‘Hibernian Tale,’ *Castle Rackrent* – had attempted in very different ways to grapple with Irish history, landscape, language, politics, gender politics and shifting notions of the nation. (226)

There is certainly a neglected body of work engaged with negotiating Anglo-Irish relations that I hope to fill through future research. Forms, tropes and metaphors used to negotiate Anglo-Scottish and Anglo-Irish relations overlap long before Walter Scott looked to an Irish form on which to ground his first novel. However, the plethora of material related to Anglo-Scottish relations, much of which also has been unexamined, led to the necessary exclusion of the other peripheral nations from this particular project.

**Overview of Chapters**

Broadly, my tropological analysis suggests that between 1707 and 1830 tropes were the site of a literary battlefield to determine how Britishness ought to be conceived. Working from Leith Davis’s assertion that those “who participated in the imagining of Britain in the eighteenth century were only too conscious that they were in the process of

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14 I am not suggesting that eighteenth-century Ireland has been neglected by scholarship. Joep Leerssen’s study of Irish nationality alone would belie this claim. Rather, I am calling for a specific study of tropes of Anglo-Irish union in the century before the national tale.

15 In the Introduction to the *Chronicles of the Canongate*, Scott notes that one of the reasons he looked out and re-engaged with his mislaid manuscript of *Waverley* was “the extended and well-merited fame of Miss Edgeworth, whose Irish characters have gone so far to make the English familiar with the characters of their gay and kind-hearted neighbours of Ireland, that she may be truly said to have done more towards completing the Union than perhaps all the legislative enactments by which it has been followed.” This leads
composing their image,” I foreground four moments in which tropological conflict uncovers competing versions of British identity (4). This conflict, for the most part, captures tension between Scottish and English attempts to manufacture national identity.

My first chapter, directed at the years surrounding the Union of Parliaments, traces the suppression of cross-border dissonance in the homosocial egalitarian tropes which define Anglo-Scottish relations in the work of pro-union pamphleteers and contrasts this strategy of containment with the openly disruptive presence of familial tropes in the pamphlets of anti-union writers. My second chapter traces the reappearance of this conflict in the decade following Culloden. Roderick Random, written from the margins by Tobias Smollett, reveals a discomfort with, and avoidance of, unifying tropes, although there is a cursory gesture towards a national romance towards the conclusion. In James Ramble, on the other hand, written by the English Edward Kimber, familial tropes capturing Anglo-Scottish union are located in the past, leaving homosocial tropes to best convey contemporary cross-border relations. In sharp opposition to Smollett’s hesitancy to unify through tropes, Kimber deflects all dissonance onto Jacobitism, suggesting through tropes of friendship that all other aspects of Anglo-Scottish relations seamlessly integrate into British unity.

Chapters Three and Four foreground the 1760s, a decade in which Scottish agency, in the person of Lord Bute, Lord Treasurer, seems to be reaching a new height. Yet it was also a decade of rampant Scotophobia, incited by the Wilkites and their supporters to undermine Bute’s authority. Tropological warfare is an important element of this rhetorical conflict. In the third chapter, I argue that several members of a group of

Scot to believe that “something might be attempted for my own country, of the same kind with that which Miss Edgeworth so fortunately achieved for Ireland” (Williams 413).
Scottish intellectuals, a group Richard Sher refers to as the “Moderate literati,” heartened by Bute’s growing influence in British affairs, tentatively begin to explore tropes of masculine Anglo-Scottish friendship. However, a sense of dissonance over British affairs regarding such issues as the refusal to allow Scotland a militia of its own leads them to mediate this figure of friendship through the trope of a suffering woman. In Chapter Four, I argue that destabilizing Scottish familial and homosocial tropes of union through creating counter-tropes were an important part of John Wilkes’s strategic attempt to disrupt Bute’s policies.

In Chapters Five and Six, I uncover two competing concepts of Britishness, primarily created by English and Irish writers, which emerge in the 1790s. The first engages with homosocial tropes to foreground Scottish agency in nation-building and empire-building projects, and the second concept reifies and celebrates Scottish culture through tropes of cross-border courtship, but tends to represent the emergent concept as endangered, lacking national agency. Chapter Five centers on the former model, looking at tropes that proliferate in a group of novels I have labelled “nation-building novels” because they are explicitly centered on formulating a British national identity.\(^\text{16}\) What is evident in these tropes is that cross-border relations are no longer seen as an area of dissonance. Indeed, Anglo-Scottish relations are conceived as so stable that they become tropes of mediation, which engage with areas of greater dissonance, such as class, empire and political difference. Chapter Six begins with an analysis of the competing trope of courtship in the emergent national tales of the 1790s, and looks at the crystallization of concepts of Scottish culture in the works of English and Irish writers. Such works may

\(^\text{16}\) This category cuts across several existing categories, including national tale and Jacobin and anti-Jacobin novel. I outline the reasons for developing such a category in Chapter Five.
have formed the foundation for the central works discussed in relation to cross-border marital union, Sydney Owenson’s *Wild Irish Girl* and Walter Scott’s *Waverley*.

Working from these competing tropological concepts of Anglo-Scottish relations, most of which are produced by non-Scottish writers, I end Chapter Six with an analysis of the Scottish response to these tropes. Recent criticism has recognized that in the early nineteenth century there is a shift in the acts of union that generally complete the national tale and that, for a brief moment, became prominent in the historical novel under Scott. Katie Trumpener argues that in the second decade of the century the national tale “moves towards critical sociologies of colonial society,” shifting from a “celebratory nationalism” towards a more separatist position. This shift deeply affects the “culminating acts of union” at the end of the national tale, which become “fraught with unresolved tensions, leading to prolonged courtship complications, to marital crises, and even, in two of Susan Ferrier’s novels, to national divorce” (146). Miranda Burgess, in her recent book *British Fiction and the Production of Social Order, 1740-1830* (2000), identifies Scott’s novel, *St. Ronan’s Well*, as turning away from the courtship trope which he had used to unite his English hero Waverley and his Lowland Rose at the end of his first novel. Through analyzing a selection of Scottish novels by Scott’s contemporaries, I suggest that the rejection or deconstruction of familial tropes of union was common to many in his circle, and explore various responses to its collapse.
Chapter 1

Marital Discord: Anti-Union Pamphlets as Precursors to the National Tale 1706-1715

This chapter will analyze the way in which tropes of courtship and domesticity are employed to negotiate a new space for the discourse of private relationships in the imagining of Anglo-Scottish relations in the years surrounding the union.¹ My focus will be on three short political works written within a ten year period by Scots from various socio-political positions. The first is a pre-union pamphlet, *The Comical History of the Marriage Union Betwixt Fergusia and Heptarchus* (1706), written by a Presbyterian minister named William Wright. The next is one of the John Bull pamphlets (1712), written by the Scottish Tory physician to Queen Anne, John Arbuthnot, and the third is Allan Ramsay’s poem, *Tale of Three Bonnets* (1722).² What interests me in these particular works out of the multitude of tracts, essays and sermons surrounding the union is that, while the authors come from remarkably different backgrounds and write with different socio-political agendas, all three men use familial tropes as a deconstructive force to problematize and destabilize the centripetal and egalitarian concepts of union that marked pro-union discourse. Wright, Arbuthnot and Ramsay suggest (to different degrees) that homosocial tropes, formed out of the language of gentility, rationality and

¹ Miranda Burgess, in *British Fiction and the Production of Social Order*, and Richard Braverman, in *Plots and Counterplots*, have recently analyzed the intricate way in which private relationships were used to shed light on and negotiate issues that concerned the nation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. My project emerges from that work, and seeks to discover how the tropes of private relationships (and by this I mean familial and homosocial relations) were turned towards the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish relations. I relate courtship and domestic/familial tropes because one is the precursor to the other; that is to say, that courtship is the first step towards the formation of the family.

² Although published in 1722, Ramsay’s poem is believed to have been composed around 1715.
egalitarian exchange by pro-union writers, masked the subordinate, possibly even victimized, position in which Scotland would be positioned through an incorporating union. Using a familial tropology to expose dissonance explodes Stuart allegories of courtship (usually between a masculine monarch and a female nation) that had been used to unify and repress difference and at the same time, resists the harmonic conclusions that certain features of the national tale would impose on novelistic appropriations of similar tropes in the 1790s.

Tropes of Gentlemanly Exchange

Arguments supporting the Union were saturated with references to reason, progress, and, of course, economic advantage, and were often framed in frank dialogues between gentlemen or tradesmen or as a rational address to a (masculine) reader, whether English or Scottish. This tropology of egalitarian homosocial exchange was placed in sharp contrast with arguments against the union, which were generally painted as irrational and emotional. Leith Davis gives an excellent example of this in her comparison of Belhaven’s speech critiquing the union and Defoe’s response in The Vision. Davis points out that Belhaven’s nobility and position as protectionist landlord leads him to use myth and history to decry an Anglo-Scottish union. Defoe, Davis continues, realized that such national images endangered progress and union, and therefore set out “to devalue the mystical language of his opponent... describ[ing] Belhaven variously as a magician or conjurer, an ‘exorcist,’ and a ‘ghost in a circle’” (20, 34), Defoe contrasts his “rational” position with Belhaven’s superstitious imagination.

George Mackenzie’s Trialogus: A Conference between Mr. Con, Mr. Pro, and Mr. Indifferent, Concerning the Union (1706) exemplifies the way dialogues were used to
promote union. Poor Mr. Con, outnumbered by Mr. Pro and the “surprisingly” pro-union Mr. Indifferent, is portrayed as irrational and emotional, almost reduced to repeating the mantra (in various formulations) that he does not want Scotland to lose “the glorious name of kingdom” (5). Mr. Indifferent, suggesting that Mr. Con is lost in “abstract acts of the thinking mind” counters that he, in contrast, is reasonably concerned with “the notion of things as they are, the riches, honour and safety of all, and every individual” (6). In the second pamphlet in this series, Mr. Pro joins the discussion, and once again Mr. Con is reduced to emotional protestations: “Oh fye! Where is the Scots blood? Where is the Bruce? The Douglas? The Graham? And the great Stewart; when such things dare to be propos’d.” Mr. Pro, on the other hand assures us that he has “consulted reason” which tells him that “names [of nations] are but names, and do not alter things” (13).

The *Enquiry into the Reasonableness and Consequences of an Union with Scotland* (1706), possibly written by William Paterson, similarly uses a homosocial trope centered on gentlemanly exchange – peopled both by Scottish and English gentlemen – to discuss the economic benefits of union and the historical impulse towards union, and to plan its implementation. The purpose of the dialogue is to show that “the point of an union of this island be reasonable, and plain” despite information to the contrary circulated by the few who have “prejudices, humours and secret designs” against it (A1). The writer concludes the pamphlet with an assurance that after such an extensive rational

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3 I would suggest that “the dialogue,” as a form, sets up a trope of verbal exchange, almost in the form of a coffee-shop conversation. This particular dialogue (like many others) is set up as an exchange between gentlemen. If, then, we take Blair’s definition of a trope as “some relation or analogy between one thing and another,” then this homosocial trope is composed of a vehicle – a gentlemanly conversation among equals – and a tenor – egalitarian Anglo-Scottish relations.

4 The author of the edition I am using is recorded as “Wednesday's Club in Friday Street,” although other editions show Paterson as author.
discussion it is now evident that there could not now be "any reasonable objections" against the union (152).

A tradesman's version of this trope is presented in the anonymous *Answer to Some Queries &c. Relative to the Union in a Conference Betwixt a Coffee-Master, and a Countrey Farmer* (1706), in which a farmer, concerned about the many objections raised against the union, is reassured by a coffee master that these objections are groundless. In reference to the writer of a recently published anti-union pamphlet, the coffee-master remarks, "men of sense may easily find a salve for all his sores" (3). After the coffee-master "rationally" counters the objections, the farmer is happily convinced of the benefits of union. The pamphlet ends in a moment of masculine urban-rural harmony on the value of union.

William Wright deconstructs this tropology of homosocial relations to expose the Scottish vulnerability that it attempts to elide. He does so by configuring an alternative figure of speech, one that focuses on inequity and potential violence — the gendered tropology of courtship. Wright disconnects marital metaphors from their previous attachment to Stuart iconography and reconfigures them in a way that appropriately reflects a nation increasingly defined separately from the monarchy. Once familial language is unhooked from royal associations, it can be reformulated to respond to specific historical incidents by individuals writing from a variety of different positions. Despite the multiple views that are captured in the imagined familial relationships by Wright, Arbuthnot and Ramsay, the original metaphorical function of configuring a harmonic nation promoted by the Stuarts is consistently rejected and replaced with a
satirical desire to critique and problematize Anglo-Scottish relations. All three pamphlets end their account of cross-border relations with accounts of tension and unease.

Stuart monarchs and propagandists had used various tropes to elide dissonance and promote harmony. Theresa M. Kelley, in her work on allegory, writes of the Stuart masque *Salmacida Spolia*, that it “works hard to extend the Stuart ideology of peace and political union from father to son” (48). Marriage, in particular, had been used in Stuart literature as a centripetal force that erases difference. The husband-king would marry one wife-nation. Indeed, during his negotiations for a full union, shortly after the Union of the Crowns, James I chided his subjects for distorting his metaphors of unity with their stubborn resistance to assimilation. He writes,

> I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawful Wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my flock; I hope therefore no man will be so unreasonable as to think that I that am a Christian King under the Gospel, should be a Polygamist and husband to two wives; that I being the Head, should have a divided and monstrous Body; or that being the Shepherd to so faire a Flock...should have my Flock parted in two. (Sommerville 136)

This unity extends to the iconography of the nation. The union, as it is presented in the Rubens’ painting on the ceiling of Whitehall, for example, “shows the king seated on this throne, pointing to two women, who represent England and Scotland, and a new-born baby, who symbolizes a united Britain. Each woman holds a crown over the child’s head while a goddess, most likely Minerva, joins the two crowns” (Levack 224). Other critics offer slightly different interpretations of this piece; some read the baby as the infant
Charles, and suggest that Minerva is a precursor to Britannia. Regardless of the details of the reading, it seems clear that the image is one of unification. Two mystically become one, without residual dissonant elements.

Wright rejects this unity as he injects contradiction and complexity into the allegorical form, exploding the unifying function of national allegory as conceived in royal circles. To Wright, tropes appear to be tools to counter "rational" pro-union discourse, and convey the complexity and problematic nature of an Anglo-Scottish union. The pamphlet is divided into three sections. In the first, an allegorical account of the nature and history of the personifications of the nations with Fergusia as Scotland and Heptarchus as England, he uses the trope of courtship to demonstrate that an incorporating union clearly places Scotland in a subordinate position to England. The second half is a dialogue between the couple, conveyed in the terms of a courtship, about the nature of union. This section directly challenges the language of equality, friendship and rational exchange that permeates pro-union pamphlets. Wright’s language of courtship suggests that what appears to be sensible and earnest rhetoric directed at long-term improvement of Anglo-Scottish relations is merely the flattery and seductive vocabulary one might find in a young, lusty man eager to possess his bride. It may appear odd that in a historic moment where metaphorical language was deemed, like iconography, highly suspect by Presbyterians, that a Presbyterian minister would use

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5 Kelley would call this a moment where allegory makes "border raids on the very categories that had been presented as its contraries: realism, mimesis, empiricism, history" (2). There is an implication, in her argument, that there is an intrinsic instability in the trope during the eighteenth century. I would suggest, in contrast, that Wright makes such raids for a particular political reason.

6 Few of the arguments Wright uses are original. They can be found throughout anti-union tracts. In The Union of England and Scotland, P.W.J. Riley calls Wright "a typical opposition propagandist whose expressed views were wholly characteristic of the main anti-union campaign" (222). What is different is the way he weaves them around the personified images of nation.
such literary figures.\textsuperscript{7} The Arbuthnot and Ramsay works, more closely associated with Tory and Jacobite values respectively, are more in line with the general political use of metaphorical language.\textsuperscript{8} My argument will suggest, however, that for Wright tropes are a device to deconstruct the slippery language of pro-union discourse before, in the third section, moving to a different form of rational discourse, a blunt assessment of the interests of both parties in the union negotiations, one highly suspicious of the discourse of "reason."

Before the actual courtship negotiations, Wright spends time delineating the nature of the allegorical couple. In the process, he reveals that the alliance is unequal, an unlikely match of the nouveaux riches (English) and the impoverished ancient nobility (Scots).\textsuperscript{9} This dissonance is foregrounded from the beginning by the selection of names for his principal characters. Fergusia's name is drawn from a Scottish myth invented in the fourteenth century by John of Fordun to rebut the Brutus mythology that subordinated Scotland to England. Fergus is the name of an imagined monarch of the fourth century, descended from a Greek prince called Gathelus (as Roger Mason points out in "Scotching the Brut") he is therefore superior to the Trojan Brutus, who was, after all, a member of the losing team) and Scota, daughter of Pharoah (63, 64).\textsuperscript{10} Scotland is immediately transformed from the bland, abstract image on the roof of Whitehall, to the

\textsuperscript{7} For a discussion of Presbyterian and/or Whig views on iconography and metaphorical language, see Kelley (51-56) and Heinz-Joachim Mullenbrock's The Culture of Contention (165-170). Of course, not all Presbyterians avoided figurative language. Milton would be one of the most obvious exceptions. David Norbrook also points out that the allegorical figure of Britannia was used by Marchamont Nedham to celebrate Britishness during the Protectorate of Cromwell.

\textsuperscript{8} Think of Pope, Behn, Swift and Manley, for example.

\textsuperscript{9} In the early part of the eighteenth century, such a match would be considered unwise - although of course as commercial types became more powerful it became more common.

\textsuperscript{10} As Murray Pittock points out in Poetry and Jacobite Politics, Classic mythology is also linked to the Stuart claim to the throne - Jacobites could and did use it for this purpose (17). However Wright's disdain for the Stuart monarchs - especially the later ones - is clearly evident in the pamphlet. Wright, therefore, disconnects national tropologies from the monarchy.
particular – a creature with a specific history and mythology of her own. On the other hand, Heptachus’s name reflects his less unified identity and the relative youth of the nation, a point that will be belaboured later in the tract. His name is a reference to the heptarchy,

the seven kingdoms reckoned to have been established by the Angles and Saxons in Britain. The term appears to have been introduced by 16th c. historians, in accordance with their notion that there were seven Angle and Saxon kingdoms so related that one of their rulers had always the supreme position of King of the Angle-kin... ‘so that in the Heptarchy itself there seems always to have been a Monarchy.’ (OED heptarchy)\(^\text{11}\)

The heptarchy was said to have existed between the sixth and the ninth centuries, leaving Heptachus at least two centuries younger than his desired bride, much more divided, despite the monarchy that existed within the heptarchy, and lacking mythological links to biblical and classical antiquity.\(^\text{12}\) Wright stresses the difference between the two characters, a difference that belies their easy transition into a noble and monoglossic Britannia. Fergusia, at a point in the marriage negotiations, comments on their unequal wealth, power and the disparity in their ages, and notes that “that’s an unequal match; and to speak broad Scots, it’s a marriage God neither sends nor comes to” (16).\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{11}\) The quote is from Camden.
\(^{12}\) Mason notes that Scota is traced back to Old Testament times. She is said to have married “shortly before Moses delivered the children of Israel out of Egypt” and to have fled in the “wake of Pharaoh’s destruction in the Red Sea” (64).
\(^{13}\) One consequence of using tropes to problematize rather than to unify is a degree of slippage at points in the pamphlet. Figurative language strains to contain concepts of nation, but is unable to do so without some remarkable twists. Wright's representation of Ireland is the most obvious example. She is originally introduced as Fergusia's sister, Junerva, when they are both ravished by Rigicidino (Cromwell), but later is described as Heptachus's enslaved sister at the point of the proposed marriage, and then transforms into
In addition to disrupting the general metaphoric stability of Stuart propaganda, Wright specifically disconnects metaphors of nation from the monarchy. Wright uses marriage in a particularly slippery way in the first part of his introduction. He resists the relationship between monarch and nation (as the Stuarts would have depicted it). The relationship is most like a marriage under the reign of James I, when the monarch resides in his nation. Wright notes, that since Salamoni Pacifico (James I) went to London, Fergusia has been as good and worse, than a Widow; and her Children of the First Marriage, Orphans, and Slaves to the Children of the Second, viz. The Edwardines. Thus she feels her self a poor forlorn widow, and many of her children forc’d to leave her house and country, to push their fortunes abroad in the world...(4)

The monarchs who follow James are not represented in this same marital relationship and the derogatory names assigned to them (Bigotzio/Charles I; Courtezano/Charles II; Romanus/James II) clearly indicates the author’s position towards the Stuarts.¹⁴

As the tract progresses, it becomes clear that after the Glorious Revolution, the monarch takes on a mere advisory role to the nation. William, for example, is not blamed for the failure of the Darien venture, for Fergusia comments to Heptarchus that the monarch was his prisoner (14). The Stuart marital relationship disintegrates, and the monarch is no longer the central unifying impulse. The loyalty of the Scot, Wright insists, is centered therefore first on the Scottish nation, and only then on the monarch.

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¹⁴ Wright’s sentiments likely derived from his religious convictions.
Having destabilized the unifying elements of Stuart marital metaphors, Wright uses a familial tropology, with its associated gender hierarchies, to display Scotland's vulnerability and potentially subordinate position in a united kingdom. Placing Scotland in the female position of a potential marital union, Wright foregrounds its vulnerability on a number of fronts. Leith Davis points out the most drastic possible outcome of this model when she remarks that Fergusia “has preserved her hereditary honour” except for the time her barbarous neighbour Edward raped her (28). The threat of rape, it seems, underlies all the complimentary and rational language supporting the Union. Moreover, the reduction of monarchical power has not reduced the threat of rape. Wright attaches violent tendencies to the very essence of England itself. We are told that Heptarchus himself is a “stout, valiant man, [who] did nothing but commit rapes on his neighbours,” so we have no reason to doubt his ability or willingness to violate Fergusia (7). As the second section of the pamphlet ends this violence becomes clear when Heptarchus, tired of refusals,

scarce minding the civility of a gentleman, flung out of doors; and as he crossed the threshold, threatened Fergusia, if she did not consent, he would put his acts in execution, and declare her alien: But in the mean time, added he, I'll e plew with your hiefer. Fergusia thought it no time to answer a gentleman, that had so far forgot himself: only she minded him to assuage his choler, that she had not yet forgot, and he might mind, what happened on the death of the maid of Norway. (26)

What happened on the death of the maid of Norway is Fergusia’s rape by Edward, a barbaric act of which she seems to believe Heptarchus is fully capable. Beneath his
civilized veneer, there is a suggestion that the old intimidating pattern of brutality remains strong.

English barbarity is emphasized by Fergusia’s femininity. While women could be portrayed as sexually aggressive in literature, as Toni Bowers points out, such sexual aggression was likely to lead to rejection or social marginalization. Rarely did literary precursors represent a female rapist. Fergusia’s gender, then, implies that it is unlikely that she would rape Edward or Heptarchus. This is not to say that Fergusia’s gender leads her to accept rough treatment passively. Speaking of the vengeance of her children after she is raped, she claims that the “whole world rung with the noise of it” (4) and she reminds Heptarchus that “tho’ for a while [Edward] carried all before him; yet what was the issue of it?” (26). Wright strengthens the barbarity of the brutal act and the virtue of his personified Scotland by detaching violence from Fergusia, and assigning it to her outraged children. Fergusia further enhances the pathos by indicating that it happened “at a time when she was wallowing in tears, for the death of her only daughter” (2).

Literary narratives in the early eighteenth century had often been ambivalent towards rape. Isobel Grundy, in a recent article on Clarissa, notes that the words rape and ravish are themselves slippery. She points out that in Richardson’s novel there are multiple interpretations of rape. “To Lovelace it is something ‘so common, and so slight;’ to Anna it is lamentable but incontrovertible grounds for marriage; to Clarissa it is a death sentence. It seems the first two are thinking chiefly of loss of virginity here, and only Clarissa of the loss of the sense of integrity or identity peculiar to rape” (255). The

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15 Bowers, in “Collusive Resistance: Sexual Agency and Partisan Politics in Love in Excess,” writing of Haywood’s Love in Excess, writes of contemporary ideas of female sexual agency, but cautions that only when active desire is mingled with “feminine submission” does a heroine achieve success.
positions of Anna and Lovelace were commonly enacted in fiction in the early eighteenth century. Ambiguity towards rape may occur, in part, because frequently, as Bowers has pointed out, in contemporary romances “[r]esistance is fully complicit with desire” or if resistance has been misinterpreted, trauma can be rapidly mended through a hasty marriage between perpetrator and victim (57). In Eliza Haywood’s story *The Lucky Rape,* *or Fate the Best Disposer* (1727), Emilia’s rape at a masquerade “fortunately” prevents her from committing incest by wedding her preferred lover, who is actually her brother. An amicable resolution is provided at the conclusion by Emilia’s marriage to her rapist.

Wright makes use of this form of rape when he discusses Cromwell’s rape of Fergusia. Writing from a Presbyterian perspective, a point of view that would welcome the religious implications of Cromwell’s rule, he notes,

>a faction arose; headed by the bold and valiant Rigicidus [Cromwell], who slew the unfortunate infatuated Bigotzio and banished his offspring. This man was a gentleman by birth, who first subdued the Edwardianes, and then came down into Caledon against Fergusia....And thus committed a rape upon Fergusia and her sister Juverna: But to make some amends for his folly of ravishing first his mother, and then Fergusia and her sister Juverna; he treated them all handsome and suitably to their high quality, and according to their own Genius, especially in sacred manners. (5)

Wright’s trope of violent British union strains at the seams here. While Rigicidus seems to have committed the monstrous metaphorical crime of raping his mother in addition to the two peripheral sisters, Wright stresses the qualities of Rigicidus and uses the slippery nature of contemporary readings of rape to distract from his violent act. Unlike Edward,
who had to be forced away by Fergusia's children, Rigicidus ameliorates his act, as
Haywood's rapist does, by treating his victims in an honourable way after the fact.
Edward's rape, in contrast, is surrounded by ill treatment, and Wright's portrayal of his
victim as a grieving mother effectively rejects the existence of any mitigating
circumstances and inverts the conventional English binary of English civility and Scottish
barbarity.

While we might think that a tropological marriage might be a more positive
representation of the incorporating union than that of rape, Wright suggests that an
Anglo-Scottish marriage might be worse. Indeed, one of the most influential proponents
of union, Daniel Defoe, recognized the danger of presenting the union in this way. In a
1714 pamphlet rebutting a work of Swift in which the union had been briefly represented
as a marriage, Defoe argues that

the simile or allusion of a marriage is lame and halts in the case very
much; for in a marriage the woman is a subject, an inferior; promises
obedience, and is called by the name of her husband; but here is an entire
dissolution of the former capacities and circumstances, and both become
subjected equally to a new constitution, and take up a new name. (14)\(^\text{16}\)

Although power relations within marriage varied over the eighteenth century, marriage,
on the whole, was decidedly not a relationship of equals.\(^\text{17}\) In his mid-century legal
commentaries William Blackstone echoes Defoe when he writes, "by marriage, the

\(^{16}\) This is from *The Scots Nation and Union Vindicated*, which is a response to Swift's infamous (and later
censored) attack on Scots and the Scottish nobility in *The Public Spirit of the Whigs*.

\(^{17}\) Susan Staves has suggested that there was a shift towards "companionate marriages" as the century
progressed (100).
husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband: under whose wing, protection, and cover she performs everything.”

Wright is well aware of the implications of equating marriage with the union. At one point Fergusia asks what Heptarchus means by incorporated. “It looks plaguedly like your love to your pock-pudden, that you’d devour me, and bury me in the midst of your self, and I be turned into your very flesh and blood; at least it looks like Jonah’s punishment, swallowed up in the bellie of the whale” (11). The loss of distinct identity associated with marriage is exactly how Wright wishes to portray a national union. What Defoe and other pamphleteers represent as trade relations, brotherly friendship and gentlemanly exchange is reconfigured as subsumption, loss of identity. The rapes Fergusia has suffered in the past have relegated her temporarily to a subjugated status. She is not willing to make this subordination permanent through marriage. Moreover, as Fergusia insists, the Union can never bring true integration for “there can be no issue of this marriage” (16). Wright argues that there would be no British heir to this marriage, thus Anglo-Scottish difference can never truly be reconciled.

Wright, standing at the point of intersection between private marriage and national union, must at this point try to allow Fergusia to rebut Heptarchus without endangering her womanly attributes. Despite the pathos Wright is able to arouse with Fergusia’s gender, and the strong tendency of current critical thinking to link woman to the colonial subject, it is important to recognize that Wright ultimately does not want to

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present Fergusia in an inferior position. An independent Scotland with its own parliament, he suggests, is at least equal to England. As Richard Braverman suggests in his work on *Hudibras*, the use of a widow in such courtship metaphors, is generally meant to depict a woman fully capable of negotiating her own alliance (63).

On one hand, Wright does suggest, through the metaphors of rape and marriage, that the colonization of Scotland by an imperial England is possible. Fergusia does not want an incorporating union because, she tells Heptarchus, it will “make me as much subjected and dependent on the absolute will of your people, in all my concerns, civil and sacred, as if I were your conquered slave” (24). And during their debate she voices her fear of being made into a child again (18). On the other hand, as the personification of a nation, similar to the Cromwellian Britannia, it is perhaps acceptable for her to escape her gender limitations to engage in discussions that center on commerce, politics, empire, religion and national economies, but since pathos is an important element of her character Wright cannot make her too aggressive. To justify her outspokenness and intellectual capacity he places her, despite her inferior financial position, in a higher rank than her suitor. As mentioned earlier, Fergusia’s antique and noble lineage is contrasted to the background of Heptarchus who, having been conquered by many people, “has kept nothing of himself but the old name” (7). While his mongrel nature makes him lusty, it also suggests that if nations are measured by lineal purity, he does not hold as high a rank as Fergusia. This was a common claim during the union debates. Even Defoe, in his rather ambiguous poem *Caledonia*, notes

> Illustrious blood, with more illustrious hand,

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19 Susan Fraiman, in her famous article disputing Edward Said’s reading of *Mansfield Park*, has discussed this link between colonization and gender. She notes that in Austen’s novel, “the slave trade offers a
In proper channels has been here retain’d;
Th’ Antiquity, which other nations boast,
Would here turn modern, and in an age be lost....
If any true nobility remains,
And virtue could by blood possess the veins.
Then let’s no farther search the world in vain,
To ancient Rome, and lost records of Spain.....
Fabii, Cornelli, and the Bruti yield
To Caledonian tribes the ancient field. (44, 45)

Wright interprets this antiquity as rank. Gender, to a degree, is trumped by rank. This superior rank allows Fergusia to be presented as an educated woman, one who has read and can use Holinshed to support her claims and to repudiate the false rationality of gentlemanly discourse (10). She is able to develop an alternative language, one that sets forth interests and fears openly and tries to work around them. Rather than diminish the pathos, Fergusia’s lineage makes the idea of rape or subjugation in marriage to a young upstart appear even more barbarous.

In addition, Wright inverts the idea, promoted by such influential Englishmen as Sir Christopher Piggot, that it is England which has a long and pure genealogy and that Scotland’s regicidal tendencies prevent such a pedigree. Wright uses the language of civic humanism to associate England’s wealth with corruption and Scotland’s virtue with its poverty. Although Fergusia clearly encourages improved trade relations, Scotland’s convenient metaphor for domestic tyranny, with Fanny Price, of course, in the position of colonized (812).
virtue becomes associated with her merely “competent estate and fortune” (3). Ambition
and wealth corrupt Heptarchus’s priests, and his selfish desire to benefit his own
(English) people through the Navigation Act has damaged Fergusia’s fortune. Fergusia,
on the other hand, notes that she’d “rather have a highland plaid with liberty, than the
greatest dainties, with a hook at the heart of it.” For the peers of Scotland to sell their
country for wealth, she suggests, would make them comparable to Esau, as they would
have sold “their country and birthright to their younger brother, for some handfuls of sour
tobacco and sugar to sweeten it” (23).

Wright’s celebration of the values of Fergusia does not mean that he is in any
way a proto-feminist, only that he uses certain elements of the feminine without allowing
other aspects to interfere with the effectiveness of his concept of nation. At one point, he
does find it necessary to try to justify this tension, noting that “it is consistent with the
modesty of Fergusia to be the aggressor, tho’ few of her sex do really encline to be
daughters of Jeptha” (9). However, the trope of courtship, as writers of romances were
aware, was a particularly useful means to convey female authority for it centered on the
one moment in a woman’s life where she might have a semblance of power – a choice to
resist or submit.

Countering the Reasoning of Gentlemen

Leith Davis, writing of Daniel Defoe’s vision of the Union, states that Defoe sees
the “printed word as a medium of unification,” although he recognized that process as
problematic, since “the nation united by reading and writing in the present had to be
continually read or written in the future” (38). Defoe had to respond continually to anti-

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20 Bruce Galloway, in *The Union of England and Scotland*, writes that Piggot in the Commons, during
union negotiations (following the union of the crowns) notes that “they have not suffered above two kings to
union pamphlets (before and after the union). Reasoned debate was one of Defoe’s most powerful weapons, whether he wrote in his own voice or assumed the persona of a Scotsman. Davis points out that one of his common rhetorical techniques is “to reduce political disagreement to linguistic misunderstanding” and then rationalize this “misinterpretation” away (24). From the perspective of anti-union pamphleteers, of course, this “spin,” alongside the continual remaking of the union in whatever terms it took to rebut objections, may well look like duplicity.

The setting of a courtship codes the exchange as potentially suspect, and prepares the reader for masculine duplicity. Whereas fiction writers later in the century, such as Henry Fielding, Frances Burney and Tobias Smollett, frequently conclude their fictional works with harmonic resolution through marriage, earlier fiction, by writers such as Haywood and Manley, did not always feel this resolution was necessary or advisable. Amatory fiction in the early part of the century was often centered on the many promises men made to women before seduction and the poor treatment that followed. Speaking of Manley, Ros Ballaster notes that “[s]incerity...is always a losing card in the business of love and, thus, by analogy, in that of politics. Within the fictional economy of Manley’s text, masculine and feminine appear to be radically divided. Female sincerity and male duplicity, fact and fiction, fight an unequal battle in which virtue can only lose” (135). Even where we might believe masculinity to be honourable, as in when proposals of marriage are made, this honour is frequently shown to be artifice. In Haywood’s

die in their beds, these two hundred years. Our king hath hardly escaped them” (104).

21 Paul H. Scott points out that in The Advantages of Scotland, by an Incorporate Union with England, Defoe not only “pretended to be Scottish,” but even “used some Scots words” (11).

22 Toni Bowers offers an alternative national reading, connecting the specific position and limited agency of women in Haywood’s romances – one of “collusive resistance” – to the position of Toryism in early-eighteenth-century England. She writes that the model which offers concepts of agency, even within
Mercenary Lover, for example, Clitander, having married the wife he has carefully courted, designs to seduce her sister in order to prevent loss of her fortune, for “money was the only darling of his mercenary wishes...the estate of which Miranda was Coheiress, was the sole inducement to his addressing and marrying her” (quoted in Paula Backscheider 126). Clitander, we are told, was versed admirably in the art of dissimulation...upon his oily tongue the most melting accents in soft persuasion hung, and tenderness unspeakable languish’d in his eyes; gay smiles play’d round his mouth in dimpl’d graces, and his whole air was harmony and love: none but the all-seeing eye of heaven cou’d penetrate into his heart, or guess at the perfidiousness that harbour’d there. (quoted in Backscheider 128)

Wright plays with this model of dissimulation and greed in courtship. Heptarchus’ discourse, like that of Clitander, does not appear in any way dishonourable. Rather, like the numerous pro-union pamphleteers, he is rational, amiable and rhetorically persuasive. Wright calls into question the trustworthiness of this language of clarity and rationality – the language of a gentleman – used in the context of pro-union discussion, suggesting this language, like the royal metaphors, is a rhetorical device, a performance, empty of any true desire for equality. A heterosexual trope, he suggests, rather than a homosocial one, embodies the true state of national dialogue. The duplicity and inequality hidden beneath the surface of the homosocial trope is exposed.

surrender, allowed the Tories to feel that despite “decades of capitulation,” “ideological integrity and viability” could still be accessible” (63).

Performance to a Presbyterian clergyman, such as Wright, would be suspect in itself. Virtually no information is available on Wright, except a brief note in Mcleod & Mcleod’s Anglo-Scottish tracts, 1701-1714 noting that he was a Presbyterian minister.
In a number of exchanges Fergusia rebuts the "reasonable" assertions of
Heptarchus with blunt language and continual reference to historical experience to
disclaim his protestations. Heptarchus claims that he has long loved Fergusia, even when
she scorned him for the King of Slaves (France) from whom he had to eventually rescue
her. He claims that love has been rekindled since the union of the crowns,

since which time I have been ravish'd with your charms and constancy. It
is no sudden passion, or young fond love I pretend to, it's founded on long
happiness in your acquaintance, and the charms of your agreeable
conversation....You are the only person in the world can make me happy:
I'm passionate to possess that shining beauty and virtues, I have so long
beheld and admired in you. (9)

Fergusia contradicts her lover's protestations, revealing them to be worthless
compliments. She remarks, "it is the usual method of the beau to cajole innocent ladies
with pretended passion, when in the mean time they design nothing but interest or
diversion, and sometimes both" (9). She continues, not in the language of mythology
promoted by Belhaven, but by proffering a reinterpretation of the history which
Heptarchus presents as truth. It is true, she replies, that he rescued her from France, but
adds, "it was your own interest as well as mine.... I think it was the best, if not the only
kindness, I ever had at your hands" (10). When he argues that his desire is for the
"closest and dearest love" of an incorporating union, she responds that since the time of
Pacifico (James I) "now and then ye pretended conjugal love when there was nothing but
diversion and interest" (12). She then lists five occasions in which he has promoted
marriage ostensibly for love, yet has acted in ways against her interest. The sentiment
behind the Navigation Act, for example, which limited Scottish trade, suggests Heptarchus wished to “marry one, whom... [he] endeavours to make both alien and slave” (14).

When Heptarchus responds to some of her concerns, claiming, for example, to have ordered that Fergusia be paid in the matter of Isthmus – a reference to the ill-fated Darien venture – she clearly points out that, not only has he made unfulfilled financial promises to her before, but that he has a history of misinterpreting her position in such agreements. After a previous financial agreement, she argues, her participation was used to accuse her of selling her king for a groat. Wright does not merely change the terms of the Anglo-Scottish union from the egalitarian union that was being ostensibly proposed to the more suspect language of courtship, but during the discussion directly exposes the dangers underlying unstable language – language that must continually reinterpret – that selects only the strands of history and rhetoric required to rebut each particular objection, weaving them into harmonic patterns that elide contradictions. Ultimately this results in rendering language itself worthless as a foundation for negotiating power, for promised conditions can be evaded or reinterpreted. As Davis points out, Fergusia has learned from Junerva/Ireland that Heptarchus is “so strong parchment will not bind him” (24). Wright demonstrates that it is not so much strength (though it may likely be strength in Ireland) as artifice that is Heptarchus’s greatest ally in negotiating Anglo-Scottish relations.

In a particularly ironic move, Wright’s Scotland does not unequivocally reject the possibility of union. What she offers, however, is a true egalitarian union, one that she
assigns a legitimating history. It was offered, she notes, in the reign of Pius 6th/Edward VI, but was later rejected by Henry VIII (9, 10). The main proposal of this union is revised trade relations: a form of free trade. Other than that, the joint crown would be retained, along with separate laws, customs and parliaments. This is a federal union, and not one that can be readily equated with marriage. Heptarchus responds that he cannot be content with this as it is “not a complete marriage, it holds us still at a distance....I can never be happy till you and I become one flesh, and be entirely incorporated” (11). This rejection makes it clear that it is a marriage, with all its hierarchical implications, and not a union of equals that is an accurate metaphor for England’s desired union. Moreover, as Fergusia points out, just as after a marriage any female negotiating power ends, so an incorporating union would remove any degree of separate negotiating power. She notes, “[c]ompact supposes still different parties; and where there are no different parties, there can be no compact. So that pacton ceases when you and I become one, and of necessity all articles must be altered, according to the circumstances of the whole united body; and no man can make a compact with himself” (24). Slipping into a rather different metaphor about various members of a human body trying to negotiate with the whole body, Wright reveals that the subordinate party in the marital agreement, whether wife or nation, will lose any bargaining power upon the completion of the union.

In a strange twist of gender roles, Wright then compares the English position on Scottish representation in a British parliament, to a form of emasculation. While Fergusia has consistently been represented as female throughout the pamphlet, her children, as previously mentioned, have been depicted as masculine. When she speaks of

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24 Federal union rather than an incorporating union had been a popular alternative in Scotland.
25 According to the OED, second edition, “pacton” means “a bargain, agreement, compact, contact.”
the representational limits to 45 members of the Commons and 16 peers, much to
Heptarchus’s surprise, she speaks of circumcision. She suggests, “circumcise yours to
the same number, or else let mine be uncircumcised still” (20). Wright tries to have it
both ways. Separating Fergusia from her children allows him to present a pure essential
nation, vulnerable to its southern neighbour. The children, then, can become the
problematic factor, capable of debauchment and foolishness but, at the same time,
capable of defending their mother when necessary. The masculinity of her children,
along with her superior social rank, ensures that she is not, like Junerva, exposed to
subsumption. To agree to an incorporating union would change this double-gendered
nature of Scotland, leaving it vulnerable to English aggression. Fergusia tells her wooer,
“you come on me as the Jacobites did on the Schechemites, when I’m sore and stridling
with this circumcision, this wound to my constitution, take my city, slay my children,
brake your faith and carry away my cattle” (20).²⁶

In the early years of the eighteenth century, the tropological tools of Stuart
propaganda and contemporary pro-union discourse had been adapted by its opponents
and used to disrupt and problematize cross-border negotiations, and to deal with intricate
issues of socio-economic power. In addition to focusing on the vehicle (the courtship)
Wright’s pamphlet slides between Fergusia as individual and Fergusia as nation, between
vehicle and tenor, at times engaging directly with particular historical events and shifts –
the Darien Venture, Cromwell’s advances into Scotland, the migration of Scots towards
London and empire, to name only a few. While the writer takes a particular ideological

²⁶ At the beginning of the pamphlet, Fergusia’s children are debauched by Edward, thus facilitating their
mother’s rape (3).
position, history is neither masked by totalizing Stuart propaganda nor by an ethereal imagined national culture. The early cross-border trope, then, does not operate “purely” in an imagined domestic realm, but is marked explicitly by history.

Wright’s use of tropology, unlike that of Belhaven, was uneasy. Davis suggests that Belhaven’s aristocratic background and position may have led him to incorporate myth and history more readily into his language. In contrast, Wright, as a Presbyterian minister, would likely have been generally opposed to iconography and the suspicious permutations of figurative language. It would not be surprising if Wright displayed some discomfort working with figures of speech. Perhaps for this reason, after using figurative language to uncover the duplicitous use of the pro-union rhetoric of reason, he moves at the end of the pamphlet towards his own formulation of rational language. Fergusia has “reasonably” rebutted Heptarchus’s objections throughout the second half of the pamphlet, but as it draws to a close, following her beau’s choleric departure, she directly addresses her readers, listing the terms on which she would consider a union.28 Claiming recognition for her ability to reason she requests “time to deliberate upon things that are of the last consequence to all my most precious interests, and do not preposterously cram down my throat, what requires the greatest deliberation” (28). Wright then moves to the final portion of his pamphlet, a letter from Fergusia to her “sons” asking that they consider her “weighty reasons” against the marriage. Fergusia inverts the reason/emotion binary of the pro-union pamphleteers, suggesting that the fatal historical flaw of the Scots has been gullibility to false reason. She writes, “[y]our predecessors have perpetually been deluded with fatal mistakes, in all their transactions with their neighbours,” and lists

28 Clearly this biblical reference is making a play on words that invert the usual association between Scots and Jacobites.
a number of examples in regards to Franco-Scottish relations and the union of the
crowns. “You are the only perpetually infatuate nation in the world,” she chides, “you
had need to learn wisdom from these mistakes of your predecessors, lest you forever
verify your proverb, wise behind the hand” (29, 30). To Wright the language of “sense”
proffered by pro-union writers is simply a repeat of past linguistic trickery. The answer
he offers does not clothe Scottish history in exaggerated glory, as Belhaven does, but
rather suggests that Scots look reasonably at the history of Scottish submission to
“rational” rhetoric. 29

Post-Union pamphlets

Anglo-Scottish relations were not harmonious in the decade that followed the
Union. A number of commitments that accompanied the Union agreement were dropped
after incorporation had diminished Scottish political agency. Two Jacobite rebellions
with increasing support in Scotland and an attempt to repeal the Union that almost
succeeded suggested that the egalitarian partnership promoted by pro-Union
pamphleteers had not emerged. The relationship between political power, gender and a
tropology of courtship that had marked Wright’s work, therefore, still seemed useful as a
means of representing Anglo-Scottish tension and continued to be used by writers from
the peripheries. John Arbuthnot’s John Bull pamphlets and Allan Ramsay’s Three
Bonnets work with a similar tropology, but, working with agendas distinct from that of
Wright and each other, they use gender in surprisingly different ways. Despite this
tropological malleability, there are some consistencies between the representations of

28 Most of which are unsurprisingly related to religious rights.
29 Although it is unlikely that Wright’s pamphlet is directed at redefining the discourse of women, by
displacing reason from a homosocial to a courtship trope, and by having it emanate from the mouth of a
Anglo-Scottish interaction. Familial relations are consistently seen as a way to convey power inequity and tension rather than national unity, not as they are frequently used in the late eighteenth-century national tale, to work towards resolution. These alternative paradigms offer fundamentally different ways to envision the Union: as Jonah's irreversible punishment: a traitorous but reversible act brought about by deceit, or as an unsettled household, natural because of its basis in kinship, from which duplicitous troublemakers need to be banished. Such contradictory configurations of Anglo-Scottish interchange remind us that in the early days of the union neither the making nor the maintaining of the alliance had the air of inevitability or irreversability that it has had until the last few decades of the twentieth century.

A number of recent critics have suggested that Tories were more likely to use figurative language in their propaganda. Alan W. Bower and Robert A. Erickson, the editors of the most recent edition of Arbuthnot's pamphlets, link the metaphorical language of the Tory physician's work, and more specifically his use of personification, to the "allegorical 'little history' form so popular with Tory satirists during the reign of Anne" and propagated by such writers as Delarivière Manley (lxxvii). Bower and Erickson point out that Arbuthnot's claim that Manley is his publisher on the title page of his last three pamphlets may well acknowledge "a debt to her" (lxxviii). Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock, in his recent analysis of literature surrounding the War of the Spanish Succession, supports the idea that Tory writers tended to engage more imaginatively with their texts. He comments, "Whig propaganda literature made only sparse use of woman - tropological or otherwise - Wright opens up an acceptable space for female reason, at least as self-defence.  

30 All references to the John Bull pamphlets are taken from the The History of John Bull, edited by Alan W. Bower and Robert A. Erickson.
metaphors.... partly due to the sociological composition of the reading public, which in the case of the Observator, for example, was Nonconformist” (170). Müllenbrock further notes that “The Whigs...did not have at their disposal such an arsenal of affective language” as the Tories, “inflammable material which the Tories fully utilized to kindle the feelings of their political base; the latter’s need for easy identification was gratified by a propaganda strategy which translated complex issues of power politics into the familiar sphere of personal relationships” (177).

My research suggests that while Tories seemed more likely to utilize the traditional metaphorical language of the Stuart regime, this tendency in relation to the Anglo-Scottish Union was not strictly limited to one political party. While we do not know much about Wright’s background, his Presbyterian allegiances may increase the likelihood that he was more sympathetic to Whig than Tory interests. We have seen that he carefully disconnects the tropes from their Stuart associations before refurbishing them for his purposes and that he ultimately rejects metaphoric language for a blunt rational discourse that rejects the gentility of the pro-union works. It is feasible, then, that those sympathetic to Whig positions, could use figurative language for their purposes. Defoe, in fact, in the same pamphlet in which he rejects Swift’s metaphor of marriage, follows his denial of this trope as an appropriate way to represent union, with an engagement with the metaphor. He argues that even if such a metaphor were to be used, it could be interpreted in a manner favourable to union. A wife mistreated by her

31 Theresa Kelley’s work clearly indicates that the Whigs used metaphors for more than just Union negotiation. She writes in reference to Thomas Sprat’s History of the Royal Society, for example, “[w]hereas Restoration apologists discredit allegory in part to suppress the nonconformist use of allegory...Milton’s allegorical practice suggests a more self-divided reading of this same cultural moment” (56).
husband's servants, he suggests — neatly deflecting blame from his essential representation of the English nation — could hold her husband to account leading him to censure those who have treated her badly. Nevertheless, despite Whig abilities to engage with such tropes, the fact that of four allegorical pamphlets written about the union in this period three of them (by Arbuthnot, Ramsay and Swift) were by those who were sympathetic to Tory or Jacobite interests suggests that the position of Bower, Erickson and Müllenbrock has merit.

Arbuthnot and Ramsay have connections with various elements of Toryism, but while the affiliations of the former are clearly known, Ramsay's political affiliations are rather obscure. In his *Epistle to Mr. James Arbuckle* he notes, "[w]ell then, I'm nowther Whig nor Tory,/ nor credit give to Purgatory" (258).[^33] He describes the Easy Club, of which he was a founding member, as a society formed from "the antipathy we all seemed to have at the ill humour and contradictions which arose from trifles, especially those which constitute Whig and Tory, without having the grand reason for it" (Law 20).

However, his possible affiliation with Jacobitism has interested literary critics. Alexander Law suggests, in a 1989 article on Ramsay and the Easy Club, that there is little evidence of Jacobitism in Ramsay's work. Murray Pittock rebuts this position, contending that Jacobite codes abound in some of his poetry. This matter is weighed by Michael Murphy in a recent assessment which suggests that Ramsay was a sentimental Jacobite, who, later

[^32]: I do not intend to imply that all Presbyterians were Whigs. However, as 'dissenters,' they were less likely to espouse the values of the Church of England. Wright's sympathy may exist despite the fact that it was a specific group of Whigs that were trying to pursue the path of Union that he rejected.

[^33]: This quotation is from a reprinted edition of 1877 (New York: AMS, 1973). In a footnote to Ramsay's claim to be neither Whig nor Tory, the editor notes, "Ramsay was a zealous Tory from principle. But he was much caressed by Baron Clerk and other gentlemen of opposite principles, which made him outwardly affect neutrality. His 'Vision' and 'Tale of Three Bonnets,' are sufficient proofs of his zeal as an old Jacobite: but, wishing to disguise himself, he published this, and the 'Eagle and Redbreast,' as ancient poems, and with the fictitious signature of 'A.R. Scot'" (258).
in his life (in the 1740s) may have wanted to associate himself with the Hanoverian regime.  

**Arbuthnot and Gendered Tropology**

John Arbuthnot, who, as I shall shortly discuss, had been involved in circulating pro-union propaganda, envisions union in a sharply different way from Wright. Avoiding the trope of courtship, perhaps because of its associations with loss of female identity, Arbuthnot prefers to use a different familial vehicle to capture Anglo-Scottish relations — that of siblings. As will become evident, the sibling model allows the pro-union Arbuthnot to naturalize Britishness in a way Wright clearly avoids, but at the same time, to use sibling rivalry and gender hierarchy between brother and sister to foreground clear and specific concerns with the state of post-union cross-border relations.

John Arbuthnot is generally known today as the “recipient” of Pope’s “Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot” (1735). Only occasionally is he assessed in light of his own work. He was born in Kincardineshire in 1667 to an Anglican clergyman who had lost his living for refusing to adhere to Presbyterianism. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, having received an M.A. degree from Marichal College in Aberdeen, he came to London and trained to be a physician. In 1705 he was appointed Physician Extraordinary to Queen Anne (Bower xl). Around 1711 he met Jonathan Swift, and rapidly became drawn into a Tory circle that included both Swift and Alexander Pope. Arbuthnot’s Anglicanism and the fate of his father under the Scottish kirk might have contributed to his support for the Union. In a spoof sermon he published in 1706 he attempts to emphasize the progressive nature of the Union. In 1712 he published the John Bull pamphlets which

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34 Murray Pittock, “Were the Easy Club Jacobites,” Michael Murphy “Allan Ramsay: Jacobite War or Hanoverian Peace.”
show a continued support for the Union in principle, but also an increasing discomfort with some of the tangible results of the Union.\(^{35}\)

Despite the accusations of partisan Whigs to the contrary, Tories and Jacobites, whether sentimental or militant, were not at all the same thing, although some had loyalties to both camps and both opposed Whig progressivism and developments in commerce and empire.\(^{36}\) However the views of the loyal Tory and the sentimental Jacobite diverged, Arbuthnot and Ramsay share concerns about the effectiveness of Union, despite Arbuthot’s past experience as a pro-Union advocate. As Colin Kidd notes, Arbuthnot, in his spoof *Sermon at the Mercat Cross* (1706) exposes the shallowness of the Scottish whig tradition, [and] advanced the keen desire of his royal mistress for the union of her kingdoms. To Arbuthnot, Scotland’s celebrated history of freedom was the false consciousness of an impoverished backwater promoted by her vested interests, nobles and clerics whose pathetic ambition was to continue ‘to insult over slaves and beggars.’ English prosperity, he argued, was intimately linked to the real freedoms of the common people on the land, enjoying long leases and security of tenure. Incorporating union would be a liberating experience for the Scottish people, promising independence from the petty tyranny of lairds, and freedom of conscience. (38)

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\(^{35}\) See page 42 and 43 for more detail on some of the material conflicts that had resulted from the Union. Biographical material is taken from Bowers and Erickson and Robert C. Steensma’s *Dr. John Arbuthnot*.  

\(^{36}\) J.C.D Clark has located the Tories’ gradual rejection of Jacobitism in the 1740s, with Bolingbroke’s publication of *The Idea of a Patriot King* (1749) (238). However, I would agree with Paul Langford’s assessment of the relationship between Jacobitism and Toryism in the early part of the century. He writes, “[t]hose who asserted that the Tories were Jacobites, it could be answered that while the Stuarts remained loyal to Rome there was little danger of their successfully appealing to the ‘Church Party,’ as some Tories frequently described themselves” (16).
This position is clearly different from that of Ramsay, who, in *Three Bonnets*, likens the union to a marriage founded in mutual deception and betrayal. This difference influences the way in which they configure gender and familial relationships in their allegories. But at the same time, both elect to use the language of domesticity to foreground, rather than elide, conflict in Anglo-Scottish relations.

The extensive discussion of sexuality and courtship in Wright's pamphlet is irrelevant to the sibling relationship described in the third of Arbuthnot's *John Bull* pamphlets. A desire to avoid the subsumption implicit in the marital metaphor is not surprising, given Arbuthnot's position on the Union. Depicting the nations as siblings, moreover, suggests that union is a natural, perhaps even inevitable relationship between kin, not unlike the Brutus myth promoted in English tracts during James I's attempts to establish a more extensive Anglo-Scottish union in the years following his ascension to the English throne. Yet unlike the Brutus myth, Arbuthnot's "myth" of common descent conveys cross-border relations between a masculine England (John) and a feminine Scotland (Peg), and, despite his support of the union in 1706, does suggest that the resulting power inequity is problematic.

Arbuthnot's selection of siblings over spouses, a different form of familial trope, could have derived from his desire to convey the relationship between the nation and ministries as marital. Certainly he makes the most of his marital metaphor in his discussion of the prosecution of Sacheverell. In a parody of Whig arguments against "passive obedience" to King and Church in all circumstances" during their insistence on

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37 The main function of the pamphlets is to support the Tory peace project in relation to the War of the Spanish Succession. John's relationship with his sister is really a side issue, but obviously one that is important enough to fill almost an entire pamphlet in the series.
the impeachment of the High Tory preacher, John Bull’s first wife (the Godolphin ministry and in particular the Whig managers of the case against Sacheverell) uses marital contract law to justify “adultery.” Noting in a letter that the contract by which a wife submits to a husband can be broken if the husband does not maintain his obligations, Mrs. Bull argues that the “indispensable duty of cuckoldom” is lodged in wives in all such cases since “no wife is bound by any law to which she herself has not consented.”

The argument that the structure of Arbuthnot’s imaginary household is designed primarily around his ministry/nation metaphor is a plausible one, yet the implications of his configuration of Anglo-Scottish interchange suggest that the choice is also related to his desire to configure a different kind of union than that envisioned by Wright and anti-union commentators. We have already discussed the implications of common origin inherent in his domestic model. The sibling relationship also configures a long history of Anglo-Scottish disagreements as childish quarrels, which then grew into “rooted aversions” that manifested in an adult relationship of mutual denigration. The implication of this progressive representation of Anglo-Scottish relations is that as both “nations” mature and grow more rational, these childish quarrels will dissipate. Third, Arbuthnot’s model avoids Wright’s representation of union as Jonah’s punishment. Women, while they may have to operate in a more limited sphere than their brothers, do not, like wives, lose their identities if they elect to reside with them. While Arbuthnot may not have believed in retaining sovereignty and a history of glory at the expense of economic and social growth, he did not necessarily support subsumption. In Sermon at

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38 The Brutus myth tells of the division of Britain between his three sons. Bruce Galloway briefly discusses its use in union tracts in The Union of England and Scotland 1603-1608 (51).
39 Bower and Erickson note, “the real issue of the trial was a long and acrimonious debate between the Tory defenders of Sacheverell, who supported the theory of passive obedience (here allegorized as marital
the Mercat Cross he struggles with the issue of assimilation, offering two contradictory positions in one paragraph. Trying to assure his readers that Scots are giving up no more than the English he remarks,

Is there not a new title, new seal, new arms, and the same changes for them as for us? For I take an incorporating union to be, as if two pieces of metal were melted down into one mass; neither can be said to retain its former form or substance, as it did before the mixture. We can never be so unreasonable as to pretend to an equal number of representatives in a British parliament; when two nations join in a common assembly, the most powerful and most numerous will still be the most powerful and most numerous; whatever metal exceeded before the mixture, the same will exceed in the mass. It is impossible to change the nature of things....What is it that Scotland loses? The country, the people, are not annihilated; nor does an union cause all the worthy deeds that have been done at any time by the Scotch nation to be forgotten. (quoted in Aitken 403)

Arbuthnot suggests that Scotland and England will dissolve into each other, with England as the primary element in the alloy, and that this desire coexists with a seemingly contradictory desire for Scotland to maintain its heritage and distinctness.

Arbuthnot’s struggle to explain difference within fusion can be explained by considering Siskin’s interpretation of emergent British identity during this historical moment. Siskin notes that “the totalizing effort to make Britain a nation...proceeded

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fidelity) and the Whig prosecutors, who argued the contractual concept of government (cuckoldom) which Sacheverell had attacked” (153). For a detailed discussion of the parody, see Bower and Erickson li, lli.  
40 Defoe uses this same metaphor in his pamphlet responding to Swift to try to counter the marital metaphor.
through – not in spite of – the articulation of cultural difference. The doubling ensured that difference and unity articulated each other”(86). The Act of Union, Siskin suggests, sought to ensure a whole by, paradoxically, dividing up into parts. Scotland was to become a part of England by not only remaining, but becoming, in very particular ways, a particularly distinct part. The Act differentiated the political and economic ways from the legal, religious and thus educational ones – those having to do with the passing down, regulation, and valorization of distinctive traits, customs, and beliefs – in other words, that which we would now call culture. (85)

Arbuthnot’s Sermon could be said to mark the beginning of this process. On the other hand, the trope is highly unstable. Aravamudan’s concept of the suppressed difference between tenor and vehicle comes into play here. While Arbuthnot presents his metallic metaphor as if difference and fusion could co-exist comfortably, the identity of the lesser metal in the model of the melting pot that his vehicle provides would, in fact, not remain distinct. The suppressed difference (between the claim to distinctness and the concept of blended metals) suggests that fusion and the retention of distinct attributes cannot simultaneously be achieved – a dissonance that becomes more pronounced in the domestic household described in the post-union John Bull pamphlets. Despite the presence of this destabilizing excess, Arbuthnot works to articulate difference within unity, not only in his “sermon,” but by creating a tropological sibling relationship in which difference can never disappear into sameness.

41 In contrast, some English union advocates such as Daniel Defoe are comfortable accepting, in the words of Davis, that "Scottish people can be best served by no longer being Scottish" (25).
Peg and John will not reproduce – there will be no joint “British” heir born of this union that will seamlessly erase Scottish (or English) identity. As a woman moving into her brother’s house, Peg will lose her ability to make decisions about the household (political freedom) but will retain other freedoms (her traits, customs and beliefs) which she has been promised in negotiations about cohabitation. We are told an unwilling Peg was persuaded to stay with John by good friends and by “many a bonny thing that were sent, and many more that were promised,” not to mention assurance that she could continue her relationship with Jack (Calvinism). Her maintained distinction within unity is assured.

The naïve hope that pervades Arbuthnot’s “sermon” is diluted in the pamphlet, written five years and many conflicts after the union. Peg’s speech indicating concern about the union, which Bower and Erickson read as a parody of Belhaven’s famous speech against the union in 1705, gains new significance when considered in relation to the problematic way in which the cohabitation plays out in the remainder of the pamphlet. Peg, hearing of her brother’s wish for her to reside with him, comments, “My brother John…is grown wondrous kind-hearted all of a suddain, but I meikle doubt, whether it be not mair for his awn conveniency than my good….He wants my poor little farm, because it makes a nook in his park-wall.” Complaining of his negotiations in regards to the war, “silly contracts” he has made while drunk, she adds,

Why should I stand surety for his silly contracts? The little I have is free, and I can call it my own; Hame’s hame be it never so hamely; I ken him

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42 Some years later the pro-union Scottish author James Thomson struggled with the same relationship between difference and unity. He resolves the tension in The Seasons, by suggesting that economic difference can be erased, and that the pro-Hanover Duke of Argyle is the inheritor of the legacy of Wallace.
well enough, he never could abide me, and when he has his ends he’ll e’en use me as he did before; I’m sure I shall be treated like a poor drudge; I shall be set to tend the bairns, darn the hose and mend the linen. (55)

Although Arbuthnot is diplomatic in critiquing England’s treatment of Scotland, and, unsurprisingly, given his associations with the English court, his initial support for the union and his long residence in England, tactfully assigns blame to both sides, there appears to be a certain justification to Peg’s fears, although, as I shall discuss, he deflects direct censure away from John onto his advisors. The relationship between the siblings ends with a series of clashes, few of which seem to have been solved satisfactorily and Peg then disappears from the remainder of the pamphlets, which focus on political, religious and military matters. Her absence ominously reiterates her position as a lesser female member of the household, unable to contribute or advise her brother on his public affairs. It is not her gender alone that places her in this position. John Bull’s wise second wife – the Harley ministry and its supporters – does give her husband intelligent advice. John Bull’s Mother – the Church of England – is a sober, virtuous woman who is judicious “in the turn of her conversation and choice of studies, in which she far exceeded all her sex” (49). Like the second Mrs. Bull, she is not averse to advancing “her opinions with a becoming assurance” (49). Though Mrs. Bull and John’s mother are not central throughout the pamphlet series, when they do appear, they are represented as rational and holding some degree of authority. This is not the case with Peg.

Like Wright, Arbuthnot uses the social position of his personified Scotland to support his view of Anglo-Scottish relations. However, unlike Fergusia, Peg’s financial

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Scottish mythic difference is reinforced while the erasure of economic difference is simultaneously promoted.
position is not ameliorated by superiority in rank and antiquity. Arbuthnot is not, like Wright, trying to promote Scotland’s ability to exist independently. Her gender allied with her poverty, physical weakness and lowly occupation stresses the potential commercial benefits of union and minimizes any potential military threat that England may fear from Scotland after the 1708 rising. Peg is drawn in terms that emphasize her poverty. John is “ruddy and plump” and Peg is “pale and wan” (49, 50). John grew up with the “best apartment” facing the sun while Peg grew up “in a garret, expos’d to the North-Wind, which shrivel’d her countenance,” though it also gave her a hardy constitution (50). In a reference to military ability, Arbuthnot notes that though Peg would not yield in a fight, John “was indeed too strong for her” (50). And in this trope of the middling classes, John, a successful tradesman (a clothier) is contrasted with his sister, who goes “hawking and pedling about the streets, selling knives, scissars and shoebuckles; now and then carry’d a basket of fish to the market; sow’d spun and knit for a poor livelihood, till her fingers-ends were sore; and when she could not get bread for her family, she was forc’d to hire ‘em out at journey-work to her neighbours” (53, 54).

At the same time, foregrounding Peg’s vulnerability – her weaker strength and lower military status – implies that Peg’s fear that as a female poor relation she may become a mere drudge, excluded from household decisions, may have validity. While female poets like Jane Barker did celebrate spinsterhood to a certain degree in the early eighteenth century, as Cheryl Turner remarks, “[s]pinsterhood, as depicted in the popular

43 The sibling metaphor avoids the Anglo-Scottish debate over which was the more antique nation, as it implies the brother and sister are not far apart in age.

44 Arbuthnot is playing with the stereotype of the Scot as peddler which appeared in such works as Caledonia: A Peddler turned Merchant (1700). Critics have also suggested that Arbuthnot had seen his friend Jonathan Swift’s marital allegory, “The Story of the Injured Lady,” though it was not published until the 1740s, and was playfully presenting a more benign version.
culture was an unenviable condition” (66). The state of the poor relation in a prosperous household was not a pleasant one; think of Jane Austen’s famous example at the beginning of the nineteenth century – Fanny Price. Peg does have a beau. Poor Jack is incapacitated, however, not by the limitations placed on him during negotiations for Peg’s move, but by the betrayal of those who claim to be acting in his best interests in matters unrelated to Peg. They convince him to half hang himself, leaving him with “some small tokens of life” but lying “past hope of a total recovery with his head hanging on one shoulder without speech or motion” (87).

Peg, then, is left as a marginal member of her brother’s household, a position that seems unmerited, for she is “clever,” possesses “spirit” and “vivacity” and has the “air and mien of a gentlewoman” with “a certain decent pride” (50, 54). The extent of her vulnerability is described as discussion of Anglo-Scottish relations comes to a close. Arbuthnot diplomatically discusses complaints from both Peg’s and John’s servants, but primarily foregrounds the mistreatments to which Peg is subjected. He mentions that “[t]he purchase money of Peg’s farm was ill paid” in reference to the slow payment of the Equivalent, money promised to compensate Scots who had incurred private losses related

45 Living by the Pen. In The Sign of Angellica, Janet Todd locates anti-spinster discourse in the late 17th and early eighteenth century particularly in male sexual satire (29).

46 This is a reference to have a bill passed that would punish Dissenters for occasional conformity. While Arbuthnot does paint Jack (Calvinism) as a trickster in his relations with Peg and critiques many of his actions and characteristics, he seems to strongly disagree with the way in which Whigs had been convinced that voting for this bill would be in their best interests. Thus, he portrays the event rather horrifically as Jack being promised that he would be rescued from hanging and then being left to die. Bower and Erickson quite rightly call this the "most poignant episode in the satire" (lv).

47 Pride is presented quite differently here than it is in the sermon, in which Arbuthnot is far more critical of a pride that can blind Scots to the benefits they might gain from the union.

48 To Defoe’s credit, he had been concerned that England would forget its responsibility to Scotland after the union. As Laurence Dickey points out, Defoe, in his Review articles tried to "remind England of its future legal and moral obligations to Scotland were a British nation to be formed out of Union. As a minority in the 'Parliament of Britain' the Scots would be vulnerable to English tyranny in the form of majority rule" (81). "Power, Commerce, and Natural Law in Daniel Defoe's Political Writings 1698-1707" in A Union for Empire.
to Darien or the standardization of coinage (56). Regarding Anglo-Scottish disagreements about importing wine to Scotland at lower import duty and selling it in England, he adds that John’s servants “shut up the Wine-cellar” and Peg had to make a false key to gain access (56). He notes more generally that “Peg’s servants complained they were debar’d from all manner of business,” an allusion that Bower and Erickson connect to “the series of acts which were manoeuvred through Parliament by the English commercial lobby to deprive their Scots counterparts of guaranteed equality” (56, 190). And he makes reference to limitations, not part of the union agreement, which had been placed on Scottish peers, in his discussion of complaints that Peg’s servants were always asking for drink money and that they brought too many of their friends and acquaintances to the table. Arbuthnot remarks,

Instead of regulating this matter as it ought to be, Peg’s young men were thrust away from the table; then there was the devil and all to do....Peg said this was contrary to agreement, whereby she was in all things to be treated like a child of the family; then she call’d upon those that had made her such fair promises, and undertook for her brother John’s good behaviour; but alas! To her cost, she found that they were the first and readiest to do her the injury.

49See David L. Smith’s History of the Modern British Isles 1603-1707 for a discussion of this failure to pay the Equivalent (332).
50The most controversial was the case of the Duke of Hamilton, upon whom Queen Anne, in 1711, bestowed a Dukedom. Expecting to be able to sit in the House of Lords separately from the sixteen Scottish peers, he was denied this right by the Lords, a decision that led to rioting in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Bower and Erickson outline this event in footnotes on pages 192 and 193.
51Arbuthnot (57). Bower and Erickson quote Trevelyan’s remark that “the most disgraceful circumstance in the affair was that the prime movers of this injustice to Scotland were the Whig lords who had most keenly promoted the policy of the Union that was to reconcile the two peoples. Their motive was fear lest the Crown should swamp the Upper House with Tory creations” (192).
It is clear that although Arbuthnot does not renounce his previous pro-union position, he is very concerned about the way cross-border relations have developed since the union. The economic progress that Arbuthnot had confidently predicted six years earlier had not yet come to pass and, in addition to the conflicts listed above, a series of inflammatory actions had been taken by the English parliament. Against the wishes of the court, the Commons and Lords abolished the Scottish Privy Council in 1708. After the Jacobite rebellion of that year, in defiance of their promise to avoid interference in Scottish legal matters, parliament “extended the draconian English law of treason to Scotland against the concerted opposition of the Scottish members in the Commons” (Devine 18). And in 1709 there was disagreement about whether sons of Scottish peers, elected to office, could serve in the Commons.  

The Episcopalian doctor concludes his discussion with another such Anglo-Scottish conflict, one in which the English position may have been personally welcome to him, but which he clearly recognized was perceived to be yet another betrayal of English promises, this time made to Presbyterian leaders, during union discussions. The Toleration Act and Patronage Act, passed shortly before the publication of his pamphlets, affirmed the right of Episcopal Scots to worship after their own form and gave local landowners, rather than the Kirk, the power to select parish ministers.  

Arbuthnot’s representation of this conflict, while humorous, acknowledges that the shift in religious policy takes advantage of Scotland’s vulnerability. He makes it clear that once Peg has given up her separate household, she has no real negotiating power to dilute or prevent fundamental changes in the original agreement. Peg has no power to shape the

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52 See Bower and Erickson footnote (192).
discussion as she is surrounded by people in the midst of a discussion about how they should deal with her aversion to mince pies and plum porridge, dishes that, as Bower and Erickson point out, were “symbolic of Anglican and Episcopalian dominance,” having been “among the trappings of celebration forbidden by parliament after the Civil War” (192). Although she tries to point out that “upon forcing down a mess of it some years ago, it threw her into a fit, ‘till she brought it up again,” Arbuthnot demonstrates she is not given control over her own bodily intake. “Some alled’gd it was nothing but humour, that the same mess should be serv’d up again for supper, and breakfast the next morning; others would have made use of a horn, but the wiser sort bid let her alone, and she might take to it of her own accord” (57). We are not told what the end result of the discussion will be — to break Peg down through starvation, to force feed her or to hope that she herself will decide to change her aversion. Beneath the façade of absurdity and buffoonery, this is a troubling image, one that highlights the susceptible state of a vulnerable spinster, dependent on her brother’s good will. Arbuthnot leaves us with this picture of post-union Scotland as the last in a series of vignettes of Anglo-Scot dissonance, and provides his reader with no viable means of reconcilement.

Arbuthnot and the Deflection of Divisive Forces

Arbuthnot himself had participated in the very tropology of pro-union gentlemanly exchange that Wright had attacked, saturating his pro-union “sermon” in the language of economic progress and sensible assurance. His sermon asks his countrymen to stop “in the furious career of your passion, to hear a few words of sober and

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53 The Patronage Act generally resulted in the selection of moderate ministers rather than hard-line evangelicals.
unprejudiced reason,” and refers to the union as a “copartnership” (396, 397). His representation of a female Scotland in the John Bull pamphlets suggests that he had modified his views somewhat in the years following the union. He clearly believed in the union, and was loyal to Anne’s vision of a united Britain, yet he acknowledges that the realization of that vision was not as equitable as he had hoped. He recognizes a history of Anglo-Scottish conflict in his references to childish quarrels between Peg and her brother, but deflects the blame for current problems away from his central trope – the siblings who are the essential Scottish and English nations – towards a variety of other characters. The central area of conflict between England and Scotland – religious difference – is deflected onto two different characters, John’s mother (Anglicanism) and Peg’s beau (Jack) who do not get along. One of the reasons Peg resists moving in with John is “that auld carline his mother, she rails at Jack, and Jack’s an honester man than any of her kin” (55). Arbuthnot naturalizes the relationship between the siblings on the one hand, and on the other hand, suggests that religious conflict – central to Wright’s representation of the fundamental relationship between the two nations – is not an essential national difference, but needs to be considered as a separate issue.  

Similarly, the duplicity that Fergusia locates firmly in the discourse of Heptarchus, is deflected away from John in the pamphlets. John is not deceitful; indeed he is not even to blame for “seducing” Peg into a union of households. Rather, John is naïve, gullible to the deceptive language of others. He was “too apt to hearken to tatling people that carried tales between him and his sister Peg, on purpose to sow jealousies,

54 *A Sermon preached at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh.*

55 Interestingly, John’s mother, who within the context of the pamphlets is likely Peg’s mother too, is not directly referred to as Peg’s mother, perhaps because Arbuthnot accuses the parents of the siblings of not
and set them together by the ears” (56). The post-union conflict, moreover, does not involve John explicitly, but is grounded in disputes between the servants of the siblings. While Peg blames the discord on her brother’s lack of “good behaviour,” Arbuthnot locates the source of the conduct elsewhere (57). Likewise, John does not mislead Peg about his intended treatment of her. It was “those who had made her such good promises” who “were the first and readiest to do her injury” (57). Arbuthnot does not avoid exposing English mistreatment of Scotland, and even the betrayal of promises made during union negotiations. However, he suggests that the ideal union he once envisaged is still possible, if the English people stop giving credility to those who would stir up conflict and dissension between the two nations.

Allan Ramsay: Scotland and Masculinity

It is clear from the discussion of the last two works that both pro-union and anti-union writers, Whig and Tory, saw familial discourse – particularly language that addressed gender difference – as a means to display the uneven power balance and potential for conflict in Anglo-Scottish relations. Allan Ramsay’s *Three Bonnets* (1715?, 1722 pub.) offers a third perspective. The pamphlet appears to invert the gender hierarchy of female Scotland and male England used by Arbuthnot and Wright. The tropological inversion, however, does not allow Scotland to escape emasculation. Moreover, Ramsay goes further than Wright or Arbuthnot in refusing to elide or minimize Scotland’s complicity in the union. Although he openly derides England’s mistreatment of its “copartner” in union, his representation of Scotland as three quarrelsome brothers foregrounds a fractured Scotland that holds various positions towards the union. The forcing them to reconcile their disputes early and suggests that Peg is mistreated as an infant while John is doted upon. This may be a moment where Arbuthnot’s metaphor strains at the seams.
result of this division is to reveal and lament Scotland’s part in the union “conspiracy.”
Directing his attack on pamphlets by such Scots as Mackenzie and Paterson, he reveals
that Scots were equally involved in using the duplicitous language of reason and
economic progress.

Inversion of Gender Relations

Wright’s work seems to have been published in England as well as Scotland, and
Arbuthnot’s work is also directed at a British audience. Allan Ramsay’s poem Three
Bonnets, in contrast, was only published in Scotland, and even then anonymously.56
According to ESTC records Three Bonnets was initially published in Edinburgh in 1722,
published once in Glasgow in 1785 and published five times in Glasgow and once in
Edinburgh in the 1790s.57 Ramsay’s insistence on the essential masculinity of Scotland
and femininity of England and the rather threatening associations such gender
assignations might invoke in an English audience might be partially responsible for this
publication record. On the other hand, living in a Scotland that has already united with
its southern neighbour, Ramsay may not have wanted to convey an essentially feminine
Scotland, naturalizing its subordination to England. Historic Scotland, therefore, is
represented by the principled Duniwhistle, and, in a manner reminiscent of Swift’s Tale
of a Tub, modern Scotland is characterized as Duniwhistle’s three sons, two of which are
responsible for the (possibly temporary) emasculation of Scotland. In place of the
duplicitous masculine suitor, Ramsay adapts another traditional character to represent
England, one also used in amatory fiction, particularly in the subspecies of scandal

56 According to the ESTC Wright’s work was first published in Scotland and then in England - see note on
ESTCT 131938, though the notes on the editions allegedly published in England only tentatively list
London as the place of publication.
57 English Short Title Catalogue.
narratives, and with a history stretching back to Chaucer and beyond – the materialistic, adulterous wife. Janet Todd points out that in narratives of the time, female characters were frequently represented as either naïve or manipulative: “Silly innocent women are fooled by men, who are in turn deceived by sophisticated scheming women” (Sign of Angellica 93). While Wright renovates the former narrative to meet his national ends, Ramsay reconfigures the latter.

Rosie’s character possesses feminine “wiles” and beauty. Underneath this femininity, however, she is not vulnerable to masculine subsumption like Fergusia, despite the hopes of Joukum – one of the two northern brothers. Rather, she blends her womanly traits with an assortment of masculine tendencies. We are told,

There liv’d a lass kept rary shows
And fiddler’s ay about her house;
Wha at her table fed and ranted,
Wi’ the stout ale she never wanted:
She was a winsome wench and waly,
And could put on her claes fu’ brawly;
Rumble to ilka market-town,
And drink and fight like a dragoon.59

Rosie’s independence, her ability to “drink and fight,” and, soon after her marriage to Joukum, her gambling and infidelity, are characteristics more commonly associated with male characters. These traits are not distanced from her as Wright distances elements of

58 Consider the adulterous wife in Chaucer’s Miller’s Tale.
59 “Three Bonnets,” The Poems of Allan Ramsay, Volume II, 380; all subsequent references are to this addition and “translations” are from the glossary in the edition. Waly/wally - chosen, beautiful, large;
masculinity from Fergusia and assigns them to her children. Rosie’s direct assumption of male traits renders her safe from subsumption in marriage and leads to the feminization of her beau – later her husband. From the moment Joukum tries to woo her, he is transformed into a dandy. He

...grew a beau, and did adorn
himself wi’ fifty bows o’ corn, --
Forby what he took on to rig
Him out wi’ linen, shoon, and wig,
Snuff-boxes, sword-knots, canes, and washes,
And sweeties, to bestow on lasses;
Could newest oaths genteelly swear,
And had a course o’ flaws perquire;
He drank, and danc’d, and sigh’d to move
Fair Rosie to accept his love.60

The first step in Scotland’s emasculation is the transformation of Joukum into a fop. The next step is to engage him in the emasculation of his brothers through duplicitous language, an act I will discuss shortly. First, I will continue my discussion of the way in which English and Scottish duplicity interact, and their relationship with Ramsay’s use of gender.

Joukum fails in his attempt to persuade his brother, Bristle, to support the marital terms Rosie has demanded. Bristle, however, like Fergusia, is not opposed to union per

brawly = bravely. Rosie/England, ironically, is associated with ‘rary shows,’ a possible connection to Heptarchus’s association with performance and deceit in Wright’s work.
se. When Joukum first tells him of his love for Rosie and his financial hopes for the union, mentioning that Rosie requires but a trifle in exchange for accepting his proposal, Bristle responds, “I lang to answer your demand./And never shall for trifles stand” (385). Only when he finds out the emasculating terms of the agreement, to give away their bonnets, does he angrily respond, “[i]s that the trifle that ye spoke o’?/ Wha think ye, sir, ye mak’a mock o’?” (385). Joukum has more success with the apathetic Bawsy, who responds well to promises of gold and power. Once Joukum and Bawsy have turned over their bonnets to Rosie, she takes what appears to be the irreversible step of burning them, permanently rendering all the brothers in a “feminine” position of powerlessness as Duniwhistle had warned. If you part with the bonnets, he warned them on his deathbed, “[b]areheaded then ye’ll look like snools,/ And dwindle down to silly tools” (378).

Even Bristle, like Peg, cannot shape his own future, despite his refusal to capitulate. His bonnet – which we might read as the determination of many Scots to retain sovereignty during union negotiations – cannot succeed against the treachery, apathy and greed of his brothers. Rosie sends Joukum to raise money and goods

For her braid table maun be serv’d.

Tho’ Fairy fowk should a’ be starv’d.

Jouk, thus surrounded wi’ his guards,

Now plunders haystacks, barns and yards;

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61 snool – a pitiful groveling slave (xix).
They drive the nowt frae Bristle’s fauld,
While he can nought but ban and scold.\(^\text{62}\)

Though he still has his bonnet, he does not dare to wear it. The bard narrating the story tells us that, locking it in a coffer,

\begin{verbatim}
Bareheaded thus he e’en knocks under,
And lets them drive awa the plunder.
Sae have I seen, beside a tow’r
The king of brutes oblig’d to cour,
And on his royal paunches thole
A dwarf to prog him wi’ a pole;
While he wad show his fangs, and rage
Wi bootless wrangling in his cage.\(^\text{63}\)
\end{verbatim}

Bawsy, in a betrayal of the effusive promises of Joukum, is also marginalized and ridiculed. In an echo of Fergusia’s claim that Scottish acquiescence to English demands had historically been twisted into proof of the dishonourable nature of Scots in general, Beef, Rosie’s lowly porter, scolds the imprudent brother,

\begin{verbatim}
...there’s nae room beneath this roof
To entertain a simple coof,
The like o’ you, that nane can trust,
\end{verbatim}

\(^{62}\) Ramsay, 395; braid - broad; nowt - cows. Fairy land is the name Ramsay uses for Scotland.

\(^{63}\) Ramsay, 396-397; thole - to endure, suffer.
Wha to your ain ha'e been unjust.64

Despite such insults, Bawsy continues to believe in the many promises of his brother and sister-in-law, promises the newly married pair “ne’er perform’d, nor ne’er intended.” The result is that he becomes that which Peg feared she would become, “[a] drudge,” to the selfish pair (399).

The essential masculinity of Bristle, Bawsy – and even Joukum – does not prevent them from occupying the same powerless feminine position in the narrative as Peg had in the John Bull pamphlets and Wright’s Fergusia feared. However, their masculinity makes this an unnatural position to be in, and one which can possibly be reversed. Bristle lacks authority, but does retain some of his masculinity. The Bard insists that “Bristle saves his manly look/Regardless baith o’ Rose and Jouk.” Moreover, as he is the only one of the three brothers to have, not merely a wife, but also “bairns,” it is possible that his offspring will reshape the future relationship between the two nations.65 As Michael Murphy points out, the need to earn a living to maintain his family may prevent Bristle from taking action to preserve his sovereignty, but “his mind is free” and it is even possible that he “is only awaiting the right moment to express his beliefs” (168). Making such a possibility stronger is the fact that Duniwhistle and the bonnets have not really disappeared at all, but are in some form of limbo, like the legendary sleeping Arthur and his knights, awaiting the right time to reappear. When Rosie throws the bonnets of Joukum and Bawsy in the fire,

64 Ramsay, 398; Coof - stupid fellow.
65 Bawsy does not seem to have a wife, and Joukum and Rose seem be centered on drinking and gambling, rather than reproducing an Anglo-Scottish heir who could signify Britishness.
Immediately an awfu’ sound,
As ane wad thought, raise frae the ground;
And syne appeared a stalward ghaist,
Whase stern and angry looks amaist
Unhool’s their sails. (393)

Duniwhistle’s specter seizes the bonnets from the fire and angrily promises the frightened pair, “[b]ut for these bonnets, I’ll preserve them/For bairns unborn that will deserve them” (393).

In this configuration of union, the tension revealed is not irresolvable – from a Scottish perspective – and regaining sovereignty is not impossible. Although Murphy points out the overwhelming presence of tropes of imprisonment in the poem, there is also hope for escape, though at this point it is located in Bristle, a character without authority, and Duniwhistle, who exists only in the “spiritual” realms of mythology. There is also a third party who carries the tale of betrayal and hope for redemption to a Scottish audience. The bard, who mediates the dialogue of the tale, becomes the key source of hope, for he can maintain the memory of independence until it can be reclaimed. As the poem draws to a close the bard tells us that “Jouk and his rumblegarie wife” live a “drunken gaming life,” one that, as discussed earlier, does not come to fruition in the birth of an heir (399).66 Their constant intoxication, we are told, happens

‘Cause, sober, they can get nae rest,

For [Old] Nick and Duniwhistle’s ghaist,

Wha in the garrets aften tooly

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66 rumblegarie - OED rumble’garie, a. Sc. Also -gairie. [prob. based on rumble v.1 ] ‘Disorderly, having a forward and confused manner.’
And shore them wi' a bloody gully.\textsuperscript{67}

Shifting Anglo-Scottish relations to a mythic or spiritual level may seem like a reiteration of the superstitious material Defoe critiqued in Belhaven's speech, or a hopeless relegation of the battle to regain socio-political power to myth, since it can never be realized in history. In this context, however, Ramsay also seems to be working with the idea of art as a tool for resistance – to foreground difference in the British totality rather than unity. Immediately after Ramsay represents the supernatural struggle, the bard makes a promise directed, rather ambiguously, at those who would construe his work “wrongly.” From behind his curtain of anonymity, he pledges to “shoot a satire through your belly.” This reference to the power of the author to use art as a weapon suggests that the struggle between Old Nick, Rosie’s associate, and Duniwhistle that continually disturbs the “British” couple, may well represent the power of communal memory, kept alive in literary form, to destabilize the imaginary unity promoted by pro-British polemicists.

Ramsay is not sparing in his criticism of Rosie’s participation in the deception of the northern brothers, as is evident by her dealings with “Auld Nick” (394). Yet he differs from both Wright and Arbuthnot in directing a substantial portion of his reproaches at Scots negotiators and pro-union pamphleteers, without whose participation the union could not have transpired. Arbuthnot had made brief references to conflict between the servants of Peg and John. Wright momentarily gestures towards certain of Fergusia’s offspring who were debauched by Edward I and later repented the betrayal of their mother, and discusses the naïve tendencies of her children towards the end of the

\textsuperscript{67} Ramsay 399; tooly- fight; shore- threaten; gully - a large knife.
pamphlet. Joukum and his apathetic brother Bawsy, in contrast, are central characters throughout Ramsay’s poem. Moreover, while Bawsy is clearly a fool, the relationship between Joukum and Rosie is not that of trickster and victim, but mutually deceptive. Rosie may want to burn the three bonnets (sovereignty/independence) left to the three men by their father, and to confiscate as much wealth as possible from Joukum’s nation, but his attraction to her is also strongly related to the “meikle siller” she possesses (380). He gleefully tells his brother Bristle, that if he marries Rosie, “[her] gear I’ll get, her sweets I’ll rifle” (384, 389).

In Ramsay’s domestic model of Britain, England and a portion of Scotland are complicit in the overall feminization of Scotland, for Rosie and Joukum conspire to convince the two remaining Scottish brothers to yield their bonnets. Joukum himself is the primary source of the duplicitous techniques used towards his brothers that Wright assigns directly to Heptarchus and that Arbuthnot diplomatically avoids ascribing directly to either nation. Joukum, like the pro-union pamphleteers, many of whom were Scottish, moulds his language to whatever particular objection he thinks his audience may have. Indeed the terms in which his discourse is described by the bard is reminiscent of both Heptarchus and Haywood’s “oily-voiced” Clitander, and even slightly suggestive of Arbuthnot’s sermon:

...Jouk, wi’ language glibe as oolie,
Right pawkily kept aff a toolie.
Weil masked wi’ a wedder’s skin
Although he was a tod within,
He hum’d and ha’d and wi’ a cant
Held forth as he had been a saint,
And quoted texts to prove we’d better
Part wi’ a sma’ thing for a greater.68

To the lethargic Bawsy, Joukum uses the language of rational economic progressivism, suggesting access to riches and improved rank without much effort. This apathetic brother, whose weapons are covered “inch thick o’dirt, and unco rusty,” is also seduced into relinquishing his bonnet with the assurance that this progressivism will lead out of military conflict into the market place (388). If both of them give their bonnets to Rosie, Joukum assures Bawsy, she will

...let us in her riches skair
Nor shall our herds, as heretofore,
Rin aff wi’ ane anither’s store,
Nor ding out ane anither’s harns,
When they forgather ‘mang the kairns;
But freely may drive up and down,
And sell in ilka market-town
Belongs to her, which soon ye’ll see,
If ye be wise, belong to me.69

A different tactic is necessary with Bristle, who clearly represents the sector of modern Scotland who wishes to retain the liberty it believes to be the legacy of its

68 Ramsay 385; pawkily - wittily, slyly in word or action, without any harm or bad; toolie - fight; tod - fox; wedder - wedder - one who weds. 
69 Ramsay 390-391; skair - share; harns - brains.
ancestors. Bristle, in a speech some have compared with that of Belhaven, accuses his brother of being a

...vile disgrace o’ our forbeirs!

Wha lang wi’ valiant dint o’ weirs

Maintained their right ‘gainst a’ intrusions

O’ our auld faes the Rosicrucians.  

Joukum tries to counter Bristle’s passion of mythology and history with the language of religious fervor, and when this fails, he threatens to undermine his brother’s power by making a bargain with Bawsy, ensuring Joukum’s bonnet “will hardly...be worth a bodle” (386).  

Joukum’s oily language does not merely weaken Bristle. It ultimately emasculates the whole of Scotland. In the realm of duplicity, Rosie is far superior to Joukum. She is quite aware that she is manipulating Joukum’s weakness. She accuses him, “a’ your courtship sars sae rankly/O’ selfish interest, that I’m flead/My person least employs your head” (381).  

And while he uses language to mislead his brethren, Rosie takes the initiative in interpreting events for him. After the ghostly appearance at the bonnet-burning ceremony, she assures the shaken Jouk, whose fear has left him “wi’ breeks not clean,” that the vision is “nought but vapours” and convinces him that it was just a dream (393). Joukum is subject to her influence, and loses much of his ability to interpret events independently, although when she rapidly defaults on her promises after the

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70 Ramsay 386; weirs - wars; dint - OED 2. The dealing of blows; hence, force of attack, assault, or impact (lit. and fig.); violence, force, attack, impression. Now rare; Rosicrusians - the English. Ramsay is of course playing with the word “Rosicrucian,” in reference to the mythological secret Christian society of the late middle ages (now believed to be merely a fable) who claimed to be able to transmute metals - make things appear to be what they are not - just as the English can transmute language.

71 boddle - one sixth of an English penny.

72 flead, from fley, or flie - to affright; sars - sore.
marriage, he does realize – at least momentarily – that like Fergusia’s children he is merely “wise behind the hand” and has been “the ruin o’ his family.” Without his bonnet, however, he is “oblig’d to do her bidding” (395).

Not all propagandists would share Ramsay’s vision of Joukum’s linguistic gymnastics as detrimental to the Scottish nation. Jonathan Swift, in his *Injured Lady*, interprets the same ability to manipulate language as one of Scotland’s strengths, a means to obtain and maintain political power. I have not been able to engage with Swift’s pamphlet at great length here, although it is is another example of gender being used to negotiate British identity. Rick.G. Canning has recently published a perceptive and detailed article on Swift’s manipulation of gender in that pamphlet, noting that Swift’s domestic model – the relations between a man (England) and two women (Scotland and Ireland) - has to negotiate between a critique of English power and at the same time avoid undermining the authority of the Protestant ascendancy over the Catholic Irish. Important to my analysis of Ramsay is Swift’s insistence that Scotland’s power over language is positive or at least powerful. The gentlemanly advisor who responds to the virtuous Ireland gently admonishes her for believing that once she had yielded up her person she “thought nothing else worth defending, and therefore…will not insist upon these very conditions for which …[she] yielded at first” (11). He reminds her that Scotland has also been a kept woman. “[A]t a time when he had no Steward, and his family out of order, she stole away, and hath now got the trick, very well known among women of the town, to grant a man the favour over night, and the next day have the impudence to deny it to
his face” (11) Despite a definite lack of physical attributes, Swift’s Scotland is canny. She possesses and uses to her advantage the very practice Fergusia disdains in Heptarchus and Bristle condemns in Joukum: the ability to manipulate language. Swift certainly does not depict Scotland as virtuous; she is prone to outbursts of violence and theft. The narrator he creates to answer Ireland, however, holds a grudging admiration for her ability to use language to place herself in a position of increased power. Indeed, as Trumpener points out, his admiration for Scotland’s gumption leads him to give the interesting suggestion that the two women, Scotland and Ireland, could work together to negotiate reasonable terms with England (134,135). As England has used language to manipulate Ireland, Swift is impressed that Scotland uses language simply to deny her previous subordinate position to England – representing history on her own terms – and as a result achieves the recognition and position that Ireland desires. Turning the familial trope in a different direction, Swift interprets Scottish feistiness neither as resisting union (as Wright does) nor as being dampened into subordination (as Arbuthnot and Ramsay do), but rather as negotiating a stronger position.

Ramsay, of course, would strongly disagree with Swift’s interpretation of both Scottish power and of the validity of manipulating language. Where Swift sees negotiating power, Ramsay sees treachery and the ultimate loss of authority. And while Ramsay’s socio-political position is far removed from the anti-Jacobite Wright and the pro-union Arbuthnot, his focus on Anglo-Scottish conflict is not far removed from the domestic allegories of his Scottish contemporaries.

73 Swift's Scotland and Ireland are not raped, in the same sense as Wright's Fergusia was by Edward. Taking advantage of the slipperiness of such words as ravish, Swift has Ireland conquered "half by force, and half by consent." Canning points out that this particular configuration is necessary because to imply
Conclusion

Although I have engaged with three widely divergent models of domesticity, reflecting three different views of union, all three foreground English abuse of power and the anguish inevitable in the transformation of Scotland from an independent nation into a subordinate one. Moreover, all three, in using the trope of the family, shift emphasis away from naturalization towards hierarchy. In addition, my analysis of these three short works has suggested that the configuration of gender relations in tropes of national negotiation can be analyzed fruitfully as responses to other works, often produced by English writers, but also – in this specific period – produced by Scottish pro-unionists.

I have also gestured towards a number of problems inherent in the adaption of one set of power relations (gender) to convey the tensions of another (national). The tension apparent in Wright’s pamphlet between the characteristics generally associated with Fergusia’s gender and the power and independence he wishes to attach to Scotland demonstrates the instability of this form of tropology. Similarly, Ramsay wishes to convey Scotland’s oppressed state without naturalizing it, leading him to use feminized men to partially personify Scotland. Arbuthnot, concerned about configuring a trope in which England appears to be aggressively marginalizing Scotland, must fragment his trope, creating a number of minor (male) figures to oppress Peg, diverting excess violence from John Bull. Although complex familial tropes allow the three writers to use the gender dynamics of the vehicle to display unease with Scotland’s state within the absolute conquest, Swift would place in question the authority of the Irish ascendancy that he is trying to promote (87).
union, they must frequently contort the trope so that the gap between the ways they wish to represent the tenor and the implications of vehicle of courtship is not exposed.

My analysis of complex tropes has also opened a space to begin exploring relationship tropes as possible literary ancestors of the national tale. I have traced the shift of the tenor of marital tropes away from the monarch/nation model promoted by the Stuarts, towards a cross-border series of tropes. And it has become evident that the gendered power dynamics inherent in the national tale, while used differently by pamphleteers surrounding the union, are present in these tropes. Such tropes will continue to be used to negotiate nation throughout the century, and – within the national tale – well into the second decade of the nineteenth century. The mid-century novel, however, although it engages with history – think of Jacobitism in *Tom Jones* or the battles in Smollett's *Roderick Random* – moves away from the explicit political tropology, saturated in historical details, that might be found in the work of Swift and Manley, and their literary colleagues earlier in the century.74 Moreover, as familial and courtship tropes are imported into the national tale by the end of the century, authors balance the complex and disruptive impulses clearly present in the work of Wright, Ramsay and even Arbuthnot, with the harmony and resolution of an often unsettling ending. The work of my next chapters will start to mark out this process.

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74 This is not to claim that explicit political tropes did not continue to exist. I will briefly touch on a work that does contain such a trope – *Angelicus and Fergusia* (1761) – in chapter 3.
Chapter 2
Post-War Tropologies : Responding to Culloden

Anglo-Scottish relations were periodically tropologically explored in literary works in the decades leading up to the forties.¹ After Culloden, however, there was new impetus to re-test the viability of tropes of union and ideas of national identity in general. As Leith Davis argues in relation to the influence of political writing on the novel, the ‘45 was “an important historical moment for the development of the novel,” not to mention the nation (48). In the years immediately following the ‘45 the public sphere was saturated with discussions of Anglo-Scottish relations. Old negative combative stereotypes were revived, letters foregrounding the pro-Hanoverian sympathies of Scots appeared in periodicals, the trials of Scottish and English rebels were extensively

¹ As Robert Crawford notes in Devolving English Literature, in general the English were not eagerly engaged in forming an inclusive idea of Britain or playing with tropes of union in the decades before the ‘45. There were a number of notable exceptions. Daniel Defoe promoted commercial integration in his Tour thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724-1727) and used tropes of miscegenation in True Born Englishman (1701). Various versions of Macbeth were played throughout the century, a drama that clearly contrasts dissonance within Scotland with a central moment of masculine allegiance between Malcolm and the English king, albeit in absentia, since Edward the Confessor is never actually on stage. In regards to prose work, Scottish characters were occasionally used, although their Scottish identity was not necessarily important to the plot. William Bond’s History of the Life and Adventures of Duncan Campbell, initially published in 1720, but republished in 1728, 1739, and 1748, presents a glorified version of Campbell’s life and his integration into London society, suggesting that both commercial and familial metaphors were viable. While this is a “biography” which both Campbell and Bond are said to have collaborated on, the narrative can also be seen as a prototype of the national tale. Duncan, who is allegedly half Scot and half Laplander, is able to make a living easily in London through exchanging his gift of seeing the future for money, and, after many adventures including military service on the continent, marries a rich English widow and settles in England.

While many Scots were intrigued by what it meant to be British there was also uncertainty in Scottish literary works. Writers such as Allan Ramsay in The Gentle Shepherd (1725), Gabriel Nesbit in his Caledon’s Tears (1733), a drama of Wallace published in Scotland alone, and even Smollett, in his first drama, The Regicide (1749), focused on reinterpreting Scottish history and Scottish culture rather than on Union. Archibald Pitcairne’s 1692 play, The Assembly, published for the first time in London in 1722, similarly focuses on critiquing the proponents of Scottish Presbyterianism. There were, however, a few works which struggled to articulate the Union. As Robert Crawford points out, James Thomson produces the ultimate British song, “Rule Britannia,” by fusing North and South Britons in opposition to common enemies (Devolving 50). The little-known Joseph Mitchel’s Union of the Clans: A Ballad Opera (1731), displaced Anglo-Scottish unity onto unity between Scottish clans, and plays with concepts of civility and marriage, ultimately ridiculing civility and selecting marriage (from affection) as a central unifying force.
covered, and fictional and semi-fictional works about the rebellion were published, peopled with a number of Scottish characters, heroes or villains, depending on the political sympathies of the author.

It is in this context that the two authors I discuss in this chapter, one Scottish and one English, reconfigure concepts of union. I will argue that Smollett, like Ramsay, Arbuthnot and Wright, rejects simple egalitarian homosocial tropes of Union. Instead, he uses Anglo-Scottish homosocial relations, tainted by commercial excess and trickery, as a vehicle to capture the breakdown of utopian ideas of cross-border equality. Moreover, although Smollett ultimately creates union through a marital trope between the Scottish hero of *Roderick Random* and an English gentlewoman, he expresses considerable unease with marital tropes throughout the novel. The desire for union that such a trope would seem to capture has been damaged by material and textual violence. Moreover, following Culloden, Smollett develops not only a tropology that engages with cross-border relations, but also one that deals with the ruptured state of Scotland. His tropes, therefore, insist on recognizing problems relating to the Scottish Jacobite question as well as to Anglo-Scottish history, prejudice, corruption and commercial neglect before negotiating British identity.

The English hack writer Edward Kimber directly responds to Smollett’s text in the little-known *Life and Adventures of James Ramble, Esq* (1755), introducing a protagonist with a name closely resembling that of Smollett’s hero. Writing almost a decade after the rebellion, Kimber is able to make more explicit the Jacobitism that Smollett was unable to voice directly after the rebellion, although Kimber still chooses to focus on the aftermath of the 1715 rebellion rather than the more recent one. However,
like the pro-union writers, Kimber’s tropes are not fraught with angst. Writing from the center, Kimber simply deflects all Anglo-Scottish conflict onto the Stuart/Hanover dispute, eliding all other forms of tension between the two nations, and suggests that in general the English and the Scots have become virtually indistinguishable in the generations after the union. Kimber layers his tropes. An Anglo-Scottish marriage takes place in the generation before that of the hero, appearing to signify the initial union. The main narrative of the novel deals with the next tropological layer, an egalitarian friendship between the two main characters, whose names – James and George – stress the need to reintegrate into the Protestant, Hanoverian nation the Scottish nobility who had been seduced by Jacobitism. Finally, the novel ends with the desire for a marriage between the children of James (a Scot) and George (an Anglo-Scot). Cross-border equality and desire interact and result in multiple layers of assimilation as the narrative progresses. Kimber, engaged in the act of rewriting Smollett’s text, filters out Smollett’s angst. He introduces tropes of masculine friendship and marriage to convey an uncomplicated national union, marked only by Jacobite/Hanoverian difference, the same tropes Smollett had used to represent a comprehensive vision of Anglo-Scottish dissonance. As an English writer, it would seem that Kimber is comfortable with Anglo-Scottish equality, but is either not aware of or elides concern emanating from north of the Tweed about commercial and political inequality and about the disturbing aftermath of the ‘45. This chapter will explore in detail the differences between the two tropological configurations of post-Culloden Britain, one saturated in anxiety and the other moving rapidly towards harmony.
Tobias Smollett

Several insightful critical analyses have recently examined Smollett's first novel in light of Anglo-Scottish relations. Robert Crawford examines it as an attempt "to complicate and defuse crude anti-Scottish prejudice" in order to negotiate the transition towards acceptance of Scots as partners in the British enterprise (57). Leith Davis, in contrast, foregrounds the ambivalence that marks *Roderick Random*, noting that the author's concept of Britain is marked by a need to erase signs of Scottish nationality in order to fit in and a suspicion of the way official language forms the nation. My approach seeks to complicate the work of Davis and Crawford by suggesting that Smollett foregrounds the post-rebellion state of Scotland, and explores the failure of previous models of union, particularly in light of the combatant discourse surrounding the '45. I will argue that, following in the footsteps of Ramsay and Wright, Smollett exposes the failure to achieve Anglo-Scottish equality in union by using tainted homosocial tropes of unity, degraded by their saturation in commercial exchange and superficially polite manners.² Moreover, while he ultimately embraces familial imagery he does so only after using the concept of family to work through a number of specific concerns surrounding the '45.

I. Smollett's Troubled Homosocial Tropes

Part of the inability to figuratively formulate a strong homosocial bond between the two nations is the state of Scottish identity, which Smollett, in agreement with Ramsay, suggests is fragmented and alienated from its own past. Its alienation would

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² J.G.A. Pocock notes that according to the commercial world, commerce "refined the passions and polished the manners" (48). Relations were thought to have been redefined as social rather than political. Smollett is suggesting that political inequality between England and Scotland cannot simply be erased by an idea of equal social exchange.
have been worsened by the shattered connection between an imagined Scottish military past and the grotesque reality of Culloden. Before he engages with the idea of Britain, then, Smollett subtly explores the state of Scottish identity in his historic moment, in particular the alienation of contemporary Scots from their history through the (mis)representations of Scottishness that saturated the public sphere. I will argue that Roderick’s double alienation, from his father and grandfather, implies the estrangement of Scots from various print representations of the Scot as either romance hero in Jacobite writing or as proponent of absolute rule and lack of liberty as represented in anti-Jacobite writing. Roderick attempts to alleviate this rupture by looking towards an alternative identity, one marked by the promises of masculine friendships and business partnerships that had accompanied pro-union propaganda and had been reiterated in post-union years.

As Murray Pittock points out, a sense of nostalgic heroism was present in much of the propaganda surrounding the “young and daring hero,” Charles Edward Stuart and his Scottish and Irish followers (163). While there was a great deal of anti-Jacobite material denigrating the “barbaric” Highlanders who participated in the rebellion, noble Scottish characters, like the young Lochiel and William Macleod who appeared in the 1746 work *Ascanius, or the Young Adventurer* contained possibilities for future literary representations of the Scot.³ Even the heroic depiction of some “ordinary” Scottish soldiers were celebrated, such as the central figure of John Drummond’s *Remarkable Affecting Case and Dying words of Mr. Archibald Oswald, an Ensign in the Young*.

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³ Another example might be Charles Edward Stuart himself, who, as Monod reminds us, often was represented in Scottish garb (85-86). Indeed Monod states that there had been “a rumour that Frederick [the Hanoverian Prince of Wales] had appeared in plaid at the Middlesex election of 1750” (85). According to Monod, Ralph Griffiths is the writer of *Ascanius*, much of which he allegedly plagiarized from a work published the same year - *Alexis*. *Alexis*, in fact, is a far more direct allegory, representing Scotland as a nation called ‘Robustia,’ and Charles Stuart as a brave shepherd, Alexis, who is trying to rescue England,
Pretender’s Service (1745). A strong Jacobite political culture emerged, as Paul Monod reminds us, marked by honourable characters, dedicated to national interest (10,11). In Ascanius, Lochiel is wounded while fighting for his prince’s cause (132) and Macleod sacrifices his own freedom to provide false information to his captors and allow Charles to evade capture (215). Ironically, the existence of such characters emerged out of the literal destruction of their originals, their death or exile (in fact and fiction), which allowed them, like “Bonnie Prince Charlie,” to become non-threatening mythic figures. Smollett ostensibly forms Roderick Random in opposition to such images. Explicitly rejecting this form of heroism by privileging “bodily strength, activity and extravagance of behaviour,” Smollett expels, at the beginning of his novel, the one male character who could possibly convey the qualities of fertility, regeneration and legitimacy associated with Jacobite iconography- the future Don Rodriguez, who, like the many of the followers of the Pretender, goes into exile in France and later to Spain (before finally travelling to Peru, and finally to Buenos Aires) (xxxiv). Newly intense Jacobite associations centered on Scotland’s fallen heroes disappear from the novel with him.

I am not suggesting that this rejection of Jacobite iconography means that Roderick Random is an anti-Jacobite novel, or that the return of Don Rodriguez at the novel’s conclusion suggests that, despite Alexander Carlyle’s claims to the contrary, Smollett was a Jacobite. In fact, Smollett makes it quite clear that Rodriguez (clearly a form of the name “Roderick,” a name he shares with his son) is Protestant, and the

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Felicia, from luxury and indolence. The work is very different from Ascanius. There is confusion about the publication year of Ascanius. The title page reads 1746, though the ESTC suggests it is published in 1747.

4 Of course Smollett was also distancing his work from romance, as other writers (such as Fielding) were, in order to dignify and elevate the evolving form of the novel.

5 As Davis notes, Carlyle, who was shown the manuscript of the poem notes, that "Smollett, though a Tory, was not a Jacobite but he had the feelings of a Scotch gentleman on the reported cruelties that were said to be exercised after the battle of Culloden" (65).
novel’s opening is set well before Culloden. My argument is that while, as Davis has noted, Smollett did not want to engage directly with the raw emotions that surrounded the ’45, he did wish to represent and heal fractures caused in Scotland by the rebellion. Davis points out Smollett’s emphasis on fractured families in “Tears of Scotland” (1746). “The sons against their fathers stood;/The parent shed his children’s blood” (11.35, 36). Smollett also laments the divide between the vanquished Scot of the present and a history in which the sons of Scotland had been “for valor long renowned” (3). Culloden, he suggests, has alienated contemporary Scots from their heritage, and Roderick finds himself in this alienated position at the beginning of Smollett’s novel.

The exile of the central figure of nostalgia leaves behind a Scotland disconnected from its past and unable to transcend the painful reality of recent experiences. While connections between Scotland and nostalgia may be appealing after decades of barbaric, crude or parasitical representations of Scots they cannot be the foundation for a viable form of identity for Scots while they are attached to elements of Jacobitism. Moreover, as Smollett implies, exaggerated heroism cannot be relevant to a Scotland that is engaged in a more pragmatic struggle to better its economy.

Separated from his father, Roderick is alienated from his grandfather, who is also an odd blend of explicit Presbyterianism and the negative tendencies attributed to Jacobites by their enemies. The presence of a presumably Presbyterian parson at his grandfather’s deathbed reassures the reader that this is not a novel about Jacobitism, while at the same time his grandfather’s belief in natural hierarchy and absolute rule within his family, made evident in his attitude towards beggars “for whom he had a

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6 We know he is Protestant because he is not allowed to trade in Peru because of his religion.
singular aversion” (1), and his rejection of his son for marrying without his approval (2) echo the complaints of absolutism used to dethrone both James II and Charles I. Moreover, it is significant that Roderick’s female cousins prevent Roderick from communicating with the old man and perhaps persuading him to change his position, for as Miranda Burgess and Jill Campbell suggest, powerful vindictive women were commonly associated with the Jacobite cause, women such as Jenny Campbell, Lady Ogilvie and the Duchess of Perth.  

Smollett suggests the rupture between Scots and their past has originated because their nation is no longer grounded in traditional values, but is shaped purely by self interest. Scots, in other words, lacking a cohesive alternative identity, have become infected by the values of the Londoners, shaped by short-term gain in the present rather than by the communal values that will be reinstalled in Scotland at the end of the work. It is not a coincidence that both Narcissa and Roderick have boorish fox-hunting relatives, for Scottish “values” in the initial section of the text reflect the negative elements of English identity. The self-serving cousins who refuse to allow the rupture between Roderick and his grandfather to heal (an event that could only occur with the repentance of the grandfather) are one example of this corruption, but it is also evident in the city in which Random works and studies. Both Mr. Potion and Mr. Crab only assist the young man when it is to their own benefit, Mr. Potion to retain the income for Roderick’s keep and Mr. Crab to humiliate his enemy Mr. Potion. 

Using a familial tropology within Scotland, Smollett recreates the situation of the post-Culloden Scot, an individual who not only will be marginalized in England, but is

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Miranda Burgess, *British Fiction and the Production of Social Order* (52-54); Jill Campbell, *Natural Masques* (158-9). Literary works include *Memoirs of Miss Jenny Cameron* (1746) and *The Female Rebels*.
disconnected from his roots in Scotland, leaving him in a position of questionable status (comparable to that of an illegitimate child). This familial disjunction manifests itself throughout Scotland in the corrupt, anti-community values of Roderick’s fellow Scots. Roderick’s search for gentility, then, while it is the central shaping force of his journey, as John Barrell points out, is more than merely a concern with social position. It is a search for legitimacy and an alternative to his ruptured history. The failure of the familial and communal within Scotland sends Roderick on a quest to England, where, in his attempt to find an alternative “British” identity, he will put to the test the homosocial tropes of friendship and business relations ridiculed in the first decade of the century by Wright and Ramsay and promoted by pro-Union propaganda.

It is specifically London that Smollett associates with anti-Scottish sentiment, perhaps in part because of Smollett’s infamous experiences in London following the battle of Culloden, but also, more pertinent to our analysis, because London was the centre of literary production, the source of a considerable amount of derogatory material about Scots, including works that strongly link Jacobitism and Scottish identity. While Roderick and Strap meet some odd characters on their trip southward and are certainly cheated by unscrupulous Englishmen, there is a certain degree of acceptance. As Roderick and Strap settle into their room at a small ale house, they hear the landlord’s daughter reassure a murderous highwayman who wishes to assassinate them that they are

(1745).

John Barrell’s emphasis on legitimacy is centered on Roderick’s rank, his ability to be legitimized as a gentleman (189-199).

Of course Roderick also goes to England to find financial/commercial success, as I will discuss later - but this search for professional success through business relations is also part of his search for legitimacy.

The most obvious example of this might be the Old England: or the Broadbottom Journal of 1746 which asks the English to fortify their minds against the Scots since the boundary wall that divided them could not be rebuilt and transporting Scots out of Scotland to the West Indian colonies would be a reward for them.
"only a couple of poor young Scotchman, who were too raw and ignorant to give him the least cause of suspicion" (35). Strap and Roderick also easily befriend the presumably English Joey, the "merry, facetious, good-natured" driver of a wagon they pay to take them towards London, and collude with him to expose the cowardliness of the English "Captain" Weazel, a valet de chambre who poses as a military man. At this point in the narrative, masculine cross-culture bonding does not seem impossible.

Once London is reached, however, this possibility vanishes. Smollett explores the dissonance of Scotland’s relationship with the English centre by representing it through a tropological vehicle that is itself fractured and conflicted - masculine relations in an age of luxury and artifice. Not only are Roderick and Strap rapidly exposed to violence, ridicule, and exclusion due to the general rudeness of the English towards the Scots, but Smollett blends this explicit xenophobia with Wright’s idea of gentlemanly exchange as artifice, linking this artifice to the effects of luxury. Explicit insults are rampant, as Davis points out, for Roderick is readily identifiable as a Scotsman, in part because of his red hair, but also because of his dialect, a sign the author of Duncan Campbell had been able to easily elide, as his protagonist is deaf and dumb, thus without markers of Scottish identity. This sign of difference leaves Roderick and Strap open to a multiplicity of incivilities, not to mention additional danger from fraudulent strangers who make extensive outward gestures of politeness. Roderick meets a "very decent sort of man" who speaks of his love of Scotland, and suggests his ancestry is Scottish. His discourse

(45). My references to the Broadbottom Journal are to the version attached to the 1747 second edition of The Thistle, by William Murray Mansfield, a pamphlet that responds to the English attack. 11 For example, Roderick and Strap are called lousy Scotch guard by a carman (62), called Sawney by a wag in a ale house (63), and misdirected to Mr. Cringer's house by being told to go to a house with the sign of a thistle and three pedlars (64). The surgeon board, to which Roderick is applying, states that the influx of Scottish surgeons has lowered the standards of training, and one examiner talks about Scots invading like locusts from Egypt (86).
reconnects Scotland with its past, suggesting a respect for the martial and moral values of its people (68). He notes,

the Scots are a very brave people. – There is scarce a great family in the kingdom, that cannot boast of some exploits performed by its ancestors many hundred years ago. – There’s your Douglasses, Gordons, Campbels, Hamiltons. – We have not such ancient families here in England. – Then you are all very well educated. – I have known a pedlar talk in Greek and Hebrew, as well as if they had been his mother tongue. – And for honesty – I once had a servant, his name was Gregory Macgregor, I would have trusted him with untold gold. (69)

The trickster is engaging with characteristics associated with Scotland in the decades surrounding the union: Centlivre’s Scottish servant, for example, and the image of the Scottish pedlar used to ridicule the Darien venture. Manipulating these characteristics to offer Roderick just what he is seeking, affirmation that Scottish identity is grounded in a solid history, the speaker moves Roderick to believe he “could have gone to death to serve the author; and Strap’s eyes swam in tears” (69). Of course, the trickster, like Wright’s Heptarchus, is simply manipulating Roderick to mask his desire for the Scots’ possessions.

As the narrative progresses, however, Smollett gradually moves away from Wright’s model to reveal that the reason homosocial exchange of any sort cannot function as a trope to formulate Anglo-Scots unity is not merely because of England’s hostility towards its northern neighbour. Rather, old notions of civic virtue on which masculinity had been grounded earlier in the century have become corrupt. The vehicle
of the trope of homosocial exchange is in a state of dissonance, allowing Smollett to use it to foreground dissonance in the tenor – Anglo-Scottish relations. A Mandevillian excess of luxury and the ability of poseurs to destabilize the ranking system has disrupted social stability. While Smollett is certainly not anti-commercial, it is the fluidity of commerce that seems to have destabilized the system, giving the “vulgar” access to goods that define them as genteel, and defining individual commercial wealth as the goal of a generation. The dissonance and corruption of male friendship under this pressure is particularly useful for representing Anglo-Scottish relations, because it is commercial problems that, in part, disturb cross border relations. The uneven distribution of wealth and professional opportunities throughout the British nation and the Scottish desperation for economic success created by this situation make it difficult to conceive of Anglo-Scottish relations in terms of an egalitarian union.

Scottish desperation is clearly demonstrated by showing that impoverished Scots in London are easily corrupted by this new system of manners. Jackson, despite the insistence of Strap that a Scotsman can be trusted, attempts to use male friendship for financial gain (77). Roderick and Strap will themselves attempt deception in the second half of the book. The destabilization of hierarchy has resulted in the privileging of posture and place of origin rather than merit. Those who achieve success do so because they have adapted to their circumstances, emulated Londoners and transformed themselves into something that they are not. In other words, Wright’s concern with gentlemanly assurances as performance has come to pass, eroding the stability of the

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12 An example of this would be the anonymous *Pedlar Turned Merchant* (1700).
13 In contrast, in Scotland Roderick’s grandfather demonstrates that the civic humanist concept of disinterested gentility and principle associated with the landed class, has been corrupted by the excess of
society in general without putting a meritocracy in its place. Certain Scots can
successfully negotiate a position of substance in England, but their rise is based on
sycophancy, as in the case of the Scottish MP Cringer, previously footman to Roderick’s
grandfather. In comparison, Englishmen of merit, such as Melopoyn, cannot achieve
recognition or success. Various individuals treat him with courtesy, but their
protestations of friendship, of filial commitment between gentlemen and promises to
mentor him have no substance.\textsuperscript{14} The impoverished writer cannot achieve success
because he is not willing to prostitute his pen – to be servile to party or men of power
simply to achieve financial gain as Cringer has.

Janet Sorensen, in her recent work, \textit{The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-
Century British Writing}, notes that in Smollett’s \textit{Humphry Clinker}, the excessive
circulation of goods and signs has leveled social class distinctions. “[T]he destabilization
of class is depicted as anathema,” Sorensen suggests, because Smollett believes that a
system of rank based on education, language and merit rather than on regional or “ethnic”
distinctions should prevail, this system being more accessible to Scots (119).\textsuperscript{15} This
desire for a meritocracy holds true for \textit{Roderick Random}, with its educated and
increasingly well-spoken protagonist. The lack of such a system leads Roderick to

\textsuperscript{14} I use the term “gentleman” cautiously as it was a contested term at this time.
\textsuperscript{15} Sorensen says Smollett displaces suspicions about Scots onto lower class subjects [and women]. It is they, not Scots who disguise themselves (120).
participate in the degraded civility that saturates London society in the second half of the novel.¹⁶

It is significant that it is not Roderick who initiates the idea of subterfuge. Strap, while he clearly expresses his emotions more openly than Roderick, is generally portrayed positively throughout the novel, negotiating the underground Scottish network with far more agility than Roderick, finding trade positions with relative ease, and ungrudgingly sharing his income with his frequently feckless companion. However, it is Strap who slips into the path of false civility, suggesting that Roderick use the inheritance Strap received from his master to become a poseur, to negotiate his way through society and make a lucrative match. That this suggestion comes from a man of the lower orders is not surprising, for Smollett suggests both in Roderick Random and, more explicitly, in Humphry Clinker, that it is the emulation of the upper classes by the lower classes that has infected society. Having been offered Strap's legacy, Random's impulse is to consider honourable means of achieving gentility, take the risk of "turning merchant" or going back to his profession of surgeon in either Scotland or England (254). Strap, however, is infected with the idea of performance. Justifying his concept by noting that Roderick will merely be assuming the external appearance of what he actually is— a gentleman— he persuades him to barter civility for fortune through marriage. Roderick acquiesces, believing this might allow him "to entertain of inspiring Narcissa with a mutual flame" (255). A possible marital union, he rather foolishly believes, might emerge from this plan.

¹⁶ I use civility here to mean the Pocockean concept of manners shaped and polished by commerce which replaced the old civic humanist ideas of civic virtue as devotion to public good. (48, 49)
Of course, Roderick is unable to carry out this scheme effectively. The English, more experienced with performing than he, are able to outmaneuver him. Melinda’s mother, for example, greets him “with great state and civility” immediately before asking to peruse his rent-roll (295). A society that privileges posturing naturally presumes he is a poseur, disagreeing only as to what type of deception he is practising. Banter tells him, “one suspects you to be Jesuit in disguise; another believes you are an agent from the Pretender; a third believes you to be an upstart gamester, because no body knows any thing of your family or fortune; a fourth is of opinion, that you are an Irish fortune-hunter” (284). Roderick is ineffective in his attempt to perform, perhaps because he has experience only as a victim rather than a perpetrator of fraud, but also because Smollett wishes to present his Scot as fundamentally virtuous, an individual who will ultimately be rewarded for embodying a civic humanist concept of merit, and who is thus unable to perform. This inability to be duplicitous had recently been used by Jacobite novelists writing of Charles Stuart’s attempt to disguise himself as a woman. The author of *Ascanius* notes that Flora Macdonald “was not without some fears, Ascanius being very awkward in his new metamorphosis, for as she merrily told him, he did not act the Pretender to the life” (207). Charles’s authenticity is established by his inability to pretend well. Similarly, Roderick’s failure to deceive can be attributed to an inner sense of virtue and discomfort with fraud.\(^\text{17}\)

The tainted vehicle of the trope of homosocial union – a dissolute British masculinity – reflects the dissension and trauma in the tenor of the trope – Anglo-Scottish

\(^{17}\) At this point in the narrative Roderick does enter into a parodic relationship of civility with Banter, who forms a rather corrupt mentoring relationship with him, teaching him how to cheat tradesmen and gamble, and even encourages him to marry a relative for her fortune.
relations – after Culloden. Even before 1745, during moments of dissension, Scots expressed skepticism as to whether circulated ideas of Anglo-Scottish egalitarianism remained viable. After the Porteous affair, for example, Scots revived references to “perpetual friendship” and Scottish good-faith in English governance. Scots argued that punishment of Edinburgh for the unfortunate event would betray their friendship, “a friendship secured by every tie that can bind friends” (461). Defending Scotland, one parliamentary speaker notes that that relationship might be impaired, and Scotland forced “back again into a state of enmity” if England chooses to “drive this nation into a state of slavery” (462). During the rebellion Henry Fielding continued to promote Anglo-Scottish ideas of friendship, arguing in The True Patriot that it was a minority of marginalized Scots (113, 114) who supported the Pretender. Of the Scottish Lowlanders, Fielding writes, “[t]hey are Fellow-Protestants and Fellow-Sufferers with ourselves; nay, they are hitherto much greater sufferers, and have seen and felt that devastation which we are to expect” (115).

After Culloden the concept of Anglo-Scottish relations as a friendship was regarded with skepticism by Scots and English alike. Each suspected the other of duplicity. In Old England: Or The Broad Bottom Journal (1746), the author critiques not only the “brutal ignorance of the barbarous Highlander,” but also the “politer treachery of the false lowlander, ever faithful confederates and allies to France” (45). After Culloden, Smollett suggests, the tension of Anglo-Scottish relations, alongside the collapse of masculine virtue, means that the trope functions as a representation of a fractured nation rather than as a unifying device. The egalitarian position it implies is not borne out in

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18 The Gentleman’s Magazine, allegedly reporting parliamentary debates See 1737, vol. 7: 460.
Smollett’s representation of Britain, as Scots and other meritorious figures are either portrayed in inferior “cringing” positions or marginalized. Yet Smollett does not entirely give up on the idea of a masculine bond between nations. Indeed, it is something he will develop further in *Humphry Clinker*, with the relationship between Matthew Bramble, Jery and Lismahago. In *Roderick Random* he encloses the seeds of this reconfigured idea of masculine community in an extraordinarily unlikely figure.

Tom Bowling, presumably a Scot as his sister Charlotte, Roderick’s mother, was a poor relation of Roderick’s grandfather and as he has a relative living in Glasgow, consistently displays a positive attitude towards community and nation, one which Roderick sees as naïve (19). Bowling is the central impetus towards Anglo-Scottish union and towards restoring Roderick to his position and heritage in Scotland. As a sailor he is engaged both in the defense and the trading ventures of the British nation, and this profession clearly demarcates him more than his Scottish background. The sailor was often used as an icon for Great Britain. David Mallet, at the close of his masque *Britannia*, performed seven years after the publication of Smollett’s novel, concludes with a crowd of sailors singing of their dedication to defending the British nation against their enemies. Neither Bowling’s name nor his dialect clearly mark him as Scottish. With the exception of the symbolism of the marital unions at the end of the novel, Bowling, I would argue, is the lone Briton in the text. Moreover, his characteristics hold out hope that British masculinity can be freed from performance and superficial manners.

Tom Bowling discards the veneer of manners that has displaced the virtue originally associated with the concept of gentlemanly exchange. He promotes honest,

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19 Critics have referred to Bowling as a deus ex machina (John Skinner 38) and a “nautical Pallas Athena” (Milton Goldberg 36).
pragmatic, blunt (at times even rude) exchange. In the first section of the novel, we are
told that Bowling goes to Roderick’s grandfather with the intent to negotiate acceptance
for Roderick and reconnect Roderick with his history. The narrator tells us “this was a
task to which he was by no means equal, being entirely ignorant not only of the judge’s
disposition, but also unacquainted with the ways of men in general, to which his
education on board had kept him an utter stranger” (8). Bowling’s bluntness is countered
and ultimately defeated by the grandfather’s “coldness” and the histrionics of Roderick’s
cousins (10). Bowling’s pragmatism, optimism and bluntness at this point, and through
much of the novel, seem doomed to failure. As the antithesis of the self-interest that
Roderick meets in Glasgow and London, he appears ill-equipped to survive in such a
world.

Smollett does not advocate Bowling’s lack of diplomacy. But the integrity,
patriotism, perseverance and communal values beneath his rough veneer is represented as
admirable, and Bowling’s commercial success, combined with his bluntness, suggest that
trade and superficial manners are not always intertwined. The values of civic
humanism, defined by J.G.A. Pocock as “devotion to the public good,” and
“equality...[as] a moral imperative” (42-43) can be retained and adapted without
replacing moral substance with a shallow courtesy. We might even surmise that
Bowling’s curt manner is a necessary counterpart to the superficial politeness of the
nation. This is not to say that Bowling’s naïve trust in humanity is always fruitful. In
addition to failing to mediate between Roderick and his grandfather, he also misjudges
the character of the apothecary that Roderick lives with in Glasgow, believing he will
take care of his nephew out of love for him (23). And when Roderick meets him in France he finds that Bowling had shared his money with men shipwrecked with him, but as soon as he ran out of funds the Dutchmen “refused to give [him] the least assistance” unless he sponge or beg from others (234).

Despite such experiences, Bowling, unlike Roderick and Strap, is true to his principles and his nation. Although he, like Roderick, is forced to join the French out of necessity, he leaves their service, not because of financial relief, but simply because “his conscience upbraid[ed] him for serving the enemies of his country” (234). He defends Protestantism, which as Linda Colley reminds us was one of the centripetal forces of Great Britain, warning Roderick not to be converted to Catholicism by an amiable Scottish priest. Responding to the priest’s conversion attempts Bowling cries, “I trust to no creed but the compass, and do unto every man as a would be done by; so that I defy the pope, the devil and the pretender; and hope to be saved as well as another” (238). This is the most outspoken comment in the novel against Jacobitism, and it is not surprising it originates in the defender of the British nation, whose address, he tells Roderick, is “at the sign of the Union flag, near the Hermitage, London,” exactly where we might expect to find an ardent Briton (238).

Bowling, the antithesis of the manners associated with commercialization, is responsible for healing the rupture in Scotland’s history. Bowling’s financial success, a success achieved through a patriotic act (shortly to be discussed) and his generous desire to share it with Roderick leads to the venture that reunites the young man with his father,

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20 Smollett will use this bluntness later, as we will discuss in chapter four, as a necessary characteristic for negotiating egalitarian Anglo-Scottish relations. Both a worthy Englishman/Briton, Matthew Bramble, and a Scotsman, Lismahago, in *Humphry Clinker* possess this characteristic.
restoring Roderick to his legitimate position. This event instigates a narrative shift from a picaresque England to a utopian Scotland. The father and son return, not to the self-centered Scotland Roderick left behind, but to a revived Edinburgh and an estate abounding with tenants who joyfully welcome a benevolent patriarchy, as "there is no part of the world, in which the peasants are more attached to their Lords, than in Scotland," though little of this joyous attachment had seemed to exist at the time Roderick left his home (432, 434).  

We can certainly read this shift as a pre-Scott shift to enclose the contradictions of history within the harmonic impulses of the romance genre, as Ian Duncan suggests of the ending of Walter Scott's *Heart of Midlothian* (*Modern Romance* 152). On the other hand, Smollett's position may be more optimistic, implying that a revitalized heroism may be available to Scotland, once it has resolved the historical rupture caused by Jacobitism and the resulting Anglo-Scottish tension and has dealt with economic concerns. Rodríguez has proved himself a good Protestant, unable to work for the Viceroy of Peru because of his religion (416) and a man who has also merged friendship and commercial success, earning both money and friends who are deeply grieved when he leaves for Britain. His respect and generosity towards community are similar to those

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21 At other times, however, his generosity and amiability are beneficial. The ease with which Roderick is accepted on the ship is due to certain members of the crew knowing and liking his uncle (140).

22 One of the reasons Smollett may have located corruption and self-interest in Glasgow and not in Edinburgh is that, as Defoe pointed out in his *Tour*, Glasgow was "a city of business" and had improved more than any other since the Union (606). This development, Smollett seems to suggest, has also infected Glasgow with London's emphasis on self-interest.

23 This would be confirmed by his representation of Scotland in *Humphry Clinker*, particularly in the eyes of Jery, whose Ossianic views of the Highlands are complemented by his references to the gentility of the inhabitants of Edinburgh.
of Bowling. When he arrives in Scotland, he purchases a commission in the army for Roderick’s fox-hunting cousin, who has squandered his inheritance.24

Thus far, I have considered how the vehicle of decaying gentlemanly friendship has been used by Smollett to represent decay in the tenor of Anglo-Scottish relations. The state of both sections of the trope – the vehicle and the tenor - are attributed to the same cause: commercial corruption. The fluidity of commerce had disrupted social hierarchies, allowing the “vulgar” and the genteel to become indistinguishable. Similarly, commerce had caused dissonance between England and Scotland, this time because of its tendency not to flow towards Scotland and its inhabitants. The possibility of commercial growth and access to the vibrant English economy had been key factors used to entice Scots into the Union. Both Ramsay and Wright had approached this metaphor with skepticism, suggesting that the fulfillment of such promises was unlikely. Arbuthnot, in contrast, had initially promoted commerce as a central reason for Union in his Sermon Preached to the People at the Mercat Cross (1706). Even the pro-Union Defoe had conceded that Scotland would have experienced faster development if some people’s engagements were made good to them, which were lustily promised a little before the late Union: such as erecting manufactures there under English direction, embarking stocks from England, employing hands to cut down their northern woods, and make navigations to bring the fir-timber, and deals to England, of which Scotland is able to furnish an exceeding quantity; encouraging their

24 This sort of forgiveness for ill treatment is not available to Roderick’s female cousins or to the Potions. The refusal to help the female cousins may not merely be because of their mistreatment of Roderick or due to their gender. If they do reflect in any way the disorder of Jacobitism, clearly they must be expelled from the utopic ending.
fishery, and abundance of fine things more which were much talked of I say, but little done. (561)

The lack of rapid economic growth in Scotland following the union is confirmed by Tom Devine in his recent work on Scottish history. While there was some growth, such as the Royal Bank of Scotland, founded in 1727, the British Linen Company, founded in 1746, and an improvement in black cattle trade from the Highlands, Devine points out that it was the 1760s that was the defining watershed “because from then on Scotland began to experience a social and economic transformation unparalleled among European societies of the time in its speed, scale and intensity” (107). Smollett, writing over ten years before that explosive moment, captures a Scotland that cannot adequately support its people. At one point Roderick considers returning to Scotland to continue his career as surgeon there, but concludes, “if I should settle as surgeon in my own country, I would find the business already overstocked; or if I pretended to set up in England, must labour under want of friends and powerful opposition” (254). While the obstacles in England are linked to corrupt patronage, there are few opportunities in Scotland.

Smollett, like his predecessors, is skeptical about Scotland’s commercial improvement since the union. Roderick’s desire to go south to find “an opportunity of launching into the world” (29) implies that the commercial promises of pro-union material improvements had not been fulfilled. Arbuthnot’s Sermon, for example, had insisted that “it is better to encrease our Trade, Manufacture, and Riches by a Union with England, than to boast of our Sovereignty, and starve” (4). To the objection that a Union with England will draw people out of Scotland, he counters that Scots already left Scotland for want of employment and bread, but that the “encrease of trade would
employ and keep many at home that are now forc'd to seek their bread in foreign
countries; and...the cheapness of living and manufacture will invite people from other
parts into Scotland” (8). Smollett demonstrates at the beginning of his novel that pro-
union promises to establish a vibrant economy within Scotland, to encourage Scots to
pursue social mobility and financial success at home, have failed. Tropes of business
partnership seem to be unable to promote unity. Not only is wealth not flowing towards
the northern peripheries, but Roderick’s attempt to find a job in England seems doomed
to failure. The English marketplace is saturated with Scottish surgeons who, according to
the English, are lowering the standards of their English counterparts with their short
apprenticeships, and Roderick does not have the connections to get a position (86).
Ultimately he is forced, as he will be forced again because he is devalued for his Scottish
heritage, to seek economic opportunity from the French – the first time in his work for
Mr. Lavement and the second time in the French army. Writing this in the midst of the
War of the Austrian Succession, at a time when anti-French sentiment was high, and
following the ‘45 when French influence was often blamed for dividing England and
Scotland, Smollett inverts the argument that Franco-Scottish relations fracture Anglo-
Scottish relations. A pamphlet writer argues in 1747 that “sowing popular divisions
between the English and the Scots have ever been a capital and successful maxim in the
French government” (4). In contrast, Smollett suggests that Scots are not alienated
from England by French maxims, but driven into service with the French through
economic marginalization by the English.

Devine has confirmed that "it was far from easy for lesser mortals of Scottish birth to achieve success in the English capital in the fields of politics and civil administration before the 1760s, although an important exception to this generalization was the growing Scottish merchant community in London" (25). David Hancock, in *Citizens of the World*, focuses on the development of this merchant community. While he suggests it was relatively small, noting that only five percent of London merchants were Scots, he does demonstrate through an analysis of the lives of a number of men from the peripheries, that success was possible, though, like Roderick, most had to spend time abroad amassing funds (45).

Given this small area of Scottish success, it is not surprising than that Smollett, despite a criticism of luxury and commercial excess, envisions commerce as a central means to legitimation and financial comfort for Roderick, through his uncle and, more indirectly, as a means to correct Anglo-Scottish inequity. However, as Davis indicates, Roderick is not allowed to achieve wealth and legitimacy from within England. He is "forced to leave Britain for the West Indies before he can reenter and integrate into British society" (67). Furthermore, Smollett carefully qualifies the source of the wealth of Roderick and his uncle and demonstrates that it has not been acquired at the expense of the English, but at that of the mutual enemy of England and Scotland, the French.

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26 Hancock notes that "Scots formed a numerically insignificant group in the City, despite the prominence of intellectuals...No mayors and aldermen hailed from Scotland in the middle decades of the century. Nor were any Scots elected to the Bank of England Directorate between 1740 and 1790." He does clarify, however, that in the East India Company they managed to get 11 out of 138 positions for Directors and 15 percent of the 234 managing committee members of the Africa Company between 1750 and 75. The Scots, he adds, clustered in Aldgate, Broad Street, Cheap, Langbourn, and Wallbrook wards. (45).

27 For a detailed discussion of Smollett's position on luxury see John Sekora's *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett.*
Bowling, having gained command of a ship after the captain is killed during a successful engagement with a French privateer, captures a merchant ship from Martinico (a French colony), and it is from this act that he receives a sum of money as a reward, presumably out of the takings of the ship, and a respectable position commanding a larger ship (398). In other words, commercial success achieved in the act of nation building and patriotism, and commercial success that enhances British wealth without diminishing the English economy or competing with English masculinity, is acceptable.

It is only through his uncle's willingness to share his new found wealth that Roderick is able to invest money in Bowling's next trade venture. Bowling's patriotism and dedication to community has trumped Roderick's submission to the tempting self-interest of London, enabling Roderick, the Scots he hires as his assistants, Jackson, the worthy Englishman Melopyn, the helpful Mrs. Sagely and eventually even the feckless Banter to participate in British wealth. Scotland, Smollett suggests, can enhance and improve British wealth if its people are allowed to pursue commerce. This assistance in itself enables Roderick to make enough profit to consider marrying Narcissa, even before he meets his father. Roderick tells us, "I calculated the profits of my voyage, which even exceeded my expectation; resolved to purchase a handsome sine-cure upon my arrival in England, and if I should find the Squire as averse to me as ever, marry his sister by stealth; and in case our family should encrease, rely upon the generosity of my uncle, who was by this time worth a considerable sum" (410). Roderick's commercial success allows him access to British identity, and although there is still anxiety about representing this Anglo-Scottish exchange in terms of a masculine relationship, Smollett is able to tropologically represent this Britishness through a union of courtship and desire.
Access to commercial wealth is also strongly linked to formulating a distinctly Scottish masculinity. Subsequent to his commercial success, Roderick meets his father, who has also achieved prosperity in trade, and they all return to Scotland to restore Roderick to his legitimate position. Fulfilling this restoration reinvigorates Scottish identity, reconnecting Scotland to its history and reformulating a Scottishness uncorrupted by Jacobite absolutism or English avarice. Scotland has its heroes once again, solidly supported by British commerce rather than more suspect tendencies. John Barrell, at the end of his chapter on Smollett, suggests that *Roderick Random* may be primarily about the professional writer’s access to comprehensive knowledge. His argument suggests that it might also be about creating a concept of a Scottish intelligentsia (206). Roderick, at the end of the book, has the financial resources to be a man of leisure who can narrate his own “biography” and can promote Scottish literary achievement. Smollett having restored virtuous masculinity, history and benevolence to the Scottish landscape, also promotes Scottish capacity for scholarship and a more “authentic” gentility that can be reexplored and admired by Welsh tourists in *Humphry Clinker*.

The return of Roderick, his father and Narcissa to Scotland also implies what Smollett’s concern with luxury cannot let him explicitly express: the reinvestment of funds in Scotland. One of Wright’s concerns with Union had been that the nobility and gentry and their money would move southward, leaving Scotland without strong leadership and opportunity for commercial growth. In the decades after the Union this form of emigration became a particular concern with regard to the Highlands. Defoe voiced it in the *Tour*, noting that Scotland’s “own nobility, would they be true patriots,
should then put their helping hand to the rising advantages of their own country, and spend some of the large sums they get in England in applying to the improvement of their country, erecting manufactures, employing the poor, and propagating the trade at home, which they may see plainly has made their united neighbours of England so rich” (637, 638). A few years before the publication of *Roderick Random*, the writer of *The Memoirs of Miss Jenny Cameron* had also made this point, rather oddly endowing the promiscuous Miss Cameron with the ability to develop successful trade relations in the Highlands.

The location of Roderick’s home is not made clear in the novel, although if we identify the town where he studies as Glasgow, as some critics do, it may well be located in the Lowlands, as his home is “not many miles distant” from the town (15). The feudal structure of his estate, however, seems more closely associated with that of the Highlands, the area of Scotland where development was most required, according to Thomson, Defoe and others. The presence of the commercially successful Roderick and Don Rodriguez in their home country suggests that this development may now take place. Smollett, like many of his English contemporaries, does not seem to be troubled by the possibility that such progress may erase or diminish Highland distinctiveness. After Culloden, and shortly before the publication of *Roderick Random*, Parliament had banned Highland dress and disarmed the Highlanders as a response to the rebellion. In *Humphry Clinker*, published after the Ossianic works had invested Highland warriors with antiquity, Smollett does invest the Highlands with a distinct ethereal character. However, immediately after the ‘45, at a time when Lowlanders were distancing

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28 He makes similar statements in his poem *Caledonia*. 
themselves from barbaric representations of the Highlands, it may have seemed more prudent to emphasize the potential for Lowland Scotland to ensure that the Highlands participate in commercial progress, becoming more like the Lowlands.

While Smollett has re-energized Scotland's masculinity, he avoids using a masculine friendship to capture Anglo-Scottish union. The novel, as Crawford points out, ends with an Anglo-Scottish wedding. In fact, it ends with two Anglo-Scottish weddings, surely a strong confirmation of Anglo-Scottish relations. Yet, in addition to the use of the phrase that Narcissa "as yet" has not seen fit to return to England that Davis notes, the novel also ends with an Anglo-Scottish lawsuit. The last Anglo-Scottish male relationship Smollett highlights is a negative one, and while we are told in the midst of *Peregrine Pickle* that Roderick has won his lawsuit, the moment of union that ends the text is tainted by conflict.

The residual masculine cross-border aggression suggests that while Smollett's Scotland, as the novel draws to a close, has, through commercial success and reconnection with its history, brought itself to a place where it can perform an equitable union of sorts with England, numerous concerns have been raised and not resolved. "Infection" from London's self-interested community remains a threat. Competing commercially with England has been shown to be problematic and potentially divisive rather than unifying, and Scottish workers seem to still be devalued and ridiculed in London. Moreover, the Scottish economy still requires substantial reinvestment of wealth. In addition, while Scottish masculinity appears to have been revived, English

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29Bowling does not accompany them to Scotland. He leaves "to try his fortune once more at sea" (432). Having fulfilled his function he goes back to his duty of guarding the nation.
gentlemanly friendship remains tainted by commercial excess, ensuring that it cannot operate effectively as part of a trope of union.

II. The Discomfort of Desire – Smollett’s Uneasy Courtship Tropes

Instead of male friendship, the novel closes with a marital trope – the representative of a newly reintegrated Scotland engages in a marital relationship of desire with a young Englishwoman. But Smollett leaves his readers poised at the beginning of Anglo-Scottish relations, beginning the Union over again, if you will. Moreover, although the trope of courtship is the only unifying device used to bring closure to Anglo-Scottish relations, Smollett spends much of the novel marking the failure of the trope. The courtship trope has been in play since the Chapter Twenty, when Roderick receives a promise of marriage from a young “heiress,” later identified as Miss Williams, whom he later catches in an act of infidelity (108, 109). There are ten potential Anglo-Scottish unions in the text and the vast majority of them are disastrous. The match between Lavemant’s daughter and Squire Gawky (an Anglo-Franco-Scottish alliance) and Jackson and his English heiress are catastrophic, ending in poverty and abandonment. The potential alliances of Strap and the pregnant tallow chandler’s widow, Roderick and Miss Williams, Roderick and Melinda, Incognita and Roderick, Miss Snapper and Roderick seem equally troubling. Smollett makes clear that an Anglo-Scottish union is neither straightforward nor simple. As with tropes of friendship, mercenary motivations or corruption on either side are damaging, and reminiscent of Allan Ramsay’s unfortunate union of Rosie [England] and the anglophile Scot, Joukum, in *Tale of Three Bonnets*.

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30 As Jerry Beasley points out in *Novels of the 1740s*, Smollett does not end with a prelapsarian world. Scotland’s history is restored, order is reinstalled north of the Tweed, and there is some form of union of affection - yet London remains untouched.
I have discussed at some length the impulse towards Britishness that Bowling embodies. It is Bowling's commercial success and generosity that ultimately enable Roderick to marry Narcissa. Desire for Anglo-Scottish unity also emerges from England, but, once again, it can reach fulfillment only through a long process, this time a process of English repentance and reparation. One English figure, in particular, engages in this process, working to facilitate a union of affection between England and Scotland. Miss Williams, like Roderick, occupies a marginal position in the nation. Roderick himself suggests her situation is "a thousand times more wretched" than his own (136). The movement to align Roderick with marginalized Englishmen and women is, as Crawford suggests, a general one. As the book develops, he argues, "we become much less aware of Roderick and Hugh Strap as two young Scots against the rest of Britain, and more aware of them as existing among various outsiders and victims of prejudice in the society" (59). The mutual sympathy that evolves between Roderick and such characters as Miss Williams, Mrs. Sagely and Melopyn foreshadows Adam Smith's use of sympathy as a cohesive, communal force.31 Those who are excluded from Smollett's romance ending, Narcissa's brother and Roderick's female cousins, for example, are not excluded for nationality, but for reasons of incivility, hostility and a lack of sympathy.

In addition to this general movement towards mutual understanding, Miss Williams has a specific function. As Roderick's first possible partner, her motivations are nefarious, to give him responsibility for her debts and gain revenge for her own mistreatment at the hands of men. In this portion of the text Miss Williams reinvigorateș Allan Ramsay's representation of the English Rosie, who seduces Joukum ınto marriage

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31 This is a reference to Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759).
allegedly for love, but in actual fact to access his resources. As the narrative progresses, Smollett inverts the story to create a repentant Rosie, who strives to make up for her past actions while she is maid to Narcissa by furthering a true union of affection between the English woman and the Scot. Smollett’s concept of union involves English recognition and regret for destructive past intentions towards Scotland, surely a gesture towards Culloden as well as other injustices. While Miss Williams’ actions cannot end all Anglo-Scottish conflict – the enmity between Random and Narcissa’s brother remains for example – she can act as an “interpreter” between the couple, negotiating their relationship by regulating Random’s barbaric (Scottish) impulses and sharing with Roderick the strength of feeling that Narcissa’s civilized (English) morality can only slowly reveal. While Roderick has experienced much English hostility, and there may not be sufficient Anglo-Scottish economic equality and understanding to formulate a relationship of Anglo-Scottish camaraderie, Smollett suggests through the desire of Narcissa and Roderick, and the facilitation of that desire by Bowling and Miss Williams, that impulses towards union exist in England as well as Scotland.

While the matter of wealth is superseded by mutual desire in the marriage, Smollett makes a significant gesture towards the importance of economic equality to the Anglo-Scottish Union. Michael Lynch points out that “fifteen of the twenty-five Articles of Union prepared in 1706 were concerned with economics” (309). Roderick’s moment of union reinforces this aspect of the contract. On the day after the wedding, Roderick presents Narcissa with a deed “by which I settled the whole fortune I was possessed of,

32 There is no specific evidence that Smollett read *Three Bonnets* (published anonymously in 1722), although he was well acquainted with Ramsay’s work in general. *Humphry Clinker’s Lismahago* recommends Jery read Ramsay’s *Evergreen* (199) While Smollett may have read the work, published the
on her and her heirs for ever” (431). This domestic reenactment of the Scottish renouncement of the right to control one’s own financial well-being is followed by a similar act on the part of his English bride, one which belongs purely to the realm of wish fulfillment on the part of Scots. Narcissa accepts Roderick’s gift and “desired [Roderick’s] father to take the trouble keeping it, saying, ‘Next to my own Mr. Random, you are the person in whom I ought to have the greatest confidence’” (431). Control over Scottish wealth is entrusted to Scots reinforcing mutual affection and trust as the primary ties that connect the nations, and potentially leading to a relationship of equality.

To a Scottish writer after Culloden, Anglo-Scottish relations need to be reformulated. Smollett’s reconfiguration of the tropology of union shares the skepticism of anti-union pamphlet writers about the possibility of a simple egalitarian comradeship without anxiety and dissension, particularly given the fact that the economic parity predicted by pro-union writers had not appeared. However, unlike the anti-union pamphleteers we have considered – Wright, Arbuthnot and Ramsay – Smollett does not use tropes of courtship and marriage to undercut concepts of British unity. While he maps out such a tropology as troubled, he ultimately suggests that four decades after the Act of Union, sufficient untainted cross-border desire does exist for a British nation. Clearly representing Scotland as masculine and England as feminine (Narcissa is no Rosie) he suggests that Scotland’s position in Britain need not be inherently lesser. Nevertheless, the tension captured throughout the novel, including the presence of potentially disastrous Anglo-Scottish unions based in sordid motives, demonstrates that Roderick Random ends at the beginning of a complex set of negotiations, with hope and desire for unity, but with year after his birth, we believe in Edinburgh, his initially corrupt Miss Williams may be generally dealing with negative representations of England preceding the Union.
an understanding of the immense amount of work that the Random heir will need to undertake, much of which revolves around resolving commercial inequity and developing a means to adapt to an increasingly commercial nation without adopting masks of duplicitous civility prevalent in England.

**Edward Kimber**

Seven years after *Roderick Random* was published, the English writer Edward Kimber published a work that directly responded to Smollett’s work, giving his protagonist the surname Ramble, a name that echoes Roderick’s last name.  

In the first paragraph of this work Kimber’s narrator directly connects the two novels, noting, “not withstanding my name, I am an Englishman, and not a native of Scotland, as it seems to indicate” (3). Writing ten years after the rebellion, Kimber appears to feel comfortable engaging more directly with issues of Jacobitism and Scotland, although it seems it was still too recent to engage with issues of the ‘45. Kimber focuses on the aftermath of Scottish Jacobitism in the 1715.

Kimber’s work can be seen as one of the earliest works of fiction by an English writer to fold Scottish characters into tropes of union in a positive manner. Scotland, as Kimber describes it, is made up of virtuous, hard working rural communities and antique and friendly cities, and the Scots are virtually indistinguishable from the English. Written in the years before Macpherson, Home, and Smollett’s *Humphry Clinker* had transformed Scotland into a rich source of history and tradition, it is remarkably positive towards Scots.  

On the other hand, Kimber’s lack of angst and concern about the

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33 According to James G. Basker, Smollett was familiar with several of Kimber’s novels, including *The Adventures of Joe Thomson* (1750) and *The Juvenile Adventures of David Ranger* (1756) (90).

34 Defoe had also been positive in his representations of Scottishness as he worked to facilitate the Union, as had the opening discussions of Scotland and Scots in Bond’s *Duncan Campbell*. 
complexity and fragility of Anglo-Scottish relations minimizes conflict other than that caused by Jacobitism. Smollett’s emphasis on anti-Scottish sentiment in England is absent. Part of the smoothness of Kimber’s tale is that although he begins with characters (from the middling class) who seem to echo the central figures in Smollett’s novel, he rapidly shifts into romance mode. By romance I mean that Kimber rejects Smollett’s desire to represent “modest merit struggling with every difficulty to which a friendless orphan is exposed” (xxxv), and instead selects transcendent characters, what Samuel Johnson in a discussion of romance in the *Rambler* called “virtues and crimes” beyond the “sphere of activity” of the reader (Ioan Williams 144). James and his family, unbeknownst to James, are actually nobility disguised as wealthy farmers. The use of financially stable aristocratic characters allows Kimber to evade questions about the relationship between wealth, rank and national identity that come to the fore in *Roderick Random*. As will be seen within about five years of the novel’s publication, when the unwary Bute ascends to the position of Lord Treasurer, Kimber’s utopic vision of Anglo-Scot equality and camaraderie will be shown to be sorely inaccurate and Smollett’s wariness may seem to be justified.

Whereas tropes of marriage and the reproduction of a British heir in *Roderick Random* are only the beginning of negotiating Anglo-Scottish identity, in Kimber’s novel they are firmly located in the past. Inverting Smollett’s model, he emphasizes gentlemanly friendship as the central trope of contemporary Britishness. Kimber’s tale, beginning in 1719 with the birth of the protagonist and ending about twenty years later,

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35 This trope (of the aristocracy or monarch posing as a commoner or of a noble baby being brought up in poverty without knowing its lineage) goes back as far as the middle ages, in works such as *Havelock the Dane*, or even further back to classical tales such as *Oedipus*. 
firmly locates itself in a unified nation. Creating tropological layers of Britishness, the work blurs the boundaries between the English and Scots over two different generations. The central action is located in the borders between the nations, potentially a site of conflict, but in this representation, a benign space, where the violence that once existed is not denied, but is banished to the distant past. Structures built to withstand war are now appreciated for aesthetic reasons. Ware Hall, “being so near the hostile borders of the two kingdoms...was constructed, as well for defence as for convenience and beauty” (255). Despite the need to repel “the efforts of their constant enemies the Scots” in the past, the place now is described as Arcadian, abounding with industrious swains and homely cottages (255). Likewise, the battlefield of Flodden, the locus of a devastating Scottish loss to the English, is tropologically turned into a benign place of love and regeneration – it is there that James meets his future wife Sukey.

The literary transformation of Anglo-Scottish violence into benign aesthetics was not an English invention. James Thomson had employed it in the Seasons when he created strong affiliations between the pro-Union, anti-Jacobite Duke of Argyle and the ultimate symbol of Scottish independence, William Wallace. The Duke will continue Wallace’s work, Thomson suggests, by improving industry and agriculture, by giving “a double Harvest to the Pining Swain” (914). The warrior has become the patron and the battlefield is transformed into a place of agriculture and beauty. Smollett does not even begin to envision such a shift until the end of his novel, after the resolution of a number of serious conflicts between North and South Britain. Even Thomson, despite his allegiance to members of the British monarchy and his willingness to cater to the English to achieve literary success, stresses that there is still substantial development necessary in
Scotland. The Duke of Argyle and other Patriots need to “cheer dejected industry” (910) before Scotland can be as commercially successful as England. In contrast, Kimber, despite his own peripheral position as “hack-writer,” a position that may have increased his sympathy for other marginal figures, views Anglo-Scottish relations from an English perspective and has little problem sublimating the process of transformation and presenting Britain as generally harmonious.

Many of the central characters embody this blurring of national identity. James Ramble, despite his insistence that he is an Englishman born in Northumberland, discovers at the end of the text that he is, in fact, the son of a repentant Scottish Jacobite. The Scots and English, it appears, are interchangeable. This blurring of national boundaries has roots in the integration of the previous generation. The mother of James’s good friend George, a Duchess, is a Scotswoman, born in London, and married, around the time of the Union, to his English father, a match of “inclination as well as family interest,” and which results in an “uninterrupted state of happiness” (130). Although we are told that the Duchess had been raised with Jacobite sentiments, leading to the exile of her brother (the father of Sukey, the woman James loves), she “had been reasoned out of them by her lord” (175), restoring harmony to the household. Seen as a transcendent version of the Anglo-Scottish Union, cleansed of conflict and resistance, this marriage steps in the direction of a national hybridity.\(^{36}\) While the gender configuration of the marriage suggests Scottish subordination, as does the Duchess’s susceptibility to English “reason,” Kimber’s narrative does not display unease at this configuration of Britishness. It merely exists among other elements of hybridity, such as the relationship between

\(^{36}\) It could also be argued that this is not truly an intermarriage, as allegiances of rank transcend national differences.
place of origin and geographic choices. For example, James’s Scottish parents decide to reside in Northumberland (in disguise) and raise their son as an Englishman. George’s English father chooses to spend much of his time in Scotland and James decides at the end of the novel to remain in England with his Scottish wife and live next to George. James hopes for a further hybridity by matching his son with George’s daughter, thus continuing “the alliance of our families” and incidentally Anglo-Scot integration (299).

The multiple layering of tropes of union suggests that Britishness is already well established and is no longer under negotiation in any serious way. Tropes of marriage, then, merely point towards a past moment of merging, and the text signifies the similarity of the Englishmen and Scotsmen by James’s strong resemblance to the Anglo-Scottish George.37

Kimber is equally untroubled by commercial inequity and corruption. The destructive forces of luxury described by Smollett in both Roderick Random and Humphry Clinker in differentiating a corrupt London from virtuous peripheries are absent, and the need for further development north of the border identified by Defoe in the 1720s, discussed extensively in mid-century periodicals and implied in Roderick Random in the 1740s, is elided. Like Northumberland, the Scottish countryside, during James and George’s visit, is described in georgic terms, as peopled with hard-working shepherds, fishermen and husbandmen.

The absence of commentary on the Highlands is significant in a work centered on Jacobitism. The ‘45 had arisen in the Highlands, and periodicals in the decade following the rebellion had frequently associated the lack of commercial development in the

37 The names James and George, of course, reflect Kimber’s attempt to reconcile Jacobites and Hanoverians. The two men later find they are related.
Highlands with the ability of Charles Stuart to convince a significant number of its inhabitants to support his cause. The anonymous writer of the pamphlet *The Rose* (1747) suggests that the Lowlands did not support the rebellion because the inferior ranks in the Lowlands had been integrated into Britain’s commercial methodology, acquiring property and power through commerce, agriculture, manufacturers and industry (21). This opinion was not confined to England. In March 1746 the *Scots Magazine* reprinted an article from the *General Evening Post* arguing that to avoid rebellions in the future the British must reform “the banditti that harbour in most of the highlands of Scotland, that nursery of rapine and violence” (*Scots Magazine* 312). My discussion of Smollett has suggested that while Smollett did not want to engage directly with the ‘45, the return of Scottish gentility, knowledge and commerce to Scotland, to what appears to be a feudal estate, suggests that Smollett recognizes and supports the need for reform under a benign Scottish patriarchy. Moreover, the return to Scotland suggests that the reconfiguration of Scotland after Culloden is best carried out by Scots, who at least respect the difference between England and Scotland, if not between the Lowlands and the Highlands. Kimber, however, locates the core of the Jacobite problem in the wayward nobility, and does not appear to see any need to make the matter any more complex by relocating commercial resources in the Highlands. George and James tour Scotland, admiring its antique buildings and agricultural richness, but do not appear to travel further north than Fife.

The sole mention of the Highlands appears in a flashback narrated by the Marchioness, Sukey’s mother, in which she remembers travelling to Appin with her husband to try to collect money owed to them and escape the Hanoverian authorities. Her

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38 Lismahago and Matthew Bramble discuss precisely this matter in *Humphry Clinker*, with Bramble arguing for further commercial development and Lismahago resisting such an idea.
servant Jenkins determines that the Highlands are no longer safe for Jacobite sympathizers and they leave Scotland. Despite the fact that Kimber’s novel ends five or six years before the ’45, its focus on eliminating difference between England and Scotland refuses to dwell on any element of Scotland that would disrupt the harmonic integration he is developing. Perhaps continuing the tendency of Parliament to erase Highland distinctness, Kimber suggests that the Highlands have simply transformed allegiance back to the Hanoverians and present no further threat to British unity. As the novel draws to a close, the Earl, James’s father does gesture briefly towards the reasons for the rebellion, noting that while men of rank have complex reasons for participating, related to ambition, resentment and revenge for relatives who have suffered for the Stuart cause, the “lower herd of which the Jacobites are principally composed” are merely deceived by priests (288). Catholicism, rather than national or regional affiliation or lack of commercial development, is promoted as the primary signifier of difference, but it is not explicitly linked to the Highlands, or indeed to Scotland at all.

Although Kimber does not link commerce and the Highlands, his general position regarding trade and its connection to gentility is Whiggish. Frank Gees Black, in one of the only articles published on Kimber, suggests this is true of a number of Kimber’s novels, noting that in his Adventures of Joe Thompson (1750), Kimber “takes pains to speak the praises of the tradesman’s calling, and in the person of Diaper and his son exhibits worthy representatives of the class” (30). In James Ramble, James’s father, the Earl, disguised as a wealthy farmer, engages in the cattle trade, and James and George, though rejecting trade for themselves, spend time with merchant friends in London. Tropes of Anglo-Scottish business partnership, then, are fully functional. Most relevant to
the Anglo-Scottish connection, the English reformed Jacobite, John Jenkins, is the son of a merchant, who works for a time for a Glasgow merchant, suggesting not only that commerce binds the two nations, but also that it can invert the Anglo-Scot hierarchy that generally placed the Scot in the position of inferiority, without resulting in English jealousy.39

Anglo-Scottish business partnerships and ultimately friendships are possible because the detabilizing differences between the Scots and the English highlighted in *Roderick Random*, such as dialect and physical appearance, are absent in *James Ramble*. Even religious difference is minimized. Neither of the Jacobite lords is Catholic, and the only person specifically identified as Presbyterian is George’s French tutor, who is described as a narrow-minded ambitious Presbyterian, deeply read in Calvin (175). While we might think that the solid and highly publicized Presbyterian support for the Hanoverians during the ‘45 rising might have alleviated biases against Presbyterians in England, this was not necessarily the case.40 One Gilbert Crokatt, in the same year as *Roderick Random* was published, produced in London a work entitled *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Display'd: or, the Folly of their Teaching Discover'd from their Books, Sermons, & Prayers*, continuing an anti-Presbyterian discourse that had not necessarily been confined to the work of English writers. Anglican Scots such as Archibald Pitcairne and John Arbuthnot had not been averse to ridiculing Presbyterianism and its adherents. Despite this bias against Presbyterianism, Smollett had identified Roderick and his family as members of the Church of Scotland, and mentions

39 Jenkins is a name often associated with the Welsh. Kimber may be using Welshness as a sort of mediating space between England and Scotland.
Roderick's religion as another source of harassment. On the ship Thunder, the chaplain is shocked by discovering his religion and says that “he could not comprehend how a Presbyterian was entitled to any post under the English government” (192). The religion of Kimber’s Scots, however, remains a mystery, though the English Duke is identified as a member of the Church of England. Kimber’s concern is to suppress or deflect difference in order to enhance tropological unity.

Thus far I have argued that while Smollett sees Anglo-Scottish relations as multi-layered and interlinked with general socio-political conditions, requiring extensive work to resolve, Kimber’s representation of Anglo-Scottish relations is tainted only by the issue of Jacobitism. There is only one exception to Kimber’s gloriously united nation that does not appear to be related to the Stuart cause. The Anglo-Scottish union of the Duke and Duchess has in fact produced two sons. It is the younger son, George, who forms the enduring bond with James that forms the central cross-border friendship trope of the novel. The elder son, referred to as the Marquis, does not share his brother’s amiable disposition. Though he is an Anglo-Scot, and owns a Scottish estate in Fife, he disassociates himself from Scotland, refusing to accompany the two younger men on their tour. He complains that he is tired of the “Scotch capital over and over, with its awkward closes and its filthy winds” (285). The Marquis, despite his maternal ancestry appears to represent a degree of residual anti-Scottish sentiment. This bias is not his only flaw. Along with his English associate, Ranger, the Marquis presents a sexual threat specifically to Scottish women, although he himself does not know their national

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40 The Church of Scotland published in the Gentleman's Magazine a letter supporting the Hanoverian cause and numerous sermons were preached during the '45 in support of George II. Indeed, the conclusion of Ascanius suggests that this support was one of the central reasons for the Hanoverian victory in Scotland.
affiliation. He behaves in a threatening manner towards James’s mother and kidnaps Sukey and her mother, intending to debauch the younger woman. James and George rescue the women, and the Marquis is rapidly brought to repentance when he realizes that Sukey and the Marchioness are related to him. Revealing the familial attachment between the Anglophile lord and his Scottish cousin removes his desire to harm her and leads him to reform his behaviour. Kimber magically resolves residual conflict between the English and the Scot, then, by simply reiterating the trope of family. He completely removes any recurrences of this dissonance by killing the Marquis of consumption shortly thereafter, allowing the consistently benevolent and amiable George to inherit the authority of his father and the responsibility for continuing British solidarity. In apparent restitution for his previous behaviour, the Marquis leaves James his estate in Fifeshire. The death of residual Scotophobia results in the first connection between James and his Scottish heritage.

Despite the digressions caused by the violent behaviour of the marquis, he is not the central source of dissonance in the narrative. It is Jacobitism that is responsible for the rupture between various branches of the family, although the misbehaviour of the Marquis and that of the Jacobite lords has the same source – unbridled and unnatural passion and the placement of self-interest before the interest of community – the anathema of patriotic masculine behaviour. The attribution of ambition, resentment and a desire for revenge to the “gloomy discontented wretches” that support the Jacobite cause stresses their dedication to private rather than public causes.\(^{42}\) The behaviour of Sukey’s

\(^{41}\) There are two different men with this title in the text. Sukey’s father is referred to as the Marquis, as is George’s brother.

\(^{42}\) Their selfish acts, while manifested differently, are comparable to the selfish behaviour of Smollett’s villains, who seek profit for themselves rather than the nation.
father most clearly exemplifies this "unnatural" degeneracy. Kimber inverts the heroic representation of the Jacobite as it appeared in such works as Ascanius or Alexis, and instead reveals that it is the Jacobite who is barbaric, who lacks gentility and a desire for the betterment of the nation. The Marchioness insists that ever since her husband pledged himself to restore the Chevalier de St. George he has been transformed from an excellent and good man to a man with a "waywardness of temper that has inclined me...to think his misfortunes have had a baneful effect upon his reason" (126). The Marquis, Sukey's father, tells James he at one time had a "hot fiery temperament" (252). Despite his disillusionment with Marr and James Stuart, when the British ministry offers him the opportunity to discuss the terms of a reconciliation civilly shortly after the rebellion, he refuses to accept "such proposals as he thought wounded his honour" (129). Projecting his own lack of civility onto the ministry the Marquis remains unhappily in exile until he is discovered by his future son-in-law. Upon his return to Northumberland, the Marquis and James's father, the Earl, are able to prove their dedication to the national good and their restoration to "civilized" society, and so regain access to the court and forgiveness for their indiscretion.43

While both men ultimately return to their native Scotland to reside, their Scottishness is neither a central element of their breach with the nation, nor of their restoration to civility. Scotland and England have continued to integrate in their absence, and this is most strongly represented in the genteel friendship used tropologically to represent the fused relationship of the new generation of Britons. After the death of George's brother, disruptive passion is expelled from Anglo-Scottish relations. George

43 The Earl informs the ministry of an intended invasion and thus earns himself a pension and permission to remain in the kingdom. The Marquis, in addition to restoring a number of English hostages, has his
and James are men of honour, of decent respect and consideration for one another. Their courtesy does not resemble Smollett’s representation of artificial politeness, but is grounded in genteel friendship and a mutual desire to work for the good of the private and public sphere, the precise qualities pro-union Scottish pamphleters such as William Seton and the Earl of Cromarty had opposed to “that Gothic constitution of government, wherein our forefathers were, which was frequently attended with feuds, murders, depredations and rebellions” (Robertson 220).

The two men work together throughout the text in a form of benevolent patriarchy that Smollett only achieves at the end of his novel, moving between Scotland and England to rescue women from male aggression and the elements, and end up, like Roderick, fighting in Cartagena for their nation. George even represses his attraction to Sukey because his friend had laid first claim to her. Although James’s status is originally represented as relatively lowly, this does not detract from his gentility as his family has instilled him with a certain politeness of manners that leads their neighbours to refer to them as gentlefolk (3).

In Smollett’s work, Roderick, his father and Narcissa settle in Scotland in a space in between the Highlands and Lowlands, suggesting they will focus on renewing Scotland. Kimber’s George and James, in contrast, choose to stay in England, and more specifically in the liminal border space of Northumberland, a place from which they can continue to promote and disseminate British identity, which appears to be increasingly blended. Highland and even Scottish distinctness is swallowed up in a narrative of progress.

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brother-in-law, the Duke, intercede for him and is also allowed to remain.

44This is an extract from a speech by William Seton on the first article of the union.
George marries an English woman and James marries his Scottish cousin, and, as aforementioned, they hope their children will intermarry, complementing their male/male bond of equality with a further bond of Anglo-Scottish affection. Both men retain strong links to Scotland, where James and Sukey's parents remain and where George, when he inherits his position from his father, will have to continue his father's work. Leith Davis, speaking of anti-union pamphlets representing Scotland as an independent, distinct and united nation, notes that "what these representations of the nation – as mythic, filial community or historically independent constitutional body – have in common is the idea of similarity: both rely on the identicality of the nation’s members, in blood and in historical experience" (30). Kimber's representation of the similar and converging identities of George and James configures Britain precisely as Scottish writers imagined Scotland in order to make a case against a united British nation. Smollett, while he would ultimately increase the viability of the trope of cross-border friendship in Humphry Clinker, refuses to erase Scottish difference in this manner.

Conclusion

There are a number of similarities between concepts of Britishness surrounding the Union and those produced in the post-Culloden years. Tropes of friendship and courtship are still seen as useful in negotiating national identity. Egalitarian models of friendship and business partnerships remain popular with English writers, a tendency we will see recur in the 1790s. Such conceptions of union might be seen as allowing distinct identity to be retained and celebrated. Since friendships do not involve the same merging in reproduction as marital relations do, they would seem to leave space for each friend/nation to preserve its individual identity. The hybridity created in this model would
seem to allow similarity and difference to coexist. English writers, however, do not dwell on such differences, whether in pro-union pamphlets, mid-century novels or nation-building novels at the end of the eighteenth century. The focus of such writers appears to be on the equality and similarities between the two nations. The elision of difference may occur because it is feared that distinctness may weaken tropes of union, because it is thought that progress will automatically erase marks of difference – which are in fact markers of antiquity, because English writers are not concerned with preserving Scottish identity, or because English writers are simply not aware of different traditions and manners.

The work of Scottish writers, on the other hand, regardless of genre, is sensitive to Anglo-Scottish tension. The work of Smollett does not, like that of the pamphleteers, resist union through the trope of family. His emphasis on a transcendent familial union appears to suggest that a fundamental desire for hybridity – Britishness – exists in both England and Scotland. But many of the problems predicted by Wright and Ramsay and represented by Arbuthnot are tackled again in *Roderick Random*, both through the many tainted and failed Anglo-Scottish courtships and through the ongoing artifice and deception that undercuts a relationship of equality, maintaining economic inequity and xenophobia. Smollett does not give up on masculine tropes, however. Just over a decade after the publication of the novel, he attempts to construct a model of fellow citizenship in *The Briton*, a periodical designed to uphold ministry policy. Despite anti-Scottish attacks against the periodical suggesting that the Scots were trying to colonize the nation, Smollett, as I will discuss in Chapter Four, ultimately rejects the trope of marriage for the odd, discordant trope of friendship between Matthew Bramble and Lismahago. A
completely hybrid nation founded on mutual desire, it would appear, is ineffective in a moment in which English hostility is predominant.
Chapter 3

Over her Dead Body: Female Pathos as an Instrument of National Mediation

Introduction

I have suggested that Tobias Smollett carefully reconstructs the language of domesticity and friendship to engage more intricately with problems of prejudice, corruption, Jacobitism and the commercial neglect of Scotland. Rejecting Kimber’s simplistic trope of egalitarian friendship, Smollett tentatively embraces the resolution of Anglo/Scottish marital union only after extensively grappling with post ‘45 concerns. In contrast, Edward Kimber deflects all Anglo-Scottish conflict onto the Stuart/Hanover dispute, eliding other forms of tension between the two nations and reviving the egalitarian model of masculine friendship as the primary narrative vehicle for union. The harmonic representation of Britain in Kimber’s novel suggests that English writers were less apt to see the complexity of the power-relationship between the two nations and its uncomfortable implications for Scots. Both writers, however, clearly see the novel genre and the private lives explored within it, as a constructive way to examine the state of the nation. In this chapter, I will suggest that despite the undeniable connection between the novel and the nation that Benedict Anderson has discussed in some detail, other genres utilized the language of private relations to negotiate British identity in the late 1750s and early 1760s.

This is not to say that the novel did not continue to interact with ideas of Anglo-Scottish relations. Unsurprisingly, following the popularity of Roderick Random, a number of novels or “true histories” were produced with varied levels of emphasis on either Scottish characters or Scottish settings. Generally, such works were written
anonymously or by marginal writers. Examples of this type of fiction would include *The Scotch Marine* (1760?), *The Chain of Fate* (1756), Mrs. Woodfin’s *Northern Memoirs* (1756?), *The Stolen Marriages: or Trips to Scotland* (1760) and the *History of Miss Katty N.* (1757). I am not suggesting that this type of novel should be discounted in an analysis of the shaping of the nation, though a fair number of the works appear to use the peripheral status of their characters merely as “exotic” window-dressing. In the latter half of the century, the novel (and ultimately the national tale) will become a source of cultural reformation and of enacting union between England and both Ireland and Scotland. At this point, however, when the genre itself is still very much under construction, there appears to be no concerted attempt to grapple seriously with the complexities of Anglo-Scottish relations outside the work of Smollett and Kimber.

In fact, we might conjecture that a number of the novels contributed to the uneasiness of Anglo-Scottish relations by using Scottishness as a quality that allowed Scottish women in particular to be portrayed as outside British cultural norms leading to national disruption. As discussed in Chapter Two, Scottish women had been particularly vilified in much of the anti-Jacobite material surrounding the ‘45. The Duchess of Perth, for example, in *The Female Rebels* is held to have appropriated male authority and masculine traits and misused them, to the detriment of the community. Not content with tormenting prisoners against conventions of military courtesy and encouraging the rebelling troops to slaughter resisting civilians, the Duchess mortifies and bullies her own soldiers and officers into submission with little regard for ideals of honour (31-33). Likewise, Jenny Cameron, though she does have moments of repentance, tends to invoke disorder in the communities around her. She dresses as a man, mixes in low society,
heartily participates in her own debauchment by a footman, runs away with a soldier and . for a short time lives in a quasi-marriage to the leader of aggressive Highland banditti who frequently raids Lowland communities. Scottish women, then, are increasingly represented as unruly and lacking in virtue in precisely the decade in which Richardson is developing a concept of woman as the national centre of virtue.¹

Some of the novels of the late 1750s participated in this tendency to portray Scottish women outside appropriate English convention. Miss Katty N., in the 1757 novel that bears her name, for example, having been mistreated by her family, despite substantial pretensions to gentility, and indeed the blood of Scottish aristocrats, engages in two sexual liaisons (one with a Scottish lord and the other with an English silversmith) without the benefit of marriage. Both relationships fail when she is severely mistreated by her lovers. Similarly, in the Scotch Marine (1760), Celestina, the Anglo-Scottish heroine, has Castor, the dispossessed Highlander she secretly loves, pressed into the Navy to prevent him from marrying a servant. She then cross-dresses so she can secretly serve with him at sea. Ultimately they are separated and he marries the servant he loves, leaving Celestina to marry a wealthy landowner (who appears to be a Scot) who has loved her all along. Such works clearly play with the connections between nation, rank, gender and power. Yet, they are not as crucial to the shaping of national identity during the era of the Seven Years War, and the years that followed, as the concerted effort to

¹The Hardwicke Marriage Act, which restricted young people from marrying without parental consent was not valid in Scotland, which may have also contributed to a sense of Scottish women as less controlled than those in England.
produce “high cultural” Scottish work that emanated from the south-east coast of Scotland.²

**Tropes used by the Moderate Literati**

In this chapter, I will look at the tropology of the nation that emerged in the work of the Moderate literati, who generally came from a specific regional and socio-political sphere in Scotland. These men, as Richard Sher notes, were “nearly all what one would now call middle- and upper middle-class professional men” who had “secured positions of prestige and authority in the Church of Scotland and the University of Edinburgh” (*Church and University* 10-11, 14).³ While their fictional works are presented in the prestigious epic and dramatic forms, they use tropes of private relations to work through issues that affect cross-border relations in a way that is not unlike that of Smollett, Kimber and the Union pamphleteers. The work of the Moderate literati, however, emerges in an era in which Anglo-Scottish relations are improving, aided by mutual concern about the war against France, but in which there are still specific issues causing discontent and suggesting inequality.⁴

My focus will be on John Home’s *Douglas* (1755), a translation of Voltaire’s *l’Ecossaise* (1760) and James Macpherson’s *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760) and *Fingal* (1761), although I contextualize their work by considering works by Adam Ferguson and others. I will argue that members of the Moderate literati, in the late 1750s, explored the ability of a gender-based tropology to describe Anglo-Scottish relations,

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² These works are not as crucial, both because they seem to be marginal works (there are not a lot of second printings), and because they are not as coordinated and directed, as I am suggesting the works of the Moderate literati were.
³ Sher later adds, that the Moderate literati were committed to “the prevailing social, political and ecclesiastical order” and favoured “the traditional social values of landed society,” values they encoded in their writings (240).
⁴ Scotland’s exclusion from William Pitt’s militia bill would be an example of this.
and, in particular, to put to work, for national ends, the idea of a superior feminine virtue solidified in Richardson's *Clarissa* a decade earlier. While a feminized trope of Scotland would still lack physical power, an insurmountable detriment in the anti-Union pamphlets, it could be given an alternative means of power, including a superior level of virtue and morality, a stronger dedication to culture and community, and a stronger ability to appeal to sentiment.\(^5\) Works that explore this model would include Home's *Douglas*, Adam Ferguson's *Sister Peg* (1760), an anonymous work that appears to rewrite Wright's union pamphlet entitled *Angelicus and Fergusia* (1761), and various configurations of the Ossianic works.\(^6\) This sudden proliferation of relatively virtuous Scottish women in the cultural sphere seems to indicate more than just a general movement towards sentiment, and it is likely not a coincidence that many of these writers were coming from the same socio-political position. Indeed, as we will shortly discuss, Voltaire clearly recognized the particular historical forces the Moderate literati were trying to grapple with beneath the sentimental rubric of their poetry and drama. Writing from outside their particular position in the midst of Anglo-Scottish negotiation, he makes their concerns more explicit in his comedy, *Le Caffé, ou l'Ecossaise*, a work he playfully claimed to have translated into French from a work of John Home's, and which was then "translated back" into English and published as *The Coffee House, or Fair Fugitive* in 1760.

\(^5\) The anti-union pamphlet writers would of course have viewed such a power skeptically.

\(^6\) *Angelicus and Fergusia* is a work that relates the history of Britain in allegorical form. The story traces the journey of Fergusia (Scotland) to North Briton where she settles; discusses her rocky relationship with her sister Ambrosia (the Britons); and ends with the wooing of Fergusia by Angelicus (the Anglo-Saxons) who had been invited to England by Ambrosia. The recuperation of Mary Queen of Scots in the 1759 historical works of David Hume and William Robertson might also be seen as part of the project to recuperate Scotland's femininity.
It may seem strange to argue that members of the Moderate literati, many of whom were particularly concerned with the very “masculine” enterprise of ensuring Scotland should be included in the militia bill, should foreground tropological females. I am not suggesting that they were abandoning concepts of Anglo-Scottish equality represented by masculine solidarity and friendship. This is clearly marked by the handshake between former enemies that concludes *Fingal*. The concept of equality seemed to be becoming more viable, particularly before the Wilkes/Bute fiasco. Towards the end of this chapter, I will suggest that in the early 1760s, following the cultural success of the sentimental Scotswoman, the Moderate literati start to move towards a more male-centered, egalitarian version of Scottish identity, one that is directly attacked, and to a degree, stunted by Wilkes. In the mid 1750s, however, placing literary emphasis on Scottish women seems to have been perceived as less threatening to the English, as well as representing more accurately Scotland’s power relations with England. Left without a parliament and a militia, Scotland was vulnerable both to destructive forces outside and inside Britain, leaving it in the “feminine” position of dependence predicted by William Wright and John Arbuthnot. The agenda of the Moderate literati, then, was to transform this position into one of social and cultural strength.

A number of recent critics have discussed the growing interest in mid-century Scottish literary circles in femininity and sentiment. John Dwyer’s recent work, *The Age of Passions*, looks at the growing centrality of women in literature as Scottish writers

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7 Richard Sher insists that “for all their attention to the advantages of politeness the Moderate Literati were always on their guard against that species of overrefinement that contemporaries quaintly termed ‘effeminacy’” (*Church and University* 63).
shift “away from the demonstrably public world of patriotism and duty to the more intimate realm of family and friendship .... [focusing] on the cultural possibilities of love and sexuality” (5). Taking a different direction, Betty Schellenberg, in assessing John Home’s model of gender relations, suggests that his representation of Lady Randolph “reinforces, rather than unsettles or dismantles, a gendered moral system” (573). Schellenberg argues that Home “implies that that deployment of the ‘feminine’ as part of audience appeal merely appropriates sentiment to reify existing gender assumptions rather than entailing a rethinking of female heroism” (573).

My reading of Home and Macpherson accords with Schellenberg’s reading of Home as maintaining existing gender assumptions. If Home’s objective was to find an appropriate iconography through which desires and anxieties about Anglo-Scottish relations could be expressed, it is not surprising that his work is not particularly concerned with the redefinition of the material position of women. To combat the derogatory images of unruly Scottish women circulating in novels, the Scottish moderates would have to imagine women whose actions could be portrayed as particularly virtuous or sympathetic. Potkay gestures towards this project when he suggests that Macpherson, in the Ossianic works, recuperates and civilizes the Celtic woman of antiquity, just as his warriors recuperate images of barbaric Highlanders that were disseminated in the 1740s (Fate of Eloquence 221-222). I extend this concept of recuperation to examine Scottish women as an important site of union negotiations.

In the next chapter, in which I examine the infamous journalistic encounter between John Wilkes and Smollett over the motives and character of Lord Bute and his

*Unlike Smollett, Home and Macpherson avoid commerce by dealing with precommercial times and using the ‘high’ genres of tragedy and epic.*
countrymen, it will become evident that Wilkes and his followers not only revive and deploy old characteristics associated with the Scots, but also explicitly recognize and attack the emergent unifying language and forms that the Moderate literati were exploring. These writers appropriate the tragic genre, using Mortimer to depict Bute, and create satirical epic-style poems, such as Churchill’s *Prophecy of Famine* and the anonymous *Gisbal: An Hyperborean Tale*. More pertinent to the focus of this thesis, they invert the Moderate literati’s focus on women and sentimental men, foregrounding the sexuality and masculinity of the threatening Scot. Where Scots women do appear in these works, it is generally as personifications of poverty, famine and other unpleasant images of human depravity and suffering.

**Domesticity and Home**

In 1755, the same year that Edward Kimber published his Scottish novel, John Home, a Scottish clergyman, came to London to attempt to convince David Garrick to stage his second tragedy, *Douglas*. After Garrick rejected the play, Home returned to Edinburgh, where his friends, many of them members of the Scottish literati, managed to have the play produced in December 1756. While Garrick listed a number of reasons why the play was not suitable in a letter to Lord Bute, who had been trying to persuade him to stage the tragedy, it is also possible that the Scottish subject matter did not seem particularly appealing to Garrick, a sentiment he could hardly have shared with Bute (Little and Kahrl 244-247). While *Macbeth* was extremely popular throughout the century, other Scottish tragedies did not make it to the stage. Successful Scottish playwrights, such as James Thomson and David Mallet, preferred to set their dramas in

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9 Biographical information is from the introduction of Hubert J. Tunney's *Home's Douglas*. 
England or overseas. Moreover, the rejection of a tragedy set in Scotland was not unprecedented. Garrick’s rejection of Tobias Smollett’s tragedy is well known, and while its lack of success when published in 1749 can be attributed to its quality, it might also be said that a Scottish tragedy, only four years after Culloden, might lack appeal in London.

Despite the absence of high cultural works with extensive Scottish content in London, it is well known that after a resounding success at Edinburgh, *Douglas* went on to be played at Covent Garden in March 1757 to great acclaim. The British nation seemed to be at a new and relatively positive point of imagining Anglo-Scottish unity. Kimber’s work, and the adulation that met Home’s play in England suggests that English writers and audiences – in this space between Culloden and Bute – were becoming receptive to engaging with ideas of assimilation and union, and increasingly comfortable with folding Scottish and English history into the emergent nebulous categories of British history and culture.

Home’s play is focused solely on events in Scotland, and does not engage with Anglo-Scottish unity as explicitly as the novels of Kimber and Smollett. Nevertheless, *Douglas*, like some of the earlier works we have considered, represents British culture through the tropology of gendered relationships, and does so in a way that carefully positions power relations between the two nations in a way likely to gain English approval. Home’s drama does not actually perform an Anglo-Scottish relationship. Rather, he uses female despair to call for an Anglo-Scottish relationship that involves his

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10 Other examples would include Andrew Henderson’s *Arsinoe; or the Incestuous Marriage* (1752) and John Moncrieff’s *Appius* (1755) (Tobin 161, 162).
audience. The suffering woman at the center of his play is used to appeal for
“tropological participation” from the English audience, who are asked to sympathize with
and protect the Scottish Lady Randolph.\textsuperscript{12}

The use of womanly tears or despair to evoke pathos in one’s audience had roots
in the early eighteenth-century tragic form. In the early part of the century, the playwright
Nicholas Rowe had popularized this type of figure in his she-tragedies, \textit{The Tragedy of
Jane Shore} (1714), \textit{The Fair Penitent} (1703), and the \textit{Tragedy of Lady Jane Grey} (1715).
A number of Rowe’s plays can themselves be seen as struggling with national issues, in
particular issues of succession, appropriate topics in the years surrounding the
Hanoverian accession to the monarchy. The precarious and ultimately fatal position of
Jane Shore and Lady Jane Grey, the result of the death of a king and the unstable
transitory period that follows, takes on new implications in this historical context.\textsuperscript{13}

Female tears had been occasionally used by Scottish playwrights. Mother
Caledonia weeps over the lost Wallace in \textit{Caledon’s Tears} (1733). And while, as we have
discussed, Smollett embraces a mobile male Scottish protagonist for his novel \textit{Roderick
Random}, the central figure in his tragedy, \textit{The Regicide}, is Eleanora, who is caught in a
tropological love triangle, torn between love for the unruly, rebellious Stuart and esteem
for the virtuous and stable Dunbar. Smollett, though he is writing about a significant
public event – the assassination of James I – embellishes the role of a nameless woman

\textsuperscript{11} Most negative responses were among fundamentalist Scottish clergy, who liked neither the genre nor the
content, particularly the suicide of Lady Randolph. For more information on their response see Gipson’s
Chapter 4.
\textsuperscript{12} Female despair had of course existed in Smollett and Kimber. Miss Williams is a melancholic (English)
female who must be rescued by Roderick. The Marquisse and Sukey are also in danger and must be
rescued by George and James. Such despair, however, is short lived, and is not the central focus of the text.
\textsuperscript{13} The she-comedy genre had also been popular in the late seventeenth century, according to Lewis. John
Banks in the mid 1680s – another unstable political time - wrote tragedies on Anne Boleyn, Jane Grey and
Mary, Queen of Scots.
who only briefly appeared in the historian George Buchanan’s account of the regicide, essentially making her into the central figure in the drama. Leith Davis relates this play to Anglo-Scottish relations, stating that although *The Regicide* was begun six years before the ‘45, it “can be seen as offering a perspective on earlier post-Union rebellions” (66). In this context, we can view the sentimental representation of Eleanora as Smollett’s attempt to encapsulate the position of a Scottish nation trapped between an intensely attractive romantic nostalgia whose political implications are ultimately destructive and a pragmatic, solid yet rather mundane alternative. The conflict ultimately leads to the death of all three figures, although Eleanora finally pledges her love to Dunbar in the moments leading up to their death, recognizing the fundamental virtue of Hanoverian stability and dedication to duty.

Although the female sentimentality in Home’s *Douglas* has a history in both English and Scottish literature, it is the first drama that merges female virtue, sentiment and the Scottish nation in a manner that broadly appealed to the English public and influenced British literature for decades. This appeal may be connected, in part, to the way in which Home sets up the play for his English audience. He creates two prologues for *Douglas*. Each shapes the tropology of Anglo-Scottish relations differently for the reader. The one attached to the Edinburgh performance straightforwardly celebrates Scottish identity. The central figure in the play is the youthful Douglas, who is referred

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14 In Buchanan’s account, when the conspirators had been trying to break into the king’s chambers, a young female attendant to the queen tried to use her arm to bar the door, as the wooden bar had been removed by a traitorous insider. The young woman’s arm was broken as the men forced their way into the room (*Briton* 75).

15 There were earlier productions of dramas about Mary Queen of Scots that were both sentimental and female centred and were also popular in England. However, her questionable virtue and Catholic faith made her an unlikely centre for the Scottish national identity.
to as “the hero of your native land” (28). In this prologue, there is some ambiguity in the way in which Home presents Scottish martial power. Home’s claim that with “Douglas dead, his name hath won the field,” seems to suggest that Scottish dignity can be achieved even in defeat, and could be a reference to Scotland’s loss of sovereignty (28). Yet, Home also unabashedly connects his audience directly with victorious Scottish martial activity under the leadership of the Scottish nobility. He tells them

Oft have your fathers, prodigal of life,
A Douglas follow’d through the bloody strife;
Hosts have been known at that dread time to yield. (28)

An ancestry of personified Scottish masculinity is celebrated and reinforced, and Anglo-Scottish relations are minimized.

The English prologue does something completely different. Weakening links to Anglo-Scottish violence, Home suggests that the history of the play is British rather Scottish, making a reference to ancient times when ‘Britain’ was military (27). Moreover, distracting his audience from the inherent dangers of Scottish martial power, he implies that the central character in the drama is a woman who requires the pity of an English audience described in masculine terms. Whereas Scots are told that young Douglas is the hero, the English audience is directed to his weeping, suffering mother. Home makes the martial nature of his play less threatening by stating that Lady Randolf, a Douglas, claims the protection of the audience, hoping to find “each English breast, like noble Percy’s, kind” (27). The audience, then, are invited to participate sympathetically in the gendered trope.
The English prologue also tackles the potential threat of Anglo-Scottish violence by re-mythologizing and containing the most notable embodiments of border masculinity, the famous border foes, Percy and Douglas. Describing them as epic heroes, Home proclaims them to be "illustrious foes" who loved each other well:

Though many a bloody field was lost and won,

Nothing in hate, in honour all was done. (27)

Moreover, Home explains, when either was on bad terms with his respective king, they would protect each other, feeling free to knock "alternate at each other's gates" (27). Home transforms Anglo-Scottish violence into a glorious British epic. He places masculine violence in a distant antiquity, surrounds it with mythological glory and tropological cross-border friendship, and insists (in the words of Clifford Siskin) that it is a totality, producing British culture out of the Anglo-Scottish border feuds. Lowland violence is rendered acceptable to an English audience. This model is embraced by the English antiquarian, Thomas Percy, who begins the first volume of his Reliques of English Poetry with "The Ballad of Chevy Chase," an account of a battle between a Percy and a Douglas in which both are killed. In an essay attached to the Reliques he describes the border warfare in the following terms: "The martial spirit constantly kept up and exercised near the frontier of the two kingdoms, as it furnished continual subjects for their songs, so it inspired the inhabitants of the adjacent counties on both side with the power of poetry" (379). Safely enclosed within the totality of British culture, masculine violence in Anglo/Scottish history becomes art.
The nature of the play itself – a tragedy in which the young warrior, the potential locus for a revived Scottish martial identity, is killed – might seem to be non-threatening. Yet, Home finds it necessary to make further changes to ensure that the British totality is not disturbed. From the beginning of the play he places his English audience in a position of power over the Scotswoman – evoking sympathies far removed from the negative emotions that the anonymous authors try to arouse towards the Duchess of Perth and Lady Ogilvie in The Female Rebels, and towards the rambunctious Jenny Cameron. The author of a London Chronicle article published immediately after the first London performance (on March 17, 1757) noted that “[f]rom the opening of the play we felt our passions irresistibly seized and attached to the subject. Mrs. Woffington, who begins it, breaks into a beautiful pathos, at once poetical and simple” (Gipson 47).

It is worth noting that this attempt to evoke sympathy was not altogether successful, as the extent of Lady Randolph’s melancholia was seen as either tedious or excessive by a number of contemporaries. One pamphlet notes that “the protracted monotony of lady Randolph’s grief is irksome”(57). David Garrick, in his initial letter to Home’s mentor, Lord Bute, declines to produce the play, writing that an example of the play’s defects the play’s heroine “continuing seven years together in that melancholy miserable state, just as if it had happened the week before, without discovering the real cause” (Little and Kahrl. vol 1.245).16 Besides indicating that response to Home’s sentiment was not all positive, such comments suggest that although grieving women were a key part of mid-century tragedy, the intense posture of mourning and loss in the opening scene is unusually strong. At the same time, Douglas was clearly effective in evoking pity in many audience members, both English and Scots. David Hume, in the
dedication to his *Four Dissertations* notes that “the unfeigned tears which flowed from every eye, in the numerous representations which were made of it in this theatre; the unparalleled command, which you appeared to have over every affection of the human breast; These are the incontestable proofs, that you possess the true theatric genius of Shakespeare and Otway” (qtd. in Gipson 89). A *Critical Review* article in March 1758 assessing another Home play notes that “*Douglas* will draw tears as long as the English theatre exists” (233). When several characters in the introduction to Frances Sheridan’s *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph* (1767) read it aloud after tea, the listening ladies “gave that true testimony of nature to its merit, tears” (3).

The prologue’s request for English protection is thus strengthened by the vulnerability and sentimentality of Lady Randolph. Highlighting the vulnerability of Scotswomen in the years surrounding the production of the play was particularly meaningful. Richard Sher reminds us that *Douglas*,

> that play about patriotic resistance to a foreign invasion of medieval Scotland, opened in Edinburgh on the very day (14 December 1756) that Pitt’s militia bill was reintroduced in the House of Commons by George Townshend. Patriot ideology and militia propaganda help to explain Pitt’s role in personally arranging the London production of *Douglas* three months later. (*Church and University* 218)

But in 1757 Scotland was excluded from the bill. Sher refers to agitation for a Scottish militia as one of the “liveliest themes of Scottish history during the second half of the

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16 We might link the extensive grieving to the years of mourning since Culloden.
17 This was written on Jan 3, 1757, less than a month after the first representation of *Douglas* in Edinburgh. (Gipson 88). The comparison with Shakespeare was ridiculed by some.
eighteenth century,” and points out the intense involvement of the Moderate literati in trying to obtain a militia during the latter part of the Seven Years War as one of the central moments of the debate (215). Sher quite rightly points out that the martial nature of Douglas was tied to the literati’s goal of representing Scottish military men in a positive light. I would suggest that Lady Randolph, however, plays the key role in this project, representing the vulnerability of an unprotected Scotland.

Several years after the introduction of Douglas to the London stage, and shortly after rumours of a French invasion of Scotland started circulating in 1759 Home wrote to Bute deploiring the defenceless state of North Britain. He laments that “[t]wo hundred men might sack and burn any city in Scotland, except Edinburgh, in the neighbourhood of which there be three paltry regiments of recruits, which the militia of any one country in six weeks would be able to drive to the devil” (Sher 222). The link between defenceless woman and defenceless nation becomes even clearer when we compare this representation of Scotland as woman to an allegorical satire published four years later in 1760, in which woman and Scotland are quite clearly the same. *The History of the Proceedings in the Case of Margaret, Commonly called Peg, only lawful Sister to John Bull, Esq.*, a reworking of Arbuthnot’s *Sister Peg* commonly thought to be produced by Adam Ferguson, had been written in response to a failed attempt by 1760 by Gilbert Elliot, third baronet of Minto and a member of the Moderate literati, to put through a measure pushing for a Scottish militia. The bill’s defeat was the work not only of members of the English aristocracy, but also of the machinations of the Scottish Lord

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17 This was written on Jan 3, 1757, less than a month after the first representation of Douglas in Edinburgh. (Gipson 88). The comparison with Shakespeare was ridiculed by some.

18 Sher attributes it to Ferguson, though David Raynor suggested it was actually by David Hume. Sher effectively rejects this in a review in *Philosophical Books*. 
Advocate Robert Dundas, who stood in a general position of enmity to the Moderate literati and had opposed the militia earlier in 1759.

Ferguson’s pamphlet is an allegory written directly in response to this rejection. While this pamphlet is far from a tragedy and Peg is surely no tragic heroine, Ferguson’s softening – perhaps ‘feminization’ – of Peg’s character, shifts her to a position closer to that of the vulnerable Lady Randolph than Arbuthnot’s Peg. He writes,

[p]eople who thought of former times, expected bad humour enough from her on this occasion; but the fact was that this lady was greatly changed in her manners and deportment. From being jealous, captious, and ready to quarrel about a straw, she was grown in very little time, a quiet, easy-tempered, good-conditioned body, as could be wished, and this made some people think that the girl might have been always easy enough to live with, if people had not played tricks on purpose to vex her. (Sister Peg 72)

Foregrounding the defenseless condition of this amiable gentlewoman is clearly central to the pamphlet. Distinguishing her from the Highland rebels, whom he clearly masculinizes under the satirical name MacLurcher and refers to as Peg’s garret lodgers, Ferguson describes her victimization, as some of these lodgers ran downstairs and spread disarray throughout her house. Margaret, who has no weapons to defend herself with, throws “her poker at them as they passed, with an air of great bitterness and vexation, yet John took it in his head that it was all her doing, and sent her word to keep them at home, otherwise
he would set fire to her house” (57). Peg’s dependent, gentle nature leaves her open to intrusion from rebels in the north and France, and subject to lack of trust in the south.

Lady Randolph and Peg, although they appear in different genres, share feminine vulnerability and distressed circumstances. Both also encapsulate a desire for unity and community – to stand together against a common foe. Ferguson notes that John’s “sister concurred with him very readily in most things of consequence, such as running of Squire Geoffry [Stuart claimants to the throne], and the like” (48). And he specifically remarks on their mutual animosity towards the French. In a letter to John, Peg writes of her pleasure that John is fortifying himself against his enemy (France) and notes “I could have almost wished for an opportunity to see your children and mine fairly united, against some common oppressor, a case in which I hope they will always be invincible...[o]ur interests, indeed, are unseparable” (79).

It is this dedication to unity that Home’s British audience is asked to protect by his evocation of vulnerability and sentiment. Like Smollett’s Eleanora, Home’s heroine deplores the enmity between her father and her beloved, telling her second husband, Lord Randolph, that “implacable resentment” was the crime of her fathers, “a crime that results in lost progeny for both the Douglas and Strong lines” (33). Unlike Eleanora (or Peg),

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19 Ferguson was himself a Highlander, but he had little sympathy for rebels.
20 Peg’s gentility and vulnerability is placed in sharp contrast with the powerful and demanding character of the English vixen, Mrs. Bull, who embodies the English parliament. While the marital relationship between the nation and its parliament is carried over from Arbuthnot’s work, Ferguson presents Mrs. Bull as far more powerful than Arbuthnot’s two Mrs. Bulls: “[she] talked to John, not only about his markets and his bargains, and all his dealings with his neighbours, about the choice of schools and masters for his children....She would govern every part of his house for him, and no servant durst go with a message from his master, without first asking her if she had any commands” (62). Ferguson clearly inverts the anti-Jacobite image of unruly females, leaving Bull as the husband under petticoat government and Peg as feminine and relatively virtuous (though clearly with the potential to revert if not properly cared for). For although she was “rather gentle and inoffensive in her ordinary deportment, [if she] gave some signs of discontent and vexation; you could see a little fierceness return to the eye” (78).
21 It may be pertinent to note that the centrality of the woman is not in the ballad from which the narrative originally came, “Gil Morrice.”
however, Lady Randolph makes an attempt to bridge the gap of “hereditary evil” with her body, choosing to marry secretly the son of her father’s antagonist with the approval of her brother (36). The result is her son, Norval, born after her brother and husband are slain fighting in one of the battles of Douglas’s father. Norval, an embodiment of the union between past enemies, will soon become lost to her when her nurse and child disappear during an attempt to hide him from Sir Strong, who is ignorant both of his daughter’s marriage and of her pregnancy.\footnote{Unlike Clarissa, Lady Randolph disobeys her father and obeys her brother. Although this could be seen as placing her virtue in question, it could alternately be seen as in line with evolving Scottish Enlightenment ideas of progress - that newer generations are more civilized than older ones. In this worldview it would be virtuous to reject the feuds of previous generations, who are conceived to be brutal.}

As if to tie the unifying energies of Lady Randolph even more explicitly to Anglo-Scottish issues, Home has her, in the first act, tell her husband of her hatred of wars in general, but notes that war with foreign foes

\begin{quote}
Whose manners, language, and whose looks are strange,

Is not so horrid, nor to me so hateful,

As that which with our neighbours oft we wage.

A river here, there an ideal line,

By fancy drawn, divides the sister kingdoms.

On each side dwells a people similar,

As twins are to each other; valiant both:

Both for their valour famous through the world.

Yet will they not unite their kindred arms,

And, if they must have war, wage distant war,

But with each other fight in cruel conflict.
\end{quote}
Gallant in strife, and noble in their ire,
The battle is their pastime. They go forth
Gay in the morning, as to summer sport;
When ev'ning comes, the glory of the morn,
The youthful warrior, is a clod of clay.
Thus fall the prime of either hapless land;
And such the fruit of Scotch and English wars. (34, 35)

This extensive speech has little to do with the matter at hand, a Danish invasion of Scotland. It does, however, strengthen the impression that Lady Randolph embodies impulses of national unity at a moment in which British unity against a French enemy was being promoted by the Moderate literati as a means to achieve a Scottish militia.

The return of Norval brings with it hope that unity can be restored. While not without its problems – Lord Randolph has inherited the lands left to his wife by her father and Douglas’s brother has inherited his title and lands – they seem to be potentially resolvable. Indeed, Lady Randolph sees herself continuing her original mediating role by interceding with the Scottish king and Lord Douglas, her first husband’s younger brother (67). This quest for unity is shattered, not by any shadow of past violence, but by the more modern self-interest of the present, not by the violence of external foes, but by dissension and mistrust from within. Glenalvon is Home’s Iago. Both Lord Randolph’s heir and a man determined to possess Lady Randolph, Glenalvon sows suspicion in Lord Randolph’s mind about the nature of the relationship between his wife and Norval, whose true identity neither Glenalvon nor Randolph knows. Glenalvon’s promotion of his private interests over the national good reflects contemporary concerns about the
‘modern’ vices of greed and avarice, the same qualities Smollett denigrated in *Roderick Random*, and qualities which are clearly disruptive of the quest for unity.

Glenalvon’s strategy leads to a fight between Randolph and Norval, during which Glenalvon, who hopes both men will die, attacks Norval from behind. Glenalvon is slain, but not before Norval – the embryonic emblem of unity – is fatally wounded. The death of Norval leads to the suicide of his distraught mother, who leaps from a precipice, and Lord Randolph’s declaration that he is determined to die defending his country against the Danes.

The mistrust that leads to ruptured familial relations is inflamed, not merely by Glenalvon’s dedication to fulfilling his private ends, but also by Lord Randolph’s inability to trust his wife or to discern the nefarious nature of his heir, although almost every other character seems to be aware of it. But mistrust is not confined to Lord Randolph alone. Lady Randolph, caught between her role as victim of the past violence of her fathers and as victim of the present avarice of Glenalvon, chooses not to inform her husband about her first marriage and the loss of her husband and child. He cannot, therefore, understand the depth of her grief. When she discovers who Norval truly is, she chooses to send him to his father’s brother rather than to her husband, although Lord Randolph seems to love and respect Norval, who has saved his life. When she is told by the old shepherd who has raised Norval that he has overheard Randolph and Glenalvon plotting against Norval, she immediately assumes that they are upset that “Sir Malcolm’s heir is come to claim his own” (77). The short-lived Norval himself, as a product of unity between enemies and, as such, an individual whose capacity for violence is purely
centered on the Danes, seems to have more capacity for trust than his mother, insisting that he “will not suspect the noble Randolph” (76).

Mutual mistrust, Home suggests, will consistently undermine the quest for unity. Significantly, mistrust of post-Culloden Scotland was one of the reasons that the Scots did not obtain a militia. Sher reminds us that the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Hardwicke successfully lobbied to defeat the Scottish militia bill in April 1760 by promoting both the “economic burden” that the militia would place on England and appealing “to base fears about the danger of arming a nation of potential Jacobites” (228). This mistrust was shocking to Home and his moderate associates, many of whom, as Alexander Carlyle outlined in his memoirs, had fought to defend the Scottish nation against the Jacobites during the '45. The death of Norval and his mediating mother, both loci of sympathy, the former for his youth and the latter for her gender and suffering, condemns not merely familial mistrust, but also public mistrust within the nation in relation to the militia issue.

Post Douglas Adoptions of the Sentimental Scotswoman – Macpherson’s Women

I have argued that Douglas, through the tropology of a suffering woman, calls for cross-border closure from its English audience. I will now trace the transformation of this trope by another member of the Moderate literati, James Macpherson. In particular, I will look at the degree of textual intensity that surrounds the trope in the “Ossianic Fragments” (1760), and its renovation and closure in Fingal (1761). Macpherson’s poetry has been the centre of a substantial amount of critical debate in the last decade. Whereas Murray Pittock reads them as coded works, subverting Anglo-Scottish relations through the language of Jacobitism, Micheál Mac Craith suggests that the friendly farewell
between Fingal and the invader Swaran foregrounds assimilation between former
enemies and directly connects this assimilation to "the need for reconciliation in a truly
united kingdom" (67).23 Leith Davis, focusing on the apparatus surrounding the poems,
points to the many layers of integration Macpherson posits between various ethnic groups
in Britain. My position accords with that of Mac Craith and Davis, a position that
suggests that, in terms of metaphorical union, the works promote Anglo-Scottish
harmony. Yet, such analyses tend to neglect the significance of the many women who
people the Ossianic world. Until very recently, Macpherson's epics had been interpreted
solely in terms of a once vibrant but now distant martial masculinity, a valid approach
that reflects the strong support for the Scottish militia held by members of Macpherson's
circle.24 Critics who take this position recognize that the elderly bard who narrates the
work in a tone of regret for lost greatness is meant to celebrate simultaneously the martial
past of Scotland and to distinguish modern Scots from their more threatening ancestors,
making union and a shared military strength more palatable.

Despite this focus on military masculinity, a few critics have recently tried to
define the place of women in the Ossianic works. In one of the most extensive and
perceptive analyses of Macpherson's women, Adam Potkay notes that "the poems of
Ossian are littered with the corpses of women who have died from their love of warriors
and who...are posthumously revived in the minds of men they loved" (Virtue and
Manners 125).25 The warriors' sentimental attachment to these women, Potkay suggests,

23 I am referring to Pittock's Poetry and Jacobite Politics. In a recent article, "James Macpherson and
Jacobite Code" (1998), Pittock clarifies his earlier stance, placing Macpherson's work as a more complex
meld of Jacobite and Whig principles.
24 See Richard Sher for a full exploration of the relationship between the militia and the Ossianic works.
25 One of the most recent responses to Potkay is Dafydd Moore's recent article on heroic incoherence in the
Ossianic poems. Taking Potkay's argument further, he suggests that we cannot read the Ossianic works
from a martial epic standpoint, for "the topos of the...bungling hero seemingly incapable of doing his job,
allows them to display their sensibility and sentiments. In a later work, he suggests that the absence of actual women, replaced only by their ghostly memories, allows Macpherson to unmoor “gender roles from the actual representatives of the opposite sex. .... Macpherson purifies his text of living women in order to feminize his male heroes” (Fate of Eloquence 222). Such sentimental responses to dying and mourning women echo the pathos Home tries to evoke in his English audience through the mourning Lady Randolph.

I will extend Potkay’s exploration of the relationship between sentiment, national identity and gender in Macpherson’s work by considering its evolution over the three-year period in which the Ossianic works were produced and published. A discussion of Temora (1763) will be deferred until the next chapter as it was produced after the Wilkes/Smollett conflict, and will be evaluated as a response to the growing Scotophobia promoted by Wilkes and his circle.

I have discussed at length the appeal to English/British sentiment and acceptance through representations of vulnerable, virtuous Scotswomen in tragic drama. Macpherson takes this icon to extremes in his Fragments, in which glimpses of tragic women are central and recurring. The majority of the sixteen fragments linger over dying or mourning women, most of whom are Caledonian. The tale of Vinvela, who dies of grief for Shilric, is followed by Malcolm’s spouse waiting hopelessly for Malcolm’s return. In the next fragment, Cromora accidentally kills her beloved and wastes away in sadness.

is central to Ossian. The career of Fingal himself is littered with the graves of women he has failed to protect” even when they are standing right beside him (34). Moore suggests that this perception of incompetence occurs because we tend to assess the poem as a balance of sentimentalism and the heroic epic, rather than as the purely sentimental tale it actually is, a narrative that foregrounds moments of distress and the sentimental response of creatures of feeling to this distress (44-45). Both Potkay and Moore identify sentimental response to dying and mourning women as a central motif of the poem, a motif that clearly connects with the mourning, and ultimately dead, Lady Randolph.
This death is followed by the suicide of Dargo’s daughter after another accidental slaying of a lover. Shortly thereafter, a fair virgin who pleads for protection from Fingal is killed by an invader.

The continual repetition of moments of sentiment, their fragmentation reflecting and highlighting the broken domestic world of the ancient Caledonian, takes the evocation of sentimentality through female despair in *Douglas* to the highest level of intensity. Once again, the women, this time alongside an aged feminized bard, lament the disruption of a unified society. In ‘Fragment X,’ the unnamed speaker, like Lady Randolph, tells of her desire to unite with her father’s enemy. “Our races have long been foes; but we are not foes, O Shalgar,” she cries. This unity is destroyed, however, when she finds her lover and brother dead on the heath, having killed one another: “Speak to me; hear my voice, sons of my love! But alas! they are silent; silent for ever!” (21).

At the same time, the emphasis on elements of virtue, Lady Randolph’s love for her lost family, for example, become submerged in the expression of pathos. This could well be related to the shift in genre, and to Macpherson’s desire to capture in a fragmented moment the same intense pathos displayed by Lady Randolph. The mournful beginning and the tragic ending of *Douglas* become the centre of the fragments — immersed in macabre deaths and deep despair. The fragment form does not allow for the in-depth progressive exploration of familial circumstances or personal virtue that appears in Home’s work. To achieve the same intensity of pathos, then, Macpherson foregrounds moment of fracture, both in his form, the fragmented pieces of a conjectured epic whole, and in the content, flashes of extreme rupture.
Unlike the controversy surrounding the epics, the authenticity of the *Fragments* was not challenged, for a number of possible reasons. They may well have been more authentic, although Fiona Stafford argues that "only two of the poems are based closely on recognisable Gaelic ballads .... The rest appear to have been a blend of Highland tradition and Macpherson's imagination" (*Sublime Savage* 85). The existence of a series of ancient fragments may also have appeared to be less threatening or more plausible than their revised epic versions. As Stafford notes, the initial work was "a flimsy production" with only a few untitled poems, and the translator was unnamed (96). Such a work did not have the pretensions of Scottish grandeur attributed to the epics, and were less likely to have been seen as challenging the literary superiority of the English. In her introduction to Gaskill's *Poems of Ossian*, Stafford adds that "the emphasis on fragmentation seemed to diffuse any threatening Jacobite potential, since the power of the ancient Celts was sufficiently broken to require a Lowland subscription for its recovery, and could thus be purchased for the creation of a new, unified Scottish mythology" (xiii). I would add that in addition to literary form, the acceptance - even popularity - of the *Fragments*, like the popularity of *Douglas*, may also be tied to their focus on the unthreatening and pitiable suffering female. The performed female response to trauma and familial dissonance again seems to encourage reader movement towards cross-border sympathy. Paradoxically national unity emerges from responses to national distress and disunion.

The emphasis on tropes of female distress at familial disruption in Macpherson's work may be related to his connections with the Moderate literati. His early work contained both Scottish masculinity and female suffering, with a growing preference for
the martial and masculine world of the epic. Some of his earliest recorded work, Stafford points out, had demonstrated an interest in female suffering. She points in particular to his elegy, “To a Friend mourning the Death of Miss...” (1755) and the unpublished “Death,” written in the mid to late fifties, while he was a schoolmaster in Ruthven. In one of the vignettes in “Death,” the hero, Doricles, loses his love, Daphne, in a ruined city and finds her only to have her die in his arms.\(^\text{26}\) After a portion of the latter poem which foregrounds the image of an impotent old soldier (not unlike the aged Ossian), Stafford notes, “Macpherson’s discussion turned upon the victims of war, which he describes as the ‘woe of mothers and new-married maids’” (Sublime Savage 50). Yet the epic-style works that he writes shortly before the Fragments were produced, the unpublished work named The Hunter by Malcolm Laing, written in 1756, and The Highlander, published in 1758, are primarily centered on masculine exploits. Both works use the same trope as Douglas, the trope of the young rural warrior who discovers he is a member of the nobility. Though they contain female characters and female personifications of various virtues, emphasis is placed on masculine exploits rather than on female suffering. Despite this emergent masculine focus in his work, when Home insists Macpherson provide him with a translation of a Gaelic work, Macpherson provides a tragic romance, “The Death of Oscur,” centered on two friends who fight over a female. Stafford notes that this work “bears little resemblance to any surviving Gaelic ballad, though “it is possible that he had heard such a story in the Highlands” (84). It is worth considering whether Macpherson chooses to adapt his “translation” to accord with

\(^{26}\) See Stafford's Chapter 3 for an in-depth discussion of Macpherson’s early poetry.
Home’s emphasis on feminine distress and tragedy in *Douglas*, a preference that reached its peak in the repeated moments of female suffering and death in the *Fragments*.

A series of political events, particularly the accession of a king sympathetic to the Scots in October 1760 and the promotion of John Stuart, Earl of Bute, to Secretary of State in October 1761 may have led to a shift away from this emphasis on female virtue in the early 1760s. A surge of British patriotism as a response to the Seven Years War, and more specifically to a series of British victories in the second half of 1759, may have suggested that anti-Scots sentiment in England had been replaced by a dedication to Anglo-Scottish unity against an external foe. As the 1760s began, a gradual increase in the emphasis on Scottish masculinity started to appear in the work of the Moderate literati. One of the central characters in Home’s *Siege of Aquileia*, initially performed in February 1760, is Cornelia, a sentimental mother, struggling with the possibility that she must sacrifice personal happiness – the life of her sons – for the sake of the nation. However, the drama centers on the sacrificial and noble decisions of men, specifically Cordelia’s husband, the governor of Aquileia, her sons Paulus and Titus, and Varus, an old family friend of Cornelia, who risk their lives for the nation. Home, either bravely or foolishly, had originally entitled this work *The Siege of Berwick* (Gipson 137) and centered it on an infamous Anglo-Scottish dispute in which the Scottish governor of Berwick chose to sacrifice his sons, who had been captured by the English army of Edward III, rather than give up his charge. Garrick insisted that Home revise the work, placing it not only in the distant past, but also in a distant nation in order to make it more

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27 Richard Middleton in chapter 5 of *The Bells of Victory* describes the remarkable series of military victories over the French which the British achieved in mid to late 1759.
acceptable to a London audience.\textsuperscript{28} If we consider Home's original desire to celebrate Scottish heroism, however, it starts to become apparent that a shift towards Scottish martial masculinity was emerging.

Hugh Blair had prepared the readers of the Ossianic fragments for a revived Caledonian masculinity in his introduction, briefly referring to them as part of a larger, lost epic. He calls the fragmented poems "episodes of a greater work related to the wars of Fingal" (5). Moreover, as if to apologize for, or explain, the apparent emphasis on women and aged bards, the fragments are placed solidly within the classical tradition, as Stafford points out, by the inclusion of a quotation from Lucan's \textit{Pharsalia} on the title page (100). Stafford notes that Lucan's work, about a civil war and the disintegration of a society, is "full of images of bloodshed and brutality, attended by grieving widows and mothers mourning their children" (101). Yet such covert references to a masculine literary tradition and epic heroism were clearly an insufficient means to showcase Scottish intellectual worth or to promote the honour of its military traditions to further the case for a Scottish militia.

\textit{Fingal} was published less than two months after Bute's promotion to Secretary of State. Representations of female despair in the fragments were adapted and integrated into a narrative shaped by martial glory. Although we might speculate that the frequently disruptive presence of these embedded stories occurred because Blair had presented the fragments initially as part of this larger epic work, it is equally likely that the Moderate literati had no intention of discarding the effective model of sentimental Scottish

\textsuperscript{28} Despite Garrick's desire to conceal any relevance of the work to Anglo-Scottish relations, a review in \textit{The Critical Review} pointed out the resemblance of the tale to the siege of Berwick. Strangely, in a 1788 letter about the tragedy, the point is made that in the original story of the siege of Berwick the mother of the
femininity. Rather, they wished to use it to create and supplement a worthy representation of Scottish masculinity, one that was also saturated in sentiment and sensibility, and capable of tropological cross-border friendship. Hugh Blair stresses this when he notes that "if a general moral be...insisted on, Fingal obviously furnishes one...[t]hat the most compleat victory over an enemy is obtained by that moderation and generosity which convert him into a friend" (Gaskill 359). England, however, was not quite ready to accept this model. While, as we have seen, Kimber was able to construct a trope of egalitarian Anglo-Scottish partnership in the mid 1750s by projecting Anglo-Scottish dissonance onto Jacobite/Hanoverian conflicts, his trope was contained within the lowly novel rather than the high (somewhat presumptuous) epic genre. Moreover, while military glory was involved, the novel was not centered on sentimental Scottish grandeur and mythic masculinity as *Fingal* was.

A substantial body of literary work has examined the sentimental male in the Ossianic works. Both Potkay and Dafydd Moore accurately emphasize the reconfiguration of the martial Scot as a man of sensibility and genteel manners. It may initially appear that the exploration of these emergent figures extends outside the limitations of this thesis. My concern, after all, is with the use of tropes that use private relations to convey Anglo-Scottish relations, and the warriors that stride through the Ossianic works appear to belong to the public world of martial activity and political diplomacy. However, as both Potkay and Moore imply, the newly configured epic Highlander is dependent on the mini she-tragedies scattered throughout the work. Moore and Potkay differ in their understanding of the extent of the influence of the embedded captured boys, Black Bess, encouraged her husband to "preserve his honour" telling him that they are young enough to have more children. The boys are then hanged by Percy (Gipson 137).
narratives. Potkay notes that the bard's tales allow the warriors to display their sentiment and sensibility, while Moore suggests that they transform the entire work into a sentimental tale.

_Fingal_ is a transitional work in which the newly established Homean tropology of the suffering Scottish woman, bereft of family, interacts with the newly formed concept of sentimental Scottish masculinity. This transformation is primarily accomplished through interaction between narrative forms. Up until now, we have considered the way in which various genres – allegorical pamphlets, the novel, comic drama, tragedy and satiric allegory – have negotiated nation through tropologies of private relations within their particular generic form. However, the Ossianic epics, _Fingal_ in particular, are multi-form works. Most noticeable is the interaction between the tragic tales, primarily sung by the bards during and after the battles and containing tropes of unfulfilled desire, female suffering and familial disruption, and the epic narrative of the war itself, which is centered on masculine conflict and prowess. Macpherson inverts the gender paradigm of _Douglas_, placing the martial epic in the foreground, with the private world of courtship and women in the background. The complex amalgam of forms, however, extends beyond a mere dialogic interaction. Mac Craith points out that one of the tragic tales is actually at the centre of the epic narrative and influences the outcome. He notes, that “[a]s well as supplying a unifying thread to the whole work, the tale of Agandecca allows the author to stress the nature of Fingal’s lofty conduct. Fingal never gives vent to unbridled anger or brute force, even in a good cause. His violence is always restrained, tempered by the influence of his love for Agandecca” (66).29 Memories of the murdered

29 Mac Craith points out that the story is based on an actual ballad, but that the romance between Fingal and Agandecca is an addition to the original.
Agandecca, sister to Swaran and victim of her father’s unfulfilled plans of vengeance on Fingal, restrain Fingal’s treatment of Swaran. Moreover, the entire work is contained within Ossian’s tragedy, which does not lack a tragic female of its own – Malvina. This multiplicitous enfolding of the epic within layers of tragic narratives thoroughly saturates the martial tale with sentiment, although I would not agree with Moore’s claim that the work is transformed into a sentimental tale. Rather, I will suggest, the narrative makes Scottish epic masculinity acceptable through an appeal to female-centered pathos.\(^{30}\)

Interaction between various generic levels can be frustrating for the modern reader. Fiona Stafford writes that the “brief romantic tales” which were published in the *Fragments*, “were now being forced into longer poems as ‘episodes’” (*Sublime Savage* 139). The effect, she suggests, is disruptive, not only because she finds the two stories unconnected, but also, speaking of the first tale of Morna, because,

> having plunged his readers into the dramatic opening situation, with the news of the Viking invasion, Macpherson dissipates any tension by dwelling on this irrelevant story of a broken romance. His obvious relish for the story makes matters worse, since Duchomar and Morna seem as important as Cuchullin, so the reader is diverted from the principal character before he has even had a chance to develop. (140)

The two stories are connected and are mutually dependent. Although the exchange between Duchomar and Morna is part of a domestic tragedy, this tale is indeed presented as if it were just as important as the story of Cuchullin. The intersection between a

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\(^{30}\) Mac Craith notes that the elegaic tone in the *Fragments* and *Fingal* is the most "marketable feature of the Scottish Gaelic tradition that Macpherson was able to exploit for late-eighteenth-century drawing-room audiences" (620). I am suggesting that this elegaic tone may in fact have modern sources.
domestic tragedy not unlike the one presented in Home's *Douglas* and the epic allows elements of each genre to seep into the other. The Highland warriors literally enact the sentimental response to pathos that Home had encouraged his audience to assume in the prologue to *Douglas*. In return, the characters of domestic tragedy are ennobled. Emphasis is placed on what had only been implicit in the work of Smollett and Home's *Douglas*—the national significance of the representation of private relations. Domestic tropes reveal their political significance as they overlap with tropes that capture masculine action. Cuchullin, as he begins an accounting of the Irish tribes before the conflict, asks, “where are my friends in battle? The companions of my arm in danger? Where art thou, white-bosom’d Cathbat? Where is that cloud in war, Duchomar?” (57). These questions lead to the first tragic courtship, the tale of the death of Cathbat, Duchomar and Morna in a dispute centered on private jealousy and vengeance. Like *Douglas*, the short domestic “tale” ends with the death of a young heroic figure (or in this case two such figures) and of a tragic female in a private dispute. This brief narrative, however, ends with a passage that mediates between public and private elements of the nation. Cuchullin comments,

[p]eace...to the souls of the heroes; their deeds were great in danger. Let them ride around me on clouds; and shew their features of war: that my soul may be strong in danger; my arm like the thunder of heaven.—But be thou on a moon-beam, O Morna, near the window of my rest; when my thoughts are of peace; and the din of arms is over.—Gather the strength of the tribes, and move to the wars of Erin. (58)
The slain heroes, regardless of their death in a domestic tragedy, are raised to the level of national epic significance. Memories of the Irish heroes Duchomar and Cathbat inspire the tribes and their leadership to “move to the wars of Erin,” while Morna reminds them of the national peace that will follow if they succeed (58).

This placement of the disruption of the domestic into a larger epic or national context echoes the representation of the sacrifice of sons for the nation in Home’s *Siege of Aquileia*. The prologue of Home’s play seems to allude directly to this British success. Aemilius, the father, states,

> Now, when the world resounds with loud alarms,
> When victory fits plan’d on Britain’s arms,
> Be war our theme: the hero’s glorious toil,
> And virtue springing from the iron soil! (2)

The prologue then goes on to discuss the Roman youth “who in the same moment, conquered and expir’d” and suggests to the audience that in meditating on him,

> Perhaps your hearts may own the pictur’d woe,
> And from a fonder source your sorrows flow;
> Whilst warm remembrance aids the poet’s strain,
> And England weeps for English heroes slain. (2)

Like the image Benedict Anderson presents of the nation uniting in grief over the tomb of the unknown soldier, Home’s prologue suggests the audience will identify with young slain Titus, as they did with Lady Randolph and perhaps even with young Norval. This grief will remind them of their own familial sacrifices for the sake of national and communal bonds, and of the national victories that can emerge from such suffering.
In the penultimate book, Fingal discovers his son Ryno has been killed in battle. A song is introduced that dwells on a dispute over a woman that ends in death for the lovers. This song is used to position the recently fallen men in a larger context of national suffering and courage, uniting those who remember them in determination to protect their nation. After the song is sung following Ryno’s death, those killed in this private dispute are referred to as heroes and noble companions in death for Ryno, who is to be buried next to them (93). Loss in the national public world and private domestic world are held to be equivalent. And private tragedy, rather than cause despair, as it did with Lord Randolph, can promote the pursuit of national epic glory and ultimately unity between former enemies.

The result of this generic mixture is to represent Highland men, often associated with the degrading caricatures produced around the ‘45, as capable of the same egalitarian friendship, founded in mutual sympathy, which Kimber had created between his Lowlander and northern Englander. Fingal’s refined sentiments and capacity for sympathy—demonstrated by his use of and response to the episodes—lead to a willingness to extend his hand in gracious friendship and community to his apparent enemies as the poem draws to a close. For women, creating pathos remains one of the central functions of femininity, one that can both allow the Highlanders to display their sentiment and appeal to English audiences. It is ironic that in the Monthly Review’s highly critical review of Fingal, the anonymous critic appears to feel that female suffering is insufficiently emphasized. Of the story of Cairbar killing his sister’s lover he

\[\text{From a strictly national perspective this could be seen as problematic as it might seem that Fingal, coming from what we would now call Scotland, seems to bury his son by tombs that would most likely contain the remains of Irish heroes. But Macpherson (despite all the criticism he has justly received from}\]
notes, “why does she not upbraid her brother for killing her lover and pathetically lament[...] his end” (131). Rather than just expiring “through mere affliction,” he suggests, she also could have been violently killed by her brother (131). A death that echoes Lady Randolph’s macabre and sensational end seems particularly attractive to this English reader. Moments of pathos should also be extended, he notes, complaining that the ghost of Agandecca, “seems to come for no other purpose than to disturb [...] Fingal’s sleep.” It would have been preferable and more poetical, he comments, “to have made the ghost of Agandecca intercede for her brother and countrymen, and to have implored for them the mercy of Fingal, by the love he had formally professed” (138). Despite the attempt to saturate Highland men with sentimentality, English sympathy still seems contingent on the effectiveness of the trope of the suffering woman.

The ultimate reconciliation between Fingal and Swaran in a masculine trope of friendship occurs directly because of a suffering woman, a woman who belongs to the ‘enemy.’ After Agandecca’s story is told in the third book, her weeping spirit appears to Fingal in a dream. When he asks why she mourns, she does not reply, but Ossian tells us that “[s]he mourned the sons of her people that were to fall by Fingal’s hand” (84). While this may not appear to be a direct call for action, it does result in Fingal’s generosity to the defeated Swaran, Agandecca’s brother, in the final book. Releasing him to return to his Irish contemporaries) may have been trying to suggest that there is a sort of Pan-Celticism that rises out of heroic Irish and Scottish deaths.

32 It is possible that William Kenrick is the author of this review, as it is signed K-n-k. This is the same Kenrick who critiqued Samuel Johnson’s Preface to Shakespeare, and was prone to engage in disputes with reviewers in Smollett’s Critical Review. Boswell writes that Kenrick “obtained the degree of LL.D. from a Scotch University” (351). Kenrick does not seem to be Scottish, however. The reviewer also takes pains to point out that Fingal is not a man of sentiment, noting that he tells his men to slaughter Swaran’s army.
his own country, Fingal refers to him as “brother of Agandecca” and “noble friend of Agandecca” (101). Agandecca’s memory is sufficient to move him towards unity.

The tropology of female suffering and pathos, then, remains similar to that in Douglas. It is used to unify. The female characters within the tragic stories, like Lady Randolph, are used to negotiate community. Lady Randolph sought to unify adversarial families and nations. Likewise, the Ossianic women compel unity on multiple levels, familial, tribal, national and international. The primary emphasis on the epic narrative and the strong connection between women and tragedy, however, mean that they do so indirectly rather than directly. Often the women in the embedded episodes are the unwilling cause of disputes between men. Sometimes they accidentally kill their lover or are accidentally killed. Some critics interpret the alignment between sexuality and death as a means to convey and stress the inability of the martial Ossianic society to regenerate. Peter Womack notes of the epic poems that they have “no births, no children, no mothers, and no sexual fulfilment; only virgins, longing and death....[W]hat is missing from the Ossianic world is not sexuality in general but specifically generation; the nobility of the depicted society...is bound up with its suppression of the genital; it is a historical nation which doesn’t reproduce itself” (106, 107). This is not exactly true of Fingal. There is certainly a history of marital union in the narrative. Two of the episodes near the end do talk specifically of a joyful sexual union. One between Ossian and Evirallin, the mother of Oscar, leads to at least a temporary restoration of familial unity. The now deceased Evirallin appears in ghostly form shortly after Ossian tells a story about their courtship. She appears specifically to tell her husband to “rise and save...[her] son; save Oscar chief

33 Dead heroes also appear. For example, Crugal, an Irish hero, visits Cuchullin to warn him of his defeat. Interestingly, this male ghost is ignored, unlike the female ghosts, and Cuchullin chooses to fight anyway.
of men, near the red oak of lubar’s stream, he fights with Lochlin’s sons” (84). As Ossian approaches the fight, he is heard and Oscar’s opponents flee. Community at a familial level is, at least temporarily, retained. Tropes of ancestral marital unity infiltrate the present to preserve unity at an international level in the story of the union of Tremnor, Fingal’s ancestor, and Inibaca, sister of the king of Lochlin and ancestor of Swaran. Micheáel Mac Craith notes, “not only were Fingal and Swaran potential brothers-in-law, but they are already related through the union of Trenmor and Inibaca” (65). The masculine Scandinavian-Celtic unity celebrated in the final book, which Mac Craith and Davis read as Anglo-Scottish unity, is grounded in the marital metaphor of the past and the Homean tragic female in current use.

This reading of the trope of the suffering woman, then, is not centered on sterility or “the suppression of the genital” (Womack 107). Rather, it is designed to generate unity, born out of mutual sympathy. Fingal was not the only individual to grieve Agandecca. He tells her brother, “I saw thy tears for the fair one, and spared thee in the halls of Starno; when my sword was red with slaughter, and my eye full of tears for the maid” (101). Out of female tragedy comes recuperative masculine action – mutual amicability and peace.34

34 Lest this seem like a far-fetched response to the trope of the vulnerable female, it is worth noting that as Herbert M. Atherton points out in Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth, images of an injured or murdered Britannia was often used to urge the public to respond to perceived political partisanship. Atherton describes the illustration “The Conduct, of the Two B*****rs,” which “shows Britannia lying desecrated on a table, as two ministers (the Pelhams), malevolent and satanic expressions on their faces, disembowel and dismember her” (96). The image of the murdered Britannia does not signify the death of the nation, it is a call to action, a call to rescue and to revive the ideal embodied by the icon. Atherton points out that the image of Britannia, which had been popular during the Cromwellian era, becomes reestablished in “the middle decades of the eighteenth century, when, in a time of aggressive nationalism and empire, she lent herself to a patriotic song and a quickened sense of national destiny” (91). The growing connection between female iconography and nation might also be connected to this sudden popularity.
Moreover, while the tragic women in the episodes often unwittingly cause disruption, they themselves embody desire for union with their beloved, a desire that is thwarted by a variety of circumstances. The pathos created by this thwarted desire transforms ballads of mourning into inspirational songs that unite communities in action against a foreign foe or provide historical or mythological impetus to unite traditional enemies.\(^3\) Fingal tells the tale of his failed bid to protect Fainasóllis in order to inspire his grandson Oscar never to “seek the battle, nor shun it when it comes” and shortly before sending him to “view the sons of Lochlin…that they may not fly my sword” (78).

Thus far, we have looked at the way in which domestic and public, the epic and domestic tragedy, interact in the embedded episodes and the central epic narrative. The final level of narrative relevant to this analysis is Ossian’s tragic tale, in which a woman once again takes a key role. Malvina is ultimately doomed to the same deadly fate as other mourning women, though not within the confines of the epic. Her primary appearance in *Fingal* is in the extraneous poems, although she does make occasional appearances in the footnotes to explain an Ossianic reference to the “white-armed daughter of Toscar” (82). Macpherson, in a footnote to the fourth book of *Fingal*, does note that the book “as many of Ossian’s other compositions, is addressed to the beautiful Malvina the daughter of Toscar. She appears to have been in love with Oscar, and to have affected the company of the father after the death of the son” (430). Despite this apparent marginal position in the actual epic, Malvina’s importance is foregrounded in the title page of the first edition of *Fingal*. Stafford notes that this page contains “an engraving of

\(^3\) All of the embedded narratives in Fingal include women, with the exception of one, a tale told by Fingal to cheer up his defeated Irish ally Cuchullin as the final book draws to a close, of a warrior who failed but succeeded in later battles. All women are represented in terms of tragedy and pathos, with the exception of
the Celtic bard, Ossian, posing with the rapt expression and flowing robes of the traditional Hebrew prophet” along with “his attendant lady (presumably Ossian’s daughter-in-law, Malvina)” (Sublime Savage 135). Stafford suggests that Malvina functions as “the traditional muse to the male poet,” although she does recognize the presence of female voices in the poem (“Introduction” xvii). I would suggest, however, that while Malvina is transformed into a more passive muse-like character in Temora, her role in the series of poems published alongside Fingal is more complex and is part of the transitional process in which access to a public/national role for the characters in a domestic narrative is exchanged for sentiment.

In a number of the poems published alongside Fingal, Malvina is not only a repository for Ossian’s stories, but is being groomed to follow in his footsteps. She is to become a female bard, whose reproductive function has shifted from biological reproduction to intellectual and mythological reproduction of the nation. In the “War of Caros,” Ossian tells her to bring him his harp and to “[b]e thou near, to learn the song; and future times shall hear of Ossian….Our voices shall be heard, at times, in the desert, and we shall sing on the winds of the rock” (114). Malvina appears an even stronger material presence in “Croma,” in which she sings a mournful song, rather reminiscent of the songs of her melancholy mentor, of her sorrow over Oscar’s death. Ossian responds by telling her that she must have “heard the music of departed bards in the dream of thy rest….Thy song is lovely….but it melts the soul” (186). Ossian attempts to cheer her up with his own tale of a hero who fell valiantly in battle. Ossian’s promise to teach Malvina his songs, alongside the lyric exchange in this poem, appears to invest Malvina with a

one, which is not presented by a bard, but by Cuchullin himself. Cuchullin explains his defeat by explaining that he killed his friend in a battle brought about by a self-centered and vengeful women.
degree of bardic authority, taking her out of the domestic realm of mere mournful widow – heroine of a private tragedy – and into the public role of national poet.

In exchange, Ossian's tenderness towards Malvina invests him with pathos and sentiment. Ossian, as the bereaved father and loving father-in-law to a mourning woman, assumes the successful role of grieving parent and holder of past secrets previously retained by Lady Randolph. And as the primary function of the tale is to generate and flaunt male virtue, the fledgling bard Malvina must be sacrificed (as Norval was sacrificed) to accentuate Ossian's grief. Her death is captured in "Berrathon," when Ossian, who has come to ask Malvina to sing over his own tomb, discovers that she has died. He then sings of his own death, in what Macpherson tells us is his final song. In the extensive footnote attached to "Berrathon," Macpherson states that "[t]his poem is reputed to have been composed by Ossian, a little time before his death; and consequently it is known in tradition by no other name than Ossian's last hymn" (472). Far from creating a sense of sterility, this sentimental conclusion supplements the exchange of egalitarian male friendship at the end of the epic by making a similar appeal to British sympathy and acceptance as Home had made – this time, however, the object of sympathy is a father rather than a mother. For, as the footnote adds, "[t]he serious and melancholy make the most lasting impressions on the human mind, and bid fairest for being transmitted from generation to generation by tradition" (172).

Macpherson ends where Kimber did – with egalitarian friendship. But his text reaches that position only after a long, complex invocation of sympathy and sentiment, echoing the long problematic struggle towards union envisioned in Smollett's Roderick Random. At the same time, this trope of masculinity has been imbedded in a larger
context of Scottish military and literary prowess, a context that would cause English angst, particularly as it was accompanied by the presence of Scottish access to political power. The carefully crafted gender models of the Scottish literati were about to be manipulated and distorted to undermine the figure who embodied their confidence in Anglo-Scottish friendship – John Stuart, 3\textsuperscript{rd} Earl of Bute.

Before turning to Bute, however, I will discuss one more author whose work was connected with the Scottish moderates. The evolving tropology of female vulnerability and masculine friendship crosses generic lines, and manifests itself slightly differently in different genres, but retains the same interdependence between female pathos and masculine friendship. Voltaire was acquainted with a number of the Scottish literati, including Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson. His 1760 work *Le Caffé, ou l'Écossaise*, translated into English as *The Coffee House* and published in London in 1760, plays not only with Scottish themes, but also more specifically with Home's representation of a sentimental Scotswoman, wishing for unity, but endangered by the sins of her fathers. Indeed, Voltaire playfully suggested that John Home was the author.\textsuperscript{36} Voltaire's work, however, like most comedies, ends in reconciliation.

Unlike Home and Macpherson, who choose to displace contemporary political conflicts into the misty realms of the past, Voltaire, as an outsider, is comfortable directly addressing the Jacobite/Hanoverian conflict, which his original work locates within Scotland, and general Anglo-Scottish mistrust and commercial inequality, the latter of which was finally beginning to change.\textsuperscript{37} I am not as concerned with Voltaire's original,

\textsuperscript{36} Since one of the most unpleasant characters in the play was also a satiric representation of Voltaire's critic Fréron, Voltaire likely also wished to distance himself from the play.

\textsuperscript{37} T.M. Devine notes that "the traditional pattern, of basic [economic] continuity marked by some changes at the margin, abruptly came to an end in the 1760s. That decade seems to have been a defining watershed
however, as I am with the two translated versions of 1760. Tobias Smollett and M.D.T. Francklin published a translation of Voltaire’s works in 1760. Francklin is said to have translated the dramas, and is likely responsible for this translation of Le Caffé, ou l’Ecossaise. In this edition, the names of the characters, which are important in marking their national origins, are maintained. The heroine, Lindane, and her father, Lord Montross are marked, in the Dramatis Personae, as a “Scotch-Woman” and a “Scotchman.” The hero, Lord Murray, is rather an ambiguous character. While he is not called a “Scotchman,” his name suggests that he may be Scottish. Clan Murray had existed in Scotland since the mid twelfth century. Moreover, the tale of the feud between the father of Lindane and the father of Murray seems to be local, similar to the conflict within the Scottish nation in Douglas. Montross cries that “the house of Murray” had plunged them into calamities out of “jealousy” for our family (321). There is a sense, then, in this translation, that Scotland is in a state of dissonance, recovering from the violence of Culloden, and that the sympathetic performance of English characters, the kindly innkeeper and the generous merchant, operates as an example which Douglas’s audience could follow.

There is a second translated version of the comedy published in the same year by the same publisher, however, that, with one apparently minor alteration, substantially alters the work. The heroine and her father are renamed. The heroine’s name is changed from Lindane in the French version to Constantia in the English version, and her father’s name is changed to Sir William Woodville. Both father and daughter, however, are referred to as Scottish throughout the play, as is Constantia’s servant Polly. The hero is

because from then on Scotland began to experience a social and economic transformation unparalleled among European societies of the time in its speed, scale and intensity” (107).
renamed Belmont. As there are no other markers of Scottish identity, he now appears to be English, both living in England, and having an ex-fiancé who is English (Lady Alton). The translator’s preface insists that although he has “taken the liberty of changing the [names] … from the original – giving an English termination – as to the rest, the translation is nearly literal” (v). This apparently miniscule change, however, transmutes the work from a Douglas-like play, centered on reconciling conflicts within Scotland through a marriage between a Scottish Jacobite heroine and a Scottish Hanoverian, into a proto-national tale. The gender configuration promoted in Smollett’s earlier Roderick Random is inverted. The cheaper translated version has a Scottish woman marrying a man who appears to be English. For the purposes of this chapter, I am primarily concerned with the way in which the cheaper translation configures the play, because the translated drama enacts, on a literal level, Anglo-Scottish anxieties that Home and his contemporaries had to grapple with through layers of historical and mythological references. As a comedy, however, the play can symbolically resolve them. And, as Douglas called for the reconciliation of England and Scotland by creating mutual sympathy for the anguished Lady Randolph, resolution in Le Caffe, ou l’Ecossaise is achieved by uniting adversarial men in cross-border friendship through mutual regard for a suffering Scotswoman.

38 John Keay and Julia Keay’s Collins Encyclopedia of Scotland (718).
39 It is not clear who the translator is. Both translations are published by J. Wilkie around the same time, but in different editions. The anonymous translation is published by itself for one shilling and sixpence, while the Smollett/ Francklin edition is published as part of a twenty-four volume set. Although there is no evidence to suggest who the translator of the cheaper edition is, it is tempting to speculate, since it was produced by the same publisher, that it may be either Smollett or Francklin, perhaps realizing that it might gain a diverse audience who are unable to afford the more expensive edition. This brings up the question of why the audience of the cheaper version might be more interested by an Anglo-Scottish romance than by a Scottish one.
The obscurity of this text perhaps makes a brief plot summary of the translated text necessary. The narrative action takes place at a London Coffee House. Constantia has been lodging there, with her maid Lucy, in straitened circumstances, trying to support herself by embroidering handkerchiefs. The kindly landlord, Fabrice, recognizing her virtue, deliberately undercharges her. Constantia is in love with Belmont, who, she incorrectly believes, does not know her true identity as the daughter of the man his father has ruined. Belmont has missed an expected visit and Constantia is concerned about his absence.

Several other visitors make the situation more complex. Sir William Woodville, Constantia's father, whom she has not seen since she was a child, visits the Coffee House coincidentally, unaware of his daughter's presence there. Scandal, a writer and distributor of sordid and libelous publications who frequents the coffee house regularly, eagerly tries to discover who the mysterious Constantia is, and at last determines she must be from Scotland. The furious, jealous (and English) Lady Alton, whom Belmont had rejected, also visits, and together with Slander decide to report Constantia to the ministry because "a person from Scotland, who in a time of trouble, chooses to be concealed, is certainly be an enemy to the state" (260). Finally, an English merchant Freeport - a sort of jovial John Bull figure - arrives directly from a voyage with his large fortune. Freeport tries to assist Constantia financially, in his rather eccentric, crotchety way, but she rejects his offer. Nevertheless, he becomes rather attached to her, as well as attracted by her virtuous character.

Woodville discovers he has been condemned, and is about to flee, when he discovers information about the Scottish lady living in the house that makes him
determined to meet her. He quickly discovers she is his daughter, and both father and
child are delighted. Constantia, having been informed by Lady Alton that Belmont does
not love her and having turned down Lady Alton’s offer to maintain her in a remote part
of the borders, decides to be dutiful and follow her father, wherever he goes. A rather
suspicious man, meanwhile, has arrived to arrest Constantia, based on the likelihood she
is a Scottish spy, but Freeport privately pays her bail and the man leaves. Belmont finally arrives, wishing to tell Constantia that he knows her identity and will help her (he has found out from her serving girl). But he must leave without seeing her when he discovers Lady Alton’s plot, and hurries to the ministry to represent Constantia and her father. Constantia and Woodville prepare to leave, and Freeport quietly instructs the landlord, Fabrice, to slip £500 into her luggage. Belmont suddenly arrives and, informing Constantia that he knows her identity, pledges his love for her, and pleads, “let us lose the name of enemies by our union” (86). Constantia is explaining that she must follow her father when Woodville enters, and observing Belmont receiving a package, asks his identity. On discovering that Belmont is the son of his nemesis, he demands revenge, and is furious at Constantia when she tries to prevent him. Belmont asks that Woodville be allowed to approach him, assuring all present that he can disarm him. He then throws his sword aside, and tells Woodville that he will let the older man kill him if he chooses, but asks that he first receive the document that has just been delivered. Realizing that it is his pardon, Woodville is thrilled and apologizes. He tells the couple they will all see happier days. As the trope of marital union approaches,
Freeport, who had been suspicious of Belmont because of his position as a courtier, now recognizes that Constantia is in good hands and is content.\footnote{Female vulnerability, it appears, may also resolve differences between mercantile and aristocratic classes.}

It is immediately evident that Voltaire’s translator, by changing the central relationship to an Anglo-Scottish one, engages with many of the issues that Smollett and Home had struggled to reconcile before him. While the latter two men avoid protracted contact with Anglo-Scottish politics, the translated play negotiates political issues directly, dealing with Jacobite/Hanoverian differences, the commercial marginalization of Scotland, and the elements of dissonance that could all too easily stir up sentiments against Scotland without justification. More importantly, the figure at the center of this national tension is, like Lady Randolph, a vulnerable, impeccably virtuous female, whose suffering derives purely from the violent actions of her father and the jealousy of her English contemporaries.

Constantia, living in poverty on the slim proceedings of her needlework and refusing aid from the kindly London coffee-shop owner and his wife, and from the generous Freeport, may seem, once again, through generic differences, to differ from the allegorical Peg or the grieving Lady Randolph, but all are women in need of sympathy and protection. And both Constantia and Lady Randolph suffer from the violent sins of previous generations. Constantia, like Lady Randolph, is in the centre of a variety of conflicts that do not necessarily taint her, but which do render her vulnerable. These conflicts are male driven, and can ultimately only be reversed through male agency. However, the virtue and vulnerability of the female is ultimately the impetus to unity and regeneration, a impetus that fails in Douglas through seeds of mutual mistrust that
originate within the household, and is in danger of failing in *The Coffee House* through the machinations of Fabrice’s underhanded clientele, Scandal and Lady Alton.

The narrative of the translated play sheds a great deal of light on the sentimental female in *Douglas*, for while Home, after his experience with Garrick, must limit his direct references to Anglo-Scottish relations and only implicitly refer to unification, Voltaire’s translator clearly feels comfortable using the sentimental female explicitly as a mediator between English and Scottish relations. This reconfiguration of the type of gendered trope created by Wright and Arbuthnot demonstrates that female virtue can be an asset rather than a detriment to Scots, allowing Scots to take a subtly superior moral position within the Union without emphasizing a troubling masculinity that might implicitly threaten English sensibility. The almost constant trouble that haunted Smollett’s Roderick Random in England, as he (as male) tried to participate in public life, is, for the most part, avoided by Constantia, who chastely embroiders handkerchiefs in her room.

The power of Scottish virtue and vulnerability to evoke pity and generosity from the English no longer is only merely optimistically directed towards an audience. Rather, it is evident in the behaviour of English characters. The English landlord Fabrice and his wife clandestinely undercharge for Constantia’s keep, and Freeport, surely a representation of commercial England, is impressed by her virtue and gladly offers her financial protection (32). Freeport does not offer this support, like Heptarchus or even Ramsay’s Rosie, in duplicitous terms saturated in English self-interest. Moreover, unlike Arbuthnot’s John Bull, who agrees to assist his sibling only after he is coaxed and shamed into inviting his sister to reside with him, Freeport freely recognizes Constantia’s
virtue and worth, and, having excessive wealth, is content to share a small part of it to support Constantia.\textsuperscript{41} Moreover, while he denies affection for the Scotswoman, his admiration for her becomes clear as the play progresses.\textsuperscript{42} Constantia's virtue and dedication to duty are admired by all who surround her, reminiscent of Richardson's Pamela and the martyred Clarissa. Wrapped in the terminology of impoverishment that had been used to denigrate the Scots after Culloden, Constantia's gentility turns such shortcomings into virtue. Her Scottish servant, Lucy, in an angry encounter with Slander, reconfigures our perception of Constantia's financial position by chiding, “[b]e assur’d that you have quite mistaken her circumstances. If she lives in a frugal manner, it is only because she hates luxury; if her dress be simple, it is only from inclination; if she be temperate, it is to prolong her health; none but the ignorant can despise her conduct” (12).\textsuperscript{43}

Anglo-Scottish unity ultimately cannot be founded on the commercial integration that Freeport offers, but on a trope centered on desire and reparation. And to that end it is Voltaire's hero, Belmont, who must perform two functions at which Norval and his mother failed. He must protect Constantia from the self-interested conspiracies within the present community, conspiracies that echo those of Glenalvon, and from the consequences of the oppressive actions of his deceased father, who, like Home's Lord

\textsuperscript{41} He offers a tenth of his income from his last business transaction - £500 (34).
\textsuperscript{42} In his thesis on Voltaire's comedies, Jack Yashinsky reads Freeport as Voltaire's effort “to mould an authentic English type. From his broad-rimmed hat to the pipe he held, Freeport exuded ‘Englishness’ for his French audiences. Critics are almost unanimous in their praise of him.... Freeport does indeed exhibit English bluffness .... The French would have, no doubt, found his disinterestedness with regard to a beautiful young woman typically English” (185, 186).
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Angelicus and Fergusia}, an anonymous pamphlet produced in 1761, which appears to rewrite William Wright's allegory, similarly reinterprets Scotland's weaknesses as strengths using a similar gender construct. We are told that Fergusia chooses to live in the northern part of Albania because it is most “likely to favour that hardy, untamed and manly temper she intended to encourage. The purity of air she thought would refine and invigorate [her followers'] minds and harden their constitutions” (6).
Strong, had been determined to destroy his enemy. The villains of the piece, Slander and Lady Alton, share Glenalvon's excessive self interest, but, in a direct critique of English treatment of their Northern neighbors, attack Constantia specifically through her Scottish identity. Slander promises Lady Alton that he will secretly relay to government sources "that this lady has been sent up from Scotland with an evil intention, and as a spy; that she maintains a foreign correspondence" (25). Alton and Slander, like Glenalvon, seek to satisfy their private desire through manipulating the public and indeed national machinery. But, unlike Glenalvon they become marginal characters with little agency. Constantia is surrounded by English protection, not only that of her admirer Belmont, but of the merchant Freeport and the Landlord Fabrice. The English protection called for in the English prologue to Douglas is manifested in this narrative.

Voltaire's villains, moreover, seem particularly designed to interact with various elements of Anglo-Scottish relations. Slander's character, of course, is, in part, a satire of a particular French journalist, but may also be a reflection on the role of the press in shaping and (mis)representing attitudes towards Scotland. Indeed, considering the flood of negative material that was about to saturate the English public sphere regarding Bute, Voltaire's work seems particularly prescient. Lady Ashton, of whom Fabrice asks, "what lady have we got here, who enters the coffee-room with such a masculine air," is an inversion of the Jacobite masculine woman (19). While Constantia, as the actual Jacobite progeny is represented as feminine and highly moral, refusing English money from Freeport and Fabrice when she feels it is offered inappropriately, her English counterpart, who was almost the wife of Belmont, is masculine and vindictive. Voltaire is clearly remodelling concepts of Scotland and England.
The *Coffee-House*, like *Douglas*, has many of the elements of a tragedy, and not only because of the machinations of Slander and Lady Alton. A far greater problem is the matter of the Jacobite, Sir William Woodville, who is both endangered by those who consider him still a threat, and dangerous to the primary agent of tropological unity in the text, Belmont. Woodville desires to avenge himself on the son of the man who was responsible for his destruction. If this is not possible, he plans to leave England to live in exile with Constantia, who feels a tremendous sense of duty towards her father. Threats to unity, therefore, derive from both England and Scotland. Those in England originate in a sense of jealousy, self-interest, and resentment in the present, and those from Scotland derive from a divided past of violent resistance to Hanoverian rule. The final scene reflects the same violence that breaks out at the end of *Douglas*. It is prevented only by Belmont’s refusal to fight, placing his life into Sir William’s hands, and by his reparations for his father’s misdeeds. The translated drama clearly suggests that only with English protection, English trust, and English reparations can unity be literally and tropologically embraced.44

Once again, it is important to emphasize that the Scottish names in Voltaire’s *original* suggest that while the English protection from Freeport and Fabrice was seen as important, the assessment of reparations between Belmont (Murray) and Woodville (Montrose) might suggest that it is an internal Hanoverian/Jacobite conflict that Scotland must resolve, rather than one that involved Anglo-English relations. The transformed

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44 This resolution echoes that of *Angelicus and Fergusia* (1761) in which Angelicus realizes he must make an extra effort to endear himself to his bride, for “he very well knew, that, by virtue of the power which the husband has over the wife, both her person and fortune would, in fact, be entirely at his disposal: that favouring her, and encouraging her people at the same time, that it gained her heart, and determined her to place an unlimited confidence in him, was strengthening his own hands by an accession of power and of interest, by no means to be despised; and that acting otherwise, would never succeed with a woman of Fergusia’s discernment and spirit.” (60)
way in which the comedy enters the literary marketplace, however, makes it into one of the first proto-types of the traditional national tale, with its trope of marriage between virtuous Scottish women and genteel English men.

Conclusion

The works of Home and Macpherson illustrate a movement in the mid eighteenth century to remasculinize Scotland cautiously. Although the Moderate literati seem increasingly emboldened as they leave Culloden behind and watch Bute’s rise to power, at the same time they continually foreground female vulnerability to retain English sympathy and make Scottish men seem less threatening. Tropes of masculine friendship are immersed in and founded on tropes of female suffering. From a tropological perspective, this combination reinforces the fact that agents and groups change tropes in response to historical and political conditions and to other tropologies. The growing connection between female and nation in English iconography, for example, creates a context in which Scottish femininity can be redeemed and put to use for national ends. At the same time, Bute’s rise to power gives the Moderate literati confidence to turn tropes of female pathos into tropes of male power.
Chapter 4

Tropological Warfare: Smollett, Wilkes and the Bute Dispute

Introduction

John Wilkes is generally remembered today for two of his most effective political campaigns. His assumption of the mantle of liberty to arouse public sympathy against government attempts to exclude him from office is the campaign most commonly assessed, because of its impact on the relationship between public opinion and political power. Just as important is the rampant Scotophobia that Wilkes and his cabal gleefully disseminated throughout South Britain in the 1760s, a campaign that led to the resignation of Lord Bute from his position of Lord Treasurer, after a remarkably brief tenure in office. This chapter cannot cover in detail the numerous approaches, recuperative and innovative, that Wilkes and his associates took towards the creation and dissemination of anti-Scottish material south of the Tweed. My focus will be on their specific attacks on the emergent tropes designed to convey positive Anglo-Scottish unity that we have analyzed in previous chapters. Wilkes and Churchill, recognizing the power of emergent tropes of unity, set out to attack the handshake of cross-border friendship that appears at the end of Fingal; Smollett’s emergent model of a common British citizenship based on reason and intellectual exchange; the tragic Scotswomen; and the emergent unifying courtship trope in The Coffee Shop.

I will explore Wilkes’s employment of tropes to undercut the idea of Anglo-Scottish equality, whether it is represented in an ‘egalitarian’ friendship based on sympathy or in fellow-citizenship. Then I will examine the disruptive perverse Anglo-Scottish sexual relationship he employs to counter the tentative tropes of marital union
that appear in Smollett’s *Roderick Random*, in the translation of Voltaire’s *Coffee House*, and, to a lesser extent, in Kimber’s *James Ramble*. I will suggest that Wilkes’s attempt to disrupt the tentative attempts of the Moderate literati and their circle to circulate tropes of Britishness that celebrated and recognized Scottish masculinity made the authenticity of new models of Anglo-Scottish exchange suspect. Smollett’s position is rendered impotent because of alleged doubleness or difference that hides a national bias. His gentlemanly rationality and call for national egalitarianism are shown to be strategic positions to lull English readers into passivity and acceptance of Scottish principles, values and superiority. And the literature of Home and Macpherson, despite its celebration of the values of pre-commercial antiquity, is revealed to be saturated in the shallow values of contemporary commerce and patronage.

I will then explore the response of ministry writers who readily engaged in tropological warfare, trying to destabilize Wilkes’s models of a Britain grounded in the subtle colonization of the English by the Scots. Smollett’s attempts in *The Briton*, I will suggest, tried to do so on Wilkes’s terms, trying to explain rationally the participation of Scots in British affairs. Ultimately, foregrounding the component of the trope dealing with Scottishness only reinforced the very doubleness Smollett had tried to erase in his trope of Britons as indistinguishable fellow citizens. Arthur Murphy, an Irish dramatist hired by Henry Fox to support the ministry position, took a different – and more effective – approach. Refusing to engage with Wilkes’s representation of an ascendant Scottishness, Murphy undermines Wilkes’s British tropology of an oppressed English everyman dominated by a Scottish aristocrat, by attacking a different component of Wilkes’s trope – the notion of a stable English identity. After tracing this tropological
battle, the final section of this chapter will move from periodical propaganda back to literature. I will trace the effect of this propaganda battle on the tropological production of Britishness in the works of Macpherson and Smollett. Both Macpherson, in *Temora*, and Smollett, in *Humphry Clinker*, re-vision their models of masculine friendship in response to Wilkean attacks, demonstrating the close relationship between propaganda and literary works that might appear to be concerned with matters outside politics, matters of history, myth and fiction.

Before tackling the tropological battle itself, I will briefly discuss the medium of exchange. As Chapter One demonstrated, propaganda had been in use earlier in the century. The use of pamphlets to promote particular political or national positions was fully operational in the hands of Swift, Arbuthnot and Wright. It was neither the presence of propaganda in the hands of both the opposition and the ministry nor the ability to carry out a sustained attack on a political faction or position that was transformed over the next thirty years. Changes were located both in the sheer mass and coordination of materials that had shifted between 1720 and 1760 and in the ability of readers to access such materials. Moreover, tropes and symbols were employed to motivate readers – both those who possessed and did not possess voting rights – to become political agents, participating in demonstrations and mob attacks. Before moving to the content of periodical propaganda, then, I will briefly consider the position of press power in mid-century Britain, and the way in which both Smollett and Wilkes adapted this press power to sway the public towards their respective tropes of British identity.
**Propaganda in the 1760s**

As Clifford Siskin notes, the middle decades of the eighteenth century saw huge shifts in the technologies of writing. Periodicals flourished, and increasing numbers of readers were being transformed into writers (4). "The proliferation of writing," Siskin notes, "worked to induce and shape substantial change....What changed - strikingly and fundamentally - were society’s ways of knowing and working" (2). Part of this change, I would suggest, is the growing awareness amongst eighteenth-century politicians that the creation and dissemination of symbols, icons and mythologies could influence and even mobilize the rag-tag group of individuals who made up the English people. As Brewer notes, "[u]ndoubtedly the press was the single most important factor in obtaining any degree of national political consciousness, in dispelling ignorance (such as it was), and in providing a congeries of political grievances with a common focus. In this respect the growth of a press network in the period c. 1720 to 1760 was crucial" (*Party Ideology* 16).

One of the best known early examples of this political mythmaking is Robert Walpole’s pro-government propaganda and that of his opposition, who adeptly learned to counter the Lord Treasurer’s influence through a blend of memorable symbols and satire.¹ John Brewer notes that in the middle of the century both opposition and government had grown to recognize that "the press, whether malevolent or beneficial, played an important part in the political education of those ‘out of doors’" (140).² Warring iconography became part of political battles. The Earl of Bute and George III were well aware of the

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¹ For an in-depth account of the Walpolean war of iconography, see Tone Sundt Urrad’s *Sir Robert Walpole’s Poets* (1999).
² John Brewer comments extensively on the ability of Wilkes’s propaganda and iconography to rouse people to take action, to engage in a mob attack on Bute or, in Wilkes’s campaign, to prevent his exclusion from government. See chapter 9 in Brewer’s *Party Ideology and Popular Politics* for an extensive discussion of Wilkes’s part in the growing power of the press to mobilize people.
importance of this battle for public opinion and moved quickly to establish a political mythol-
ogy after George came to the throne in 1760. They speedily developed strategies to counter the concept of the Great Commoner associated with William Pitt. Pitt’s acceptance of a pension for himself and a peerage for his wife, actions that could easily be interpreted as a betrayal of his ideals, were mysteriously leaked to the Gazette. A royal counter-concept, grounded in Bolingbroke’s idea of the virtuous, non-partisan Patriot King, dedicated to public duty, was circulated. The young King’s birth in England was emphasized, as he was the first Hanoverian king to be born in the nation he ruled, and this British origin was tied to his dedication to a British ideal in which all parts of the nation were openly embraced. The emergent iconography of this ideal is apparent on the state carriage George ordered in 1762, which was emblazoned with images of a national mythology promoting the equality of the three nations, Ireland, England and Scotland:

On the centre of the roof stand three boys, representing the Genii of England, Scotland and Ireland, supporting with their heads the imperial crown, and holding in their hands the scepter, the sword of state, and ensigns of knighthood....On the front panel is represented Britannia seated on a throne, holding in her hand a staff of liberty, attended by religion, justice, wisdom, valour, fortitude, and victory, presenting her with a garland of laurel. (Annual Register 110)

The sense of peripheral egalitarianism symbolized by this illustration was becoming more than mere iconography. Linda Colley explains that English politicians, in this historical

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3 Brewer asserts that this leak was made quite deliberately by Bute (Party Ideology 104).
moment, were increasingly willing to “allow Scots to compete for advancement in the state on a wider scale and on more favourable terms than ever before” (120).

The new British ideal would not remain unchallenged for long. There was political resistance to many of the policies promoted by the monarch and Bute, in particular their attempt to transcend partisan divisions by appointing Tories to the Royal Household. Opposition forces began to produce their own iconography and to position themselves publicly against the policies, tending to project their complaints onto the minister rather than the king. 4 This approach allowed them to appear supportive of the monarch, while reviling his policies. 5 John Wilkes, hired by Earl Temple to counteract Bute’s promotional efforts, was a remarkable master of iconography, creating simple and memorable paraphernalia, tropological, symbolical and otherwise, with a strong appeal to a significant number of the English people. 6 The strength of Wilkes’s work lay, in part, in the sheer number of concepts he was able to activate and promote, ranging from the recuperation of a multitude of negative characteristics associated with the Scots before the Union and around the ‘45, to very directed attacks on Bute and the productions of the literary Scots he patronized, many of whom were members of the Moderate literati.

4 Brewer, in an article on Bute, notes that “during the 1760s the hard core of opposition to Bute centered on the Rockingham party” (“Misfortunes of Lord Bute” 11).
5 Even Wilkes, in the infamous No. 45 of the *North Briton*, carefully avoided criticizing the king. As Rudé points out, “[i]ts references to the King were couched in terms of the profoundest respect,” and it claims that the King’s speech at the opening of Parliament, which had been found offensive in its positive references to the peace preliminaries, was in fact “the speech of the minister” (22). George III is represented as a victim of Bute.
6 As Brewer makes clear, Wilkes appealed both to country gentlemen, whose support was somewhat tenuous, problematized by Wilkes’s “personal licentiousness” and the radicalism of some of his supporters, and to "the shopkeepers, tavern proprietors, wine-merchants, free-thinkers, booksellers, and budding entrepreneurs, who were to be found in small, but ever-expanding groups in the metropolis," and who followed Wilkes more wholeheartedly (180). George Rudé notes that Temple “financed the paper throughout” although he was often startled by the “violence of …[Wilkes’s] diatribes” (21).
Wilkes also directed his attacks towards Tobias Smollett, hired by Bute after his promotion to First Commissioner of the Treasury to promote the new ministry's political and ideological positions in a periodical, *The Briton*, introduced on May 29, 1762, the same day Bute took office.

Wilkes, along with his associate Charles Churchill, set out to attack ministry propaganda in a number of ways. They suggested, for example, that Bute's peace preliminaries and agreement that ended the Seven Years War were filled with unnecessary concessions that tainted British honour. They revived the satiric "great man" and "corrupt favorite" themes that had been used to attack Walpole, directing them at Bute. Their most powerful weapon, however, was Bute's national identity and the name he shared with the deposed royal family. It has been argued by some, particularly Linda Colley, that Wilkes had a particular anti-Scottish axe to grind. "Wilkes went into opposition journalism," she notes, "only because his frantic lobbying to be the first governor of newly conquered Quebec failed. Instead, the job was given to Brigadier James Murray, who was, of course, a Scot" (120, 121). It may be true that Wilkes had time to devote to disseminating anti-Bute material because he had not a full-time responsibility on another continent, but the rampant Scotophobia Wilkes encouraged was primarily a convenient political posture – a position recognized by Boswell, who looked forward to reading the *North Briton*, although one that was not always recognized by

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7 Other individuals were involved in the production of anti-Bute propaganda. John Almon, *The Monitor*, and numerous anonymous writers contributed essays critiquing Bute and his policies. For a detailed account of those involved on both sides of the dispute, see John Brewer's "The Misfortunes of Lord Bute."
other Scots. Numerous Scots were connected with Wilkes both before and after the publication of the *North Briton* and Wilkes had a tendency to separate his private preferences from his political posturing. Wilkes merely recognized that anti-Bute sentiment could be most effectively and quickly raised around the themes of Jacobitism and latent remnants of anti-Scottish feeling in England.

This book is concerned with one particular filament of Wilkes’s attack on Bute: his attack on recent Anglo-Scottish tropes of union. An attack on Bute through his national origins would be more successful if tropes celebrating Anglo-Scottish unity were challenged. The result Wilkes and his backers was looking for was the disempowerment of Bute, a result they achieved when the minister stepped down in early 1763. However, results were more far reaching. Dismantling tropes of unity and recreating a tropology of Scottish dominance activated a resurgence in xenophobia. As Brewer notes, during this period “[a]nti-Caledonian clubs were formed in London’s taverns and the Scots...were booted and jeered in the theatre. Tavern brawls, some of which proved fatal, took place between North and South Britons, and anti-Scottish toasts including those condemning...”

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8 According to Boswell’s *London Journals* he bought the *North Briton* each week and sent it to his friend West Digges, an Edinburgh actor (76). By 9 Feb, 1763, he tells us that he has it sent to him “regularly by the Penny Post, and read[s] it with vast relish” (187). He suggests, “there is a poignant acrimony in it that is very relishing” (187). In fact, he sent an essay to the *North Briton* for publication that compares “the current manoeuvres in British politics to a vulgar Scots game called hop-romp” (Pottle 189). It was never published. By 25\textsuperscript{th} March, he noted that since the paper was not published until 4pm, he dined "in the city every Saturday, so as to have it fresh from the press" (228). The Scottish doctor, John Armstrong, however, did not have such a positive response towards his “friend” Wilkes, and Wilkes accused him of mistaking the political for the personal (Almon I: 207). Wilkes's correspondence shows little animosity towards Scots except on a few occasions while he is on his self imposed exile in France, at which time he blames Bute and his fellow Scots for his exile. A letter from Boswell in April, 1776 suggests that Wilkes supported the Scottish desire for a militia (Almon IV: 319).

9 Some of Wilkes’s Scottish friends would include Alexander Carlyle, Immateriality Baxter (a Scottish metaphysician), Smollett before the *Briton/North Briton* conflict, John Millar, John Anderson before the *Briton/North Briton* conflict. Wilkes's separation of the public and the private is further illuminated by Boswell, in the *Life of Johnson*, where he notes that Wilkes was anxious to maintain a personal friendship with Samuel Johnson, although “they had ...attacked one another with some asperity in their writings” (764). Fortunately the two men are able to “perfectly assimilate” and create a “bond of union” based on anti-Scottish jokes (774).
the favorite were drunk openly in the streets of London and the provinces” (1973, 21).

Moreover, the resurgence of anti-Scottish material continued throughout the decade.

Junius, in the late 1760s and early 1770s, reproduced much Wilkean anti-Scottish material, writing in 1769,

As to the Scotch, I must suppose your heart and understanding so biased from your earliest infancy in their favour, that nothing less than your own misfortunes can undeceive you.... Let it be admitted then, that the Scotch are sincere in their present professions as if you were in reality not an Englishman but a Briton of the North. You would not be the first prince of their native country against whom they have rebelled, nor the first whom they have basely betrayed....Without looking for support in their affections as subjects, [Charles I] applied only to their honour as gentlemen for protection. They received him as they would your Majesty, with bows, and smiles and falsehood and kept him until they had settled their bargain with the English parliament; then basely sold their native king to the vengeance of his enemies. (Cordasco and Simonson 175-176)

English pamphleteers had accused the Scots of selling Charles I to his executioners for centuries. However, Junius, like Wilkes, phrases the accusation in a way that undercuts the existence of valid bonds of gentlemanly friendship between North and South Britons. Rather, he suggests, Englishmen who seek such alliances refuse to recognize the true nature of the Scots. Long after Wilkes’s political cause had been achieved, then, his methodology of dismantling cross-border tropology continued to influence representations of Anglo-Scottish relations.
Dismantling Tropes of Friendship: Friends, Britons and Countrymen

i. Mimicry

Wilkes’s methodology, in a nutshell, was to denaturalize any tropological cross-border relationship, whether it was a male centered friendship or a national courtship. The ‘essential’ nature of Scots, he would suggest, precludes any such ‘natural’ bonds. Inverting the claims of the anti-union pamphleteers, who suggested the English were only performing egalitarian gentility to cover their nefarious intentions, Wilkes challenges models of male friendship and fellow citizenship by suggesting that Scots are employed in a dangerous act of mimicry, constructing an imagined in-between space of Britishness which suggests parity between North and South Britain in order to disguise their natural tendency to privilege Scottish interests over English ones. Wilkes claims to ‘expose’ what Homi Bhabha might call the “sly civility” of the Scots, arguing that there is a northern attempt to redefine Britishness by masking subversive intentions with benign gentility and egalitarianism. To convey a sense of English marginalization, Wilkes insists that Bute’s Scottishness (closely identified with Jacobite ideas of divine rule and Toryism) ought to be the determining feature of his character and that this trait primarily shapes his political policies. As Linda Colley notes, “the prime difference that the Wilkites claimed to detect between the English and the Scots was one of political temperament….the fact that the Stuart dynasty came from Scotland was proof positive that the country harboured a taste for arbitrary power on the one hand, and a willingness to cringe before it on the other” (116). National origin defines status in this model. Bute,

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10 This attempt to mould Britishness would be similar to the way in which Bhabha’s Indian natives use the bible in ways which resist English imperialism.
as a power-hungry Scot, was seen as having achieved a position in which his taste for arbitrary power can be exercised. This has led to the subtle colonization of Wilkes, as symbol of the ordinary Englishman.\footnote{11}{In a sense he is picking up on the concept of the Great Commoner surrounding Pitt.}

Before I start to unpack the implications of this model, using a number of concepts from postcolonial theory, it is important to address the ethics of using elements of postcolonial theory to discuss Anglo-Scottish relations. Anglo-Scottish relations were certainly not equal – the center of political power was London not Edinburgh, but Scotland did not experience plantations, slavery and many of the other severe indignities faced by the inhabitants of British colonies (including Ireland). Bhabha, however, has suggested that his work can also be applied to other sorts of power relationships. In a 1995 interview with W.J.T. Mitchell, Bhabha notes, “I have always felt that while I was trying to work out a theory of the resistance to authority, and the subversion of hegemony, on certain colonial and postcolonial grounds, I was in fact also addressing problems relating to other moments and locations of authority.”\footnote{12}{This is an interview published on the Web. See “Works Cited” for publication details.} Bhabha makes reference to class and gender in particular.

Class and gender are problematic categories of power to use in the relation to the Smollett/Wilkes dispute. Both are men, and, despite the language of centre and periphery that Wilkes engages with, both Wilkes and Smollett were clearly operating within the structures of power. John Wilkes was a member of the middling ranks, whose father was a distiller and whose mother was the daughter of a wealthy tanner. He was English, born in St. John’s Square, Clerkenwell.\footnote{13}{Biographical information is from George Nobbe’s North Briton.} At the time he was writing the North Briton, he was
serving in the House of Commons, representing the borough of Aylesbury. He was not, therefore, in any material or geographical sense, a marginal figure. Moreover, in writing the anti-ministry paper, he was sponsored by Lord Temple, a powerful political individual from a powerful political family. Tobias Smollett, although he can be said to have been marginalized by his Scottishness and although he had to struggle to make a space for himself as a literary figure, was in the 1760s in a relatively comfortable middling class position. Moreover, his sponsor, John Stuart, Earl of Bute, was a member of the nobility who had been influential in the new king’s upbringing, and gained increasing power after George came to the throne. Smollett’s relationship with Bute would appear to have most direct power through the latter’s connection with the king, his ministerial posts and his rank, but in a age of rising press power, the ability to appeal to a large segment of the public was arguably superior. Both men had access to material power – both through access to the press and access to the aristocracy. Is it acceptable, then, to use a model of mimicry or sly civility designed to describe colonial suppression and resistance to capture differences in power which are far narrower than colonial differences – cross-border relations between England and Scotland?

I follow Janet Sorensen in suggesting that

[1]The elite of the Lowlands of Scotland have functioned as junior partners in Britain’s global imperial project, and so…any sweeping

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14 He had been elected in July 1757 and ran again in 1761.
15 He had cleared a substantial amount from the sale of his *Complete History of England* (1757) alone (Knapp 192).
16 Barrell’s Chapter 8 talks at length about the surge in press power during this period, and its ability to influence national thought.
characterization of Scotland as a ‘colonial’ space makes little sense. Yet... in the eighteenth century the theories and practices of cultural, specifically linguistic, domination of the Highlands come close to those deployed in more distant colonial contexts. At the same time in the Lowlands, privileged Lowlanders consciously mimicked the language of cultural capital, the standard English that printers, teachers and writers – at times those very Lowlanders – were working to establish. (3)

*The Briton* does engage in an act of linguistic mimicry. It is written in standard English.\(^\text{17}\) However, the relationship of the periodical to mimicry seems more complex, as Sorensen clearly demonstrates. Smollett combined a response to marginalization with a powerful act of cultural control. Sorensen recognizes this complexity, adding that “[t]he simultaneous mimicry and standardization of English in which they engaged might offer important revisions to our understanding of the relationship between colonialism, nationalism and language” (4). Indeed, such mimicry appears to be more an act of mediation than an act of resistance or acceptance towards peripheralization.\(^\text{18}\)

Smollett and his sponsors would not have seen the *Briton* as an act of mimicry – emulating Englishness – but as the creation of a third space, a new sort of cultural identity, neither Scottish nor English, in keeping with the emphasis on Britishness coming from George III and his ministry. Smollett writes that the design of the paper is “that which ought to be the aim and privilege of every Briton, to speak his opinion freely

\(^{17}\) As Sorensen points out, Smollett had positioned himself as refining and policing standard English well before producing the *Briton* (105). His review journal, *The Critical Review*, for example, “devoted large portions of its reviews to a critique of deviations from standard English” (108).

\(^{18}\) By mediation, I mean something between acceptance and resistance, an act that participates in the construction of British identity.
and offer his advice with decency and without calumny” (241). National distinctions are erased, reaching past the model of egalitarian friendship offered at the end of Fingal to a new model of a unified, perhaps even assimilated, citizenry whose defining feature is a free exchange of ideas centered on the good of the nation.19 This trope of Britishness would appear to transcend the need for “mimicry” by placing the English and Scots on the level of equals who can participate in political commentary and gentlemanly rational exchange. The rejection of malice, calumny, faction and sedition alone determines the suitability of the individual to participate in this discussion. Moreover, by creating an iconography of unification and stability that elides dissent, Smollett would appear to be speaking from an empowered position, seeking to naturalize national unity, generally the discourse of empire, rather than engaging in colonial mimicry.

Wilkes, however, clearly sees Smollett as a mimic, and his own act of parodying or ‘mimicking’ Smollett in the North Briton is meant to turn the Scottish writer’s trope in order to expose its underbelly, the excess material Smollett allegedly hides in creating the vehicle of a Briton to contain the tenor of Anglo-Scottish relations. This excess material, Wilkes “reveals,” exposes an unnatural Scottish desire not to participate in gentlemanly exchange but to colonize the English both economically and culturally, the latter being achieved by taking over literary production. By calling his paper the North Briton, and by intermittently posing as a triumphant Scot mimicking Englishness – more frequently in the early issues – Wilkes turns the trope of “Briton” to bring the hidden tenor to the surface. He reveals power inequities between England and Scotland, and the potential erasure of English identity implicit in the term “Briton.” He alerts readers to the Scottish

19 Perhaps the citizens can be seen as the metaphorical fruit of the union between Roderick and Narcissa.
ability to disguise distinctness through the erasure of linguistic difference – an act of mimicry – though he seems to claim observant readers can uncover this disguise through locating Scotticisms in writing or speech. Wilkes writes, “[t]hough I am a North Briton, I will endeavour to write plain English, and to avoid the numerous Scotticisms the Briton abounds with; and then, as the world is apt to mistake, he may be taken for a Scotsman, and I shall pass for an Englishman” (6). Wilkes implies the author of The Briton is merely performing Englishness, and that he does so for purposes related to subversion. Britishness, achieved through the union, he implies, is an act of Machiavellian mimicry through which Scots can subtly obtain power. His North Briton explains,

[w]e found our right to sharing every thing in common with the English on the Union, and we justify our endeavouring to engross every thing to our own use, on the common principle of prudence, which teaches every man to do as well for himself as he can. Whatever inequality there might have been before the Union was compleated, it afterwards entirely ceased, and we were all upon a level....The Union indeed was not of our seeking; we opposed it with our whole force, for we considered it as contrary to the dignity and interest of our nation. Notwithstanding the specious pretences on which that treaty was grounded, and the seeming equity and impartiality with which it was planned and conducted, we could not persuade ourselves but the weaker nation would be swallowed up in the stronger, and our most antient kingdom by degrees become a province of England....If time has proved our error, if things have taken quite a different turn; if through the great parts of our glorious countryman, and
our own supple behaviour, dissimulation and temporizing, we have turned
the Union to our own advantage; if we see ourselves arrived at the height
of our wishes, and consider England as a country intended for our use and
refreshment....if this is the case, the English must thank themselves for it.

(20)
The Union, then, has created a Britain in which Scotland might have been expected to
become marginalized but instead has become superior. In a later edition Wilkes
foregrounds the unnatural nature of this hierarchy, writing, in issue 34 of the North
Briton, that Scottish colonizing practices were surely not the intent of the Union, which
was not “designed... to put the inhabitants of the most beggarly part of the island, into
full possession of the whole” (223).

Newly gained Scottish authority has the potential to infiltrate all aspects of the
nation ranging from economic to political to cultural, ultimately colonizing English
identity. The North Briton gleefully parodies Scottish celebration of various aspects of
this imperialization process. This act of parody has the same function as Fergusia’s
exposure of the gap between the past acts of Heptarchus and his present assurances – to
expose corrupt motives beneath benign language. Economic power is the key motivation,
Wilkes suggests, reviving the connotations of greed that had been used to taint Scots in
the past, and that Home and Macpherson had expelled from their feudal and pre-feudal
depictions of North Britain. He writes,

I cannot conceal the joy I feel as a North Briton, and I heartily
congratulate my dear countrymen on our having at length accomplished
the great, long sought, and universally national object of all our wishes,
the planting a Scotsman at the head of the English Treasury....My joy and exultation are now complete, for I have lived to see my countryman, the Earl of Bute, adorned with the most noble order of the Garter...and presiding over the finances of this kingdom....The wisdom of this measure hath been decried by shallow politicians, because two great rebellions from Scotland have within a few years disturbed the tranquility of this island, and shook the throne of two of the mildest and best sovereigns who ever governed a happy people....I...most sincerely hope, that as we now have a Scottish nobleman at the head of the treasury, his lordship will consider it as the truest economy to give some proper pensions to his countrymen the highland chiefs. (8)

In the third issue Wilkes ironically extends this connection between Scots and greed by suggesting that Scottish economic projects should be prioritized. The "Scottish" narrator suggests that "the first money issued by his Lordship should be the four thousand pounds very lately given for building a bridge over the Tweed," despite the fact that funding for repairing London's bridge had to be been raised by tolls, and Westminster-bridge required lottery support (11). England, he suggests, will gradually become an economic hinterland, with capital directed at improvements in the north. This process will be aided by the loss of English control of "British" appointments and pensions. Issue four focuses on Scottish access to preferment, stating that while the "Union placed the preferments in England within our view...the partiality of their statesmen...prevented our

20 I in no way want to suggest that Wilkes expected to be taken seriously by his audience. Nevertheless, he is exaggerating real fears in England and a degree of envy that England does not have the same sort of solidified identity that the English perceive Scotland to have.
obtaining them in such proportion as our consequence to the state, and our known loyalty, gave us reason to expect. These obstacles are now removed” (19).

Tropes of Britishness that foreground equality, friendship and a relationship of patriotic fellow citizens, Wilkes suggests, disguise a malignant mimicry, whose purpose is not merely, in Bhabha’s terms, to translate, misread and displace hierarchies, but to overturn them altogether. To emphasize this gap, Wilkes does not only dwell on national difference, but aligns it with ideas of rank, contrasting a corrupt Scottish aristocracy with a victimized English Everyman. Katie Trumpener, in her seminal work *Bardic Nationalism*, notes that “[i]f Scottish and Welsh nationalists are driven by a resentment of a hegemonic Englishness, this is, in fact, a nationalist formulation they have invented in their own image and that does not exist in England” (15). Wilkes’s multifaceted work, and the web of Scotophobic works that derived from it, appropriates imaginary hegemonies. He appeals to English anxiety over a loss of national identity within the nebulous category of Britishness by creating a hegemonic Scottishness that threatens English identity. This form of Scottishness, he implies, derives from aristocratic Scottish power (associated with the Stuarts) but threatens the English people at all levels, as positions that should go to the English middling ranks based on merit are seen to be distributed to Scots of the lowest possible ranks and qualifications, for Scots will always favour Scots. This sentiment is expressed (and countered) in a pro-Bute dialogue published in *The Political Controversy* in January 1763. One of the characters insists that “the Scotch have all a bias to each others interest; they are too national” (425).21 The marginalization of the English, Wilkes suggests, will be the result. Moreover, bringing

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21 The dialogue is an extract from *The Chronicle*, Volume 2, vumber XII.
commercial matters that Home and Macpherson had sought to avoid back into the
equation, Wilkes suggests that socio-economic decisions will now favour Scotland,
northern projects being given higher priority. England, he claims, is potentially marginal,
in danger of colonization by slow infiltration of Scots into the South and transfer of
financial/monetary funds to the north.\textsuperscript{22}

Smollett’s mimicry, Wilkes suggests, elides more than economic colonization. In
addition to the material infiltration of England, Wilkes’s \textit{North Briton} ‘celebrates’ the
new capability of Scots to take control of the ideological apparatus of the nation – British
culture: and I use culture here to mean Raymond Williams’s concept of intellectual,
literary and artistic activity that helps to formulate a sense of national identity (Buzard
\textit{Beaten Track} 7). While Wilkes opens Scottish literary achievement to ridicule through
having his Scottish narrator eagerly contrast the established work of Shakespeare to
recent Scottish works, he simultaneously plays into a real sense of anxiety in England
that Scottish national identity appeared more cohesive and attractive than that of England.
John Brown, in his \textit{Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times} (1757),
responded to this unease when he noted that England lacked a “great and comprehensive
principle of public spirit, or love of country,” suggesting that contempt for this powerful
and valuable principle is the reason that the English “deride the inhabitants of a sister-
kingdom for their national attachments and regards” (63).

The North British narrator boasts of this Scottish cultural superiority, noting,

\textsuperscript{22} Interestingly McClintock claims that according to the trope of anachronistic space, colonized people do
not inhabit history proper (for the Victorians). The problem for Wilkes was that people who ought to be
perceived as colonized or at the very least marginal, were not only inhabiting history proper, they were
potentially shaping the present and future. (30).
[w]e are certainly growing into fashion. The most rude of our bards are admired; and I know some choice wits here, who have thrown aside Shakespeare, and taken up *Fingal*, charmed with the variety of character, and richness of imagery. Mr. Horace Walpole, in that deep book called *Royal and Noble Authors*, says, we are the most accomplished nation in Europe; the nation to which, if any one country is endowed with a superior part of sense (and he ought to have added of humour and taste, in both which we excel) I should be inclined to give the preference in that particular. (11)

Wilkes anticipates Robert Crawford's tongue-in-cheek reference to the Scottish invention of English literature, for, at the very least, Wilkes was ironically suggesting there was a Scottish *invasion* of English literature. In the seventh number of the *North Briton* (written by Churchill) a future newspaper, available through the second sight of a letter writer “B. Mac Stuart,” outlines the extent to which Scottish culture will erase English identity. He notes that “[t]he managers of both theatres have received orders to lay aside the custom of representing the tragedy of *Tamerlane* on King William’s birthday and instead thereof to entertain the public on that occasion with Home’s *Douglas* and the *Gentle Shepherd*” (37). Number 26 reinforces this sentiment in a long poem. Rather than focus on classic poets, the poet suggests, poets should pay attention to Scottish verse which alone possesses “the pow’rs of Song” while “England’s genius droops his wing” (164). Connecting emergent Scottish culture to familiar economic accusations, the poet proclaims that
Macpherson leads the flaming van,
Laird of the new Fingalian clan;
While Jackey Home brings up the rear,
With new-got pension, neat and clear,
Three hundred English pounds a year.

(163, 164)

The underside of the tropology of fellow-citizenship, Wilkes suggests, is the erasure of English cultural identity — a sense of intellectual and artistic achievement that contributes to a cohesive national identity. This erasure is unnatural, founded on commercial greed and aristocratic favoritism rather than on merit. To underline the deviance of any claims to Scottish literary superiority, Wilkes mocks Scottish ‘appropriation’ of the high genres of the English — tragedy and epic. In his preface to a re-publication of *The Fall of Mortimer*, Wilkes writes that he offers a tragedy, “the most grave and moral of all poems” because Bute is the most grave, the most moral of all men. A witty comedy I would never have offered to your Lordship, nor indeed to any of your countrymen. Wit is an *ignis fatuus*, which bewilders and leads us astray. It is the primrose path, which conducts to folly. Your Lordship has never deviated into it. You have marched on with solemn dignity, keeping the true tragic step, and have on the greatest occasions (...) in the House of Lords) exhibited to the world what you learnt on the stage, the most pompous diction with the boldest theatrical swell.23

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23 Wilkes, Preface to *The Fall of Mortimer*, xii, xiii. The play was revived in the 1730s in regards to Walpole. According to the ESTC the Walpolean revival was by William Hatchett, which was based on William Mountfort’s “King Edward the Third.”
Wilkes's work is thick with disparaging implications. The tragic form looks ridiculous through its association with the Scottish Bute, with his unnatural lack of wit and overly ornate speech. Wilkes also implies that Bute is an actor, mimicking Britishness in order to put into place Scottish ideals of government. Wilkes implies that he is behind a series of pretentious Scottish productions designed to increase his fame, and requests that he "command Mr. Murphy, as Mr. Macpherson says you commanded him to publish the prose-poems of Fingal and Temora," to perfect the work on Mortimer (xiv).

In the Prophecy of Famine (1762), a satiric work designed to mock the pastoral genre often associated with Scottish writers such as Allan Ramsay, Wilkes's colleague Churchill also uses bombast and parody to ridicule the epic pretensions of Macpherson. Introducing his subject matter, Churchill questions whether an English muse can attempt the quality of production

which Bute may praise, and Ossian not disdain,

Ossian, sublimest, simplest bard of all,

Whom English infidels, Macpherson call. (13)

He then moves to a pastoral scene where two unkempt and foolish Scottish shepherds talk of how, after they gain power in England, Jockey would play the bagpipes all day and Sawney would "without remorse...bawl Home's madrigals, and ditties from Fingal" (14). Bringing together vulgar representations of Scots with high literary genres holds the literary pretensions of the Scottish Moderate literati up as objects of ridicule.

Wilkes's insistence that Smollett and Bute were engaged in acts of mimicry, meant to disguise colonizing impulses emanating from Scotland, and that Fingal's model of egalitarian friendship was unnatural, given the naturally inferior position of Scots, was
clearly effective, at least in the short term. He taps into a real English anxiety that the Briton’s and Bute’s appeals to British patriotism hide Scottish threats to English political, economic and cultural development. Lest it seem a far-fetched assumption to suggest that mere comic statements in a periodical could impel English readers into a state of anxiety and aggression, it is important to remember that many were motivated to threaten Bute and his countrymen physically by the way they were represented in anti-Bute material. The best known incident, of course, is Boswell’s account of the mob’s attack on two Highland officers during a performance of a comic opera at Covent Garden in December, 1762 (71). Bute himself was attacked a number of times, and was frequently burned in effigy. The heightened anti-Scottish feeling even had economic consequences. John Home’s 1769 tragedy, The Fatal Discovery, was introduced to its audiences as a play by an Oxford student because of rampant Scotophobia. When “the success of the play caused Home to declare himself the real author...[t]he result...was a poor attendance at the succeeding number of representations, and the piece ran only a few nights longer” (Home Douglas 11).

Wilkes’s success may in part be due to the strong relationship he was able to draw between tropology and mimicry. His focus on the hidden aspirations of the Scots lurking under tropes of “Britishness” or “friendship” exposes the “advantage” hoped to be gained

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24 The tendency of Scots to use Scottish connections to negotiate their way through British society, something we see Boswell attempt to do in his Journals, and the sense of group identification held by Scots in England (likely as a result of their minority position), did cause a sense among the English that it was the Scots who were in fact prejudiced against the English, the peripheries that were excluding the centre. English anxiety may have been exacerbated by a certain lack of an explicitly English identity within England.

25 The title of this tragedy had been changed from Rivine in order to avoid open associations with the character in Macpherson's work on whom the play was based.

26 John Murray, the Scottish printer and bookseller, to avoid a similar negative reaction, ensured that his 1769 republication of John Harvey's Bruciad, an epic poem on Robert the Bruce, was substantially edited to eradicate potentially offensive anti-English material (Zachs 93).
by the trope, destabilizing the trope itself. At the same time, accusing the Scots of mimicry, Wilkes is also disturbing the relationship between Scots and those who would consider themselves Britons. The relationship between periphery and centre, he suggests, is like a trope in that it brings together two different things—a relationship between regions and a term that hides the differences between regions “with some advantage” to the peripheries, allowing the peripheries to mimic allegiance to a rhetorical device. Having established that Scots are merely mimics, and mimics with an agenda, any political action that Bute would take could be interpreted through a horizon of expectations that has denaturalized his claims to Britishness. In order to accomplish this specific political purpose, however, the broader objectives of the Moderate literati to construct an egalitarian, masculine concept of Britain had been seriously undermined.

Family Conflicts

In the first chapter, we looked at the use of familial tropes by anti-Union writers to “expose” and rebut the language of gentility, rationality and egalitarian exchange that marked pro-Union pamphlets. Wilkes uses similar discursive techniques, in this case, to ‘expose’ the Scots, rather than the English, as self-interested and manipulative, covertly pursuing power and commercial advantage. Exposing mimicry was only one technique Wilkes used to undercut tropes of union. The trope of familial relations had been used to naturalize union, not only by literary writers like Smollett who concludes Roderick Random with an Anglo-Scottish marriage, but also more indirectly by the propagandists of George III, who associated the royal family with Britishness rather than Englishness. Through the British monarchs, concepts of Britishness were strengthened by references to fertility and reproduction. George III, by his marriage and rapid production of children,
presented an image of a secure and fertile line, qualities which ministry writers suggested would naturally follow in the British nation. To undercut this rich and promising tropology of Britishness, the family, and more specifically the royal family, would have to be attacked by opposition writers, who could again expose the gap between the trope and its underside, the grotesque and unnatural balance of power in the royal family and therefore in the nation. Wilkes and his circle worked hard to present the royal family as a synecdoche for a nation in danger of self-destruction from a combination of its own illicit desires, naivety and external seductive forces.

Linda Colley, in a fascinating account of the Wilkite period, notes that the successful integration of Scots into England resulted in an obsession in so much written and visual polemic at this time with Scottish sexual potency. The most extreme expression of this was the claim that Lord Bute was bedding George III's mother, the Princess dowager....This was not an attack on immorality in high places. The accusation that one Scottish minister was penetrating the mother of the King of England was symbolic shorthand for the real anxiety: namely, that large numbers of Scots were penetrating England itself, compromising its identity, winning access to its riches and cutting out English men.

(121,122)

Wilkes was not the origin of these rumours, although he played a key part in arousing English anxiety about Scottish power in England through the symbolic relationship.27 Herbert Atherton suggests that “[m]alicious insinuations and gossip about Bute’
relationship with the Princess probably began in the 1750s,” although he clarifies that “there is no evidence of it... in the satirical prints of those years” (218). Nobbe notes that “the story [of an affair] received wide credence among the populace at the time,” but implies that Wilkes’s North Briton of July 3, 1762 is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, work to solidify such allegations in print (140). The North Briton only mentioned this alleged relationship occasionally. Mimicry rather than sexuality was Wilkes’s central means of attack. Yet the allegations soon took on a life of their own, likely assisted by others in the anti-ministry party. Vincent Carretta’s George III and the Satirists from Hogarth to Byron and Herbert M. Atherton’s Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth enumerate dozens of satirical prints that lasciviously represented the national implications of this imagined relationship. And frequently, as Colley notes, sexuality was the most prominent component of these works.

Wilkes’s brief references to the metaphoric relationship between Bute and Princess Augusta focused on more than just illicit sex, although they certainly did that as well. Wilkes represents the royal family as a highly “dysfunctional” family, with the young George III as an innocent childlike figure under the control of two corrupt parental figures, one of whom was actually an unnatural interloper into the familial unit and endangered the unit as a whole. Wilkes’s perverse quasi-family highlights the perceived inequality of the union, and, in that sense, it bears some resemblance to that of the pamphlets surrounding the original union in 1707, although centre/periphery relations are, of course, inverted.

27 As Colley points out, and as is evident in David Hancock’s book, Citizens of the World, Scots were indeed increasingly successful in England, not merely in the cultural or political spheres, but also in trade and business.
Wilkes does not, like Wright in *Fergusia and Heptarchus*, use the gender-based inequality inherent in the family model to critique the union. Using existing rumours about actual people as the basis for his synendoche limited his material. However, the particular intricacies of this alleged adulterous relationship worked very well for his purposes. He suggests, in terms that anticipate Burke's *Reflections*, that the English family/nation is under an external threat. To Wilkes, however, this threat does not come from France, but from an unnatural Scottish manhood, and that this threat is being facilitated by unnatural English desire. The unnatural nature of Scottish masculinity in this trope is most clearly exemplified by an anonymous work that was published in the midst of the Wilkes/Smollett conflict. In *Gisbal: An Hyperborean Tale: Translated from the Fragments of Ossian, the Son of Fingal* (1762), the author makes multiple references to the staff of Gisbal, “which he always bare upright” and which was “equal in bigness unto a weaver’s beam” (1). It is the unnatural largeness of Gisbal’s phallic staff that gives him access to England, for Bathsheeba the Hittite, representing the princess dowager, is filled with desire for Gisbal, noting “[l]et not thy thoughts run after wisdom, nor thy heart seek to know understanding for in an upright staff is more power, and words but fall short of the merit of a gigantic size” (6,7). The princess is seen to reject the pursuit of wisdom, understanding and language, surely necessary prerequisites for running a nation, for her lustful private desire.

In the writings of Wilkes, the vulnerability of England to the unnatural ascension of Scots derives from the absence of effective, independent paternal strength within

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28 Wilkes pre-empts Burke in a number of ways. Burke's *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* (1770), written, in part, to defend Wilkes against later charges brought against him, frequently blames the ministry and the 'king's friends' for disrupting ties of family and friendship. In *Reflections*, as a number of writers
England, an strength that could have been located in alternately, Frederick, the dead
father of George III, William Pitt, whose masculinity is embodied in his pro-war stance,
and the King’s uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, whose ability to free the nation from
irritating Scots had been well proven at Culloden. These sources of English strength
have been rejected, however, either from necessity or preference, leaving England
embodied by a widow, the dowager princess, and by her trusting, naive son, George III.

The fear embodied in Wilkes’s synechdoche is not so much directed at Scottish
ravishment of England as it is at English complicity in the Scotticization of England.
There is no suggestion of rape and relatively little suggestion of seduction either in
Wilkes’s work or in the accompanying prints. As Atherton points out, the Princess “more
than Bute, is associated with lust” (219). Wilkes suggests that it is what the widow
represents – an unnatural English desire for Scottish guidance (allegedly founded on
royal absolutism) and perhaps governance – that threatens the identity of the nation. This
balance of unnatural desire and vulnerability is reminiscent of Allan Ramsay’s Tale of
Three Bonnets, which we discussed in Chapter One, which divided Scotland. Joukum
has been replaced by the lascivious English widow who yearns for union, the foolish
Bawsy resembles the naive George III and other Englishmen who lack awareness of their
own vulnerability, and Wilkes and the knowledgeable English reader are substituted for
the honourable Bristle.

The suggestion of (English) national principles betrayed for personal gain also
echoes the accusations of bribery leveled at the Scottish parliament for conceding in the
Union. One of the anonymous works included in the Political Controversy or Weekly

have noted, Burke highlights the threat he perceives the nation is under by dwelling on a sentimental image
of the French royal family under attack, this time from class-based forces.
Magazine of Ministerial and Anti-ministerial Essays highlights this complicity, noting that “[t]he Scots, notwithstanding what they affect to appear and what some Scotchified, pensioned, influenced, and prostituted Englishmen are endeavouring to make them appear, are in reality the enemies and rivals of all Englishmen” (260). The Princess Dowager, to a degree, plays the role of the pensioned, prostituted Englishmen, who invite and celebrate integration – on Scottish terms, oblivious to the fact that the Scots are natural enemies of the English. Whereas Wilkes’s use of parody raises the concern that Scots will assume power through trickery, he engages with images of the royal family to speculate on the results of this colonization, specifically that the English will lose their sense of identity. The result of the multifaceted (economic, military, aristocratic, religious, political and cultural) penetration of England is perhaps best captured in the mock-obituary Churchill includes at the end of the seventh number of the North Briton. “Some time since died Mr. John Bull, a very worthy, plain, honest old gentleman of Saxon descent; he was choked by inadvertently swallowing a thistle, which he had placed by way of ornament on the top of his salad” (38).

Wilkes’s two central references to the alleged relationship between Augusta and Bute are folded within historical references to Edward III, his mother Isabella and her rumoured lover Mortimer, allowing Wilkes to pretend he is directing his criticism at the distant past. He takes this to the fullest degree in the preface to the Fall of Mortimer, dedicated to Bute, which abounds with claims that he is absolutely not alluding to the present ministry since “the throne is not now besieged. Court favour, not confined to one partial stream,” and, in a tongue-in-cheek reference to the tension between Bute and the

29 The Political Controversy was one of the periodical compilations of material relating to the periodical disputes of the time. This is a letter to the weekly magazine from one “Justum” (260).
king's uncle, Cumberland, "there is now the most perfect union among all the branches of
the Royal Family" (iii). The use of this particular allusion is not merely camouflage. It
allows Wilkes to increase the connotations of depravity associated with the tale of an
illicit union by integrating it not only with the story of the child king and the politically-
corrupt favorite, with the hope that Bute — like Mortimer — will be defeated, but also
with a suggestion of regicide, Isabella and Mortimer having been suspected of the murder
of Edward II, the young king's father.\textsuperscript{30} Such connections may seem extreme, and Wilkes
does not play on them when he introduces the idea, although he does briefly revisit the
idea in the preface to the \textit{Fall of Mortimer}. Such extreme implications were in
circulation, however, in anonymous works like \textit{The Blessings of ****, and a Scotch
Excise: or the Humbug Resignation} (1763), which suggest that Bute's ultimate goal is to
perform the ultimate unnatural act for one who is acting in a paternal role, and "dispose"
of the monarch, his 'son' (27). Indeed, Carretta points to a connection between such
accusations and the work of Wilkes and Churchill. Speaking of a print, \textit{Claudius Pouring
Poison into the King's Ear, as he is Sleeping in the Garden}, published in 1769, he notes
that while on one level it refers to theatrical productions "performed at Leicester House
during the king's minority," it also suggests that "George is the analogue to both Hamlet
the father and Hamlet the son in Shakespeare's play. Bute and the Princess of Wales are
accused of having conspired to kill Frederick, Prince of Wales...an accusation Churchill
anticipated in \textit{The Conference} (1763)" (68).\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{30} The use of Mortimer for partisan purposes was not new. The \textit{Fall of Mortimer} had been used in relation
to Walpole. It had been rewritten in the 1731 to make it more relevant to contemporary British politics. For
more information on the revisions, see Lance Bertelsen's article, "The Significance of the 1731 Revisions to
the Fall of Mortimer."

\textsuperscript{31} In \textit{The Blessings of Pxxxx}, there are hints that Bute is aiming towards revolution and the possible murder
of George III.
Despite the implicit references to a potentially violent coup that both Wilkes and Churchill raise, the central objectives in Wilkes's historical allusion are slightly less nefarious. The first is to dwell on the unnatural nature of Mortimer's relationship with the queen and the unnatural position of power that emerges from this "depraved" union. He spends a great deal of time exploring whether or not the relationship between Mortimer and Isabella was sexual. The historians, he claims, "left us a clue to lead us through this labyrinth [of his sudden rise to power]; for they scruple not to affirm that as Mortimer was indebted for the enormity of his power to a criminal correspondence with the Queen Mother, so too honest insinuations of this given to the king must be ascribed his amazing downfall" (26, 27). Placing emphasis on the adulterous and illicit nature of this "courtship," Wilkes and his circle denaturalize the desire that threatens to disrupt the English family. The Scot, in this configuration, is not naturally part of the English family, or at least cannot naturally assume a paternalistic position, despite the attempts of writers such as Smollett in *Roderick Random* to introduce Anglo-Scottish courtship and marital union. Moreover, the attempt of Voltaire’s translator to use the trope of family to naturalize union, and to reduce any perceived Caledonian threat by representing the new Scotland as a woman, is undercut by Wilkes’s insistence on a violent Scottish masculinity.

Wilkes’s second key objective in the use of the Princess dowager and Bute is to suggest that the power acquired through unnatural passions is itself unnatural and defective, centered on personal emotion rather than on reason and gentility, as claimed by Smollett. Power achieved this way is not concerned with the good of the people. Preempting Burke’s later claims that a shadow cabinet was determined to tear down well-
established institutions designed to protect the people, Wilkes dwells on the fact that these unnatural passions – Bute’s personal desire for absolute/Scottish power and Augusta’s willingness to facilitate that passion to quench her own lust – have overturned the institutional protections of the national good. In Mortimer’s case, he claims that the people initially did not know how to respond to this as they

were unexperienced as to the effects of a minority under the direction of a other, actuated by strong passions, and influenced by an insolent minister. By the laws of the realm it was necessary that a Regency, consisting of twelve of the nobility, should be appointed for the government of the state; but though the form of this was complied with...yet Mortimer...was, through the ascendancy he had obtained over the Queen Mother, in fact the sole regent. (25)

Institutions celebrated by Whiggish history for their ability to disseminate power were under threat by a Scottish Mortimer, whose non-partisan stance seemed actually to be a means to allow old Tory ideas about divine monarchy to be revived – and would benefit Bute personally through his associations and influence over the monarchy.

In addition to demonstrating the unnatural nature of Scottish authority in Britain and to suggesting the frightening results of such authority, the use of the unstable royal family also holds out hope for national redemption. Whereas Allan Ramsay, writing after the Union, could only hope for the return of the bonnets/autonomy to the Scots at some distant unstated time in the future, Wilkes centres his hope on the far more tangible George III who represents both himself, and the English who seem apathetic to Wilkes’s
cause.\textsuperscript{32} George is not like Ramsay’s foolish Bawsy who sees no way to escape from Rosie’s aggressive rule. Rather, Wilkes compares him to the young Edward III, who, having realized the state of the kingdom, took action to overthrow Mortimer and remove his mother from power.\textsuperscript{33} On the one hand, Wilkes raises fears about the king’s Scotticization through a Lockean upbringing shaped by the Scottish minister. On the other hand, the emphasis on the unnatural elements in Wilkes’s “family” foregrounds George’s Englishness – he is born in England and is not the son of a Scotsman, thus is not naturally inclined to follow Scottish ways. As he grows older and develops rationally, the natural appeal of the English people to their English king will overcome any feelings acquired in unnatural ways.\textsuperscript{34}

A third way Wilkes and his circle tackled Anglo-Scottish tropes of sexual desire was to tackle the model of the sympathetic Scotswoman. They make a specific attack on the idea of a vulnerable Scottish femininity that led to English sympathy and cross-border handshakes in the works of Macpherson, Home and Voltaire’s translator. Scottish women are transformed into hideous or aggressive personifications. Famine, in

\textsuperscript{32} Carretta points out the conflation between George III and the English people in many caricatures of the time which merge George III and John Bull (57, 301-107). Carretta notes, "During 1762, when Bute was the primary target and satirists often sought to underscore the king's role as victim, several prints, at times very casually linked George and John Bull. George acts as an analogue of John Bull when Bute victimizes both in prints" (302).

\textsuperscript{33} In 1763, Wilkes offered two rather different readings of the alleged affair between Bute and the dowager princess. The first is in the \textit{Fall of Mortimer} where he repeats many sexual allegations. In the second mention, in the \textit{North Briton}, Wilkes presents a triple reading of Mortimer and Isabella, looking at them not only in comparison to present day politics, but in relation to Anne and Marlborough. From this perspective, and in relation to that Earl Mortimer and Isabella, the queen seems to have become a victim of her own passions. "As soon as that earl Mortimer had effectually secured his interest with the Queen, he kept her in a state of imprisonment, and suffered none, but his own creatures to be about her person. The sovereign was then actually in a state of thralldom, and what is infinitely the worst kind of slavery, was held in a captivity of the understanding. The royal mind was enslaved in the most wretched manner....That Earl Mortimer got privately into the palace by means of one, bad ungrateful woman, Mrs. Masham; and in a short time completed his ascendancy over the mind of the sovereign. Here I do not find the least similitude" (260, 261).
Churchill’s *Prophecy of Famine*, whose “shrivell’d skin,” “foul limbs” and bared bones, were covered by a distinctly Scottish “Tatter’d Plaid,” is one example of this trope (21). It is Famine who encourages the foolish shepherds to believe that the Scots will achieve power over their “kind neighbor” through trickery (25). This revised version of Scottish motherhood counters that of Home’s tragic Lady Douglas who seeks to unite in peace. Famine seeks to ‘unite’ only to achieve power. Her obscene and unnatural body, marked by rotting flesh and protruding bones, counters the power of the pure beauty of Constantia or the ephemeral Agandecca to inspire friendship and forgiveness between past enemies. It also echoes the discourse of disgust used to mark Scottish women on the few occasions they are mentioned in the work of Wilkes and Churchill.\(^{35}\) In the thirteenth issue, Churchill inserts James Howell’s mid-seventeenth century *Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland*. After a series of xenophobic remarks, Howell notes of Scottish women,

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\begin{align*}
\text{[p]ride is a thing bred in their bones, and their flesh naturally abhors cleanliness; their breath commonly stinks of pottage, their linen of P-ss, their hands of pigs t--ds, their body of sweat, and their splay-feet never offend in socks. To be chained in marriage with one of them were to be tied to a dead carcass, and cast into a stinking ditch. (79)}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{34}\) This ability to separate the king from the plentitude of accusatory material explains why Brewer can assert that Wilkes “was remarkably loyalist” despite the voluminous anti-ministry material he produces (190).

\(^{35}\) Wilkes’s attitude to women was never particularly positive, as is evident in his *Essay on Women*. Whereas the anti-woman poem he produced with Thomas Potter focuses on women as a mere source of sexual relief, in true Rochesterian style, Scottish women, in the works of Churchill and Wilkes, do not even reach that “high” level of insult. They are not worthy of sexual congress, even of the most immoral kind.
Clearly this is neither an image that evokes English pathos nor inspires desire for union. But for the most part, Wilkes and Churchill foreground the threat of aggressive Scottish masculinity and unnatural English desire for this masculinity as a way to counter the feminine pathos promoted by Home and Macpherson.36

Thomas Pennant, Colley reminds us, writes of Scotland’s frustration with the political attacks against Scotland and its inhabitants (116). Ministry writers and Scots did not placidly accept Wilkes’s attacks. They specifically responded to the use of mimicry and the trope of the family/nation under siege. The effectiveness of their responses was varied, not merely because their circulation numbers were considerably less than that of the North Briton, but also because responding to these attacks allowed Wilkes to shape the nature of the dispute.37 But the effect of Wilkes’s work went far beyond political debate. I will also briefly consider their influence on tropes of union created by Scottish writers and will argue that emergent tropes of friendship and courtship had to be reconstructed.

**Rebutting Wilkes’s Accusations of Mimicry**

Smollett’s response to Wilkes’s mimicry and its derogatory implications played right into his adversary’s hands. Smollett is frequently diverted from discussions of

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36 At times, writers involved in the Wilkes/Bute exchange did actually use victimized images of women to represent England. One W.W., in a letter to the editor of the Political Controversy of Aug, 1763 speaks of a dream he had in which Britannia was acting as Cato in a stageplay. After a long speech on English liberty she embraces the bible and the Magna Carta, pushing away a large bag of money which, she says, "defiles the patriot’s mind" (138). As she finishes her speech, there is an outcry and "several people dressed in blue bonnets and tartans" seize the money and drive her off the stage. The master of the show then comes out and says they cannot go on with the play because "Madam Britannia, that did the part of Cato, was arrested by an Exciseman" (138). This last reference is, of course to the unpopular cider excise which Bute instigated in 1763.

37 Smollett and Murphy’s papers were not well read according to John Almon’s, admittedly partisan, “Life of Wilkes,” which was published in The Correspondence of the Late John Wilkes, with his Friends in 1805.
political issues into tired reiterations of Anglo-Scottish unity. In issue four of the *Briton* he condemns English tendencies to judge Scots negatively based solely on their place of origin. Eliding his own Scottishness, he insists that the "Scot and we are fellow-subjects...that for more than a century past, they have been indiscriminately employed in the army, in the navy, and in the state: that they have borne the first offices in the cabinet and in the field, and generally executed their respective trusts with diligence and fidelity" (257).\(^3^8\) In issue eight, he notes that he would be sorry to see the kingdom ruled by a Scotch cabal, and tries to explain rationally that only two members of the ministry were Scottish. The considerable attention Smollett pays to defending Scots, however, emphasizes the very difference and doubleness he had tried to erase in the *Briton*, and that Wilkes was promoting in the *North Briton*. Smollett’s seamless and egalitarian trope reverts to an image of Briton as the uncomfortable coexistence of two different, unstable identities, with power dynamics that continually need to be renegotiated. As Janet Sorensen points out, this defensive posture leads him to displace difference and hierarchy onto class.\(^3^9\) In issue six, in a letter of apology to Bute, he suggests Bute’s defamers are lower-class, not the true English people. Sorensen traces the emergence of Smollett’s displacement of insider/outside relationships from spatial to class to the representation of the illiterate lower-class Winifred Bullcalf in issue 11.\(^4^0\) Wilkes is able to respond powerfully to this claim, however, for his own construct of a colonized England had, as I have mentioned, its own concept of class. Ordinary English men and women, he

\(^3^8\) This appears in a letter to the *Briton*, but is likely Smollett mimicking Englishness.

\(^3^9\) See *Grammar of Empire*, chapter 3.

\(^4^0\) Sorensen suggests these deflections continue in Humphry Clinker.
suggested, were being marginalized by Scottish aristocratic authority. His response to Smollett predictably fell back on outrage at this example of Northern ascendancy.

To further strengthen the ministry’s position, Henry Fox, who had been brought into Bute’s cabinet in 1762, enlisted the Irish dramatist Arthur Murphy to start another periodical supporting Bute, *The Auditor*. Murphy had been a published journalist since the early 1750s and he had written political material for Fox before. This time, his skills were to be harnessed to assist Smollett defend the ministry. This paper began a week after the appearance of the *North Briton* (Nobbe 33). George Nobbe asserts that “Arthur Murphy was a more agile antagonist than Smollett,” pointing out his “quicker wit...better sources of information” and lack of qualms about engaging in personal abuse (160, 161). Indeed, it seems Wilkes himself thought that Murphy was a more adept challenge than Smollett (Dunbar 152). Murphy, perhaps because he was not personally offended by anti-Scottish material, did not allow Wilkes to define the terms of their debate - to center it on Scottishness as difference or on exposing placid tropes of friendship as rhetorical devices meant to hide the material power struggle inherent in Anglo-Scottish relations. Rather, he took on the fundamental problem behind the xenophobia — English anxiety about English identity. Echoing Defoe’s *True Born Englishman*, Murphy foregrounds the mixed nature of English identity in two carefully selected instances. First, in issue number three, he refers to Defoe’s original reason for writing his national poem: the false, exaggerated propaganda surrounding the Dutch at the time of the accession of the icon of Whig mythology, William of Orange. He reminds his audience that

> when William the third come [sic] to deliver this country from popery and arbitrary power, I find that the topic of national prejudice was of singular
use to the libellers of that time... One of these pamphleteers very archly squints at his being a Dutchman, and insinuates that he wore seven pairs of breeches; he then proceeds to observe that he was very fond of pickled herrings... a standing army of Dutchmen was to be maintained in this kingdom to sniggersnee the honest natives; twenty thousand Laplanders were hourly expected, in order to be provided for. (15)

From a position of English dissonance, Murphy then critiques those who work up a similar unfounded prejudice against the Scots. Ideas of an English purity endangered by Scottish penetration, he implies, are misconceived. His selection of the Whiggish moment of national rebirth, a moment greatly idealized by Wilkes and his circle, is particularly apt, demonstrating that William III is just as vulnerable to accusations of national inferiority and greed as Bute.

Second, Murphy foregrounds difference in a contemporary figure, a member of Wilkite circles, the Anglo-Jamaican Alderman Beckford. Rather than stressing dissonance within tropes of national identity, Murphy, in the fourth issue, asserts the instability of national identity as a concept. He comments, “national abuse is the last poor subterfuge of bankrupts in wit; and that there is not existing a single character which may not be attacked in this way” (20). William Beckford, who became Lord Mayor of London in 1762, was “the virulent opponent of Bute and the King’s Friends, and the possessor of fabulous wealth acquired from family estates in India and the West Indies” (Oliver 1).41 In a letter from “a creole,” Murphy mimics Wilkes’s parody of Smollett, using the same terminology used to ridicule Bute. Moreover, anticipating later colonial
discourse, Murphy conflates Beckford’s place of birth with the race of the native inhabitants of Jamaica.\(^{42}\) His ‘creole’ notes that he knows his countrymen are represented as

men of crazy imaginations, over-heated brains, loose morals, immoderate luxury, and uncontrollable pride....[We] have been called the offspring of violated widows and ravished negro-girls; that it has been objected to us that we, in general, come over to this kingdom to brag of our large estates, our number of slaves, and our hogsheads of sugar, in order to raise a credit, which we scandalously abuse....I shall not be at any pains to refute these accusations, because if they are true, our triumph is to see Mr. Alderman Beckford made the chief magistrate of the city of London. (21)

Murphy’s doubled parody stresses the slippery nature of national identity in general, its ability to be manipulated to exclude or include various groups or individuals. At the same time, his use of parody — the letter from a Creole — renders suspect the validity of Wilkes’s use of parody as a means to expose “truth,” to uncover gaps between vehicle and tenor. Parody is exposed as just another means to twist language and misrepresent identity for partisan purposes.

Smollett also eventually resorts to this form of parody, not only mimicking the lower-class Englishwoman, Winifred Bullcalf, as Janet Sorensen points out, but also attacking Beckford (136). In his 25\(^{th}\) issue (13 Nov, 1762), Smollett includes a letter from “Junius Brutus Cockney” which demands that the Mayor of London be made prime

\(^{41}\) From J. W Oliver’s *Life of William Beckford*. A brief synopsis of Beckford the elder’s life and character can also be found in the first two chapters of *Beckford of Fonthill*. Beckford was the father of William Beckford, the author of *Vathek*. 
minister since he is “born to empire...sucked ideas of government from the breast of his nurse who was a blackamoor princess...and along with these a disposition to benevolence and humanity: that from his tender years, he hath been accustomed to the exercise of absolute dominion, over some thousands of his fellow-creatures” (364).

Despite the attempts of Smollett and Murphy to deflect attacks on tropes of egalitarian Anglo-Scottish relations, such as fellow-citizens or friends, models of Anglo-Scottish relations based on masculinity did seem damaged. In a pamphlet published in London in 1763, *A Second Letter to the Author of the North Briton...*, the writer laments that Scots have been fighting and dying for their king and country overseas, but, rather than receiving public honour, they are faced with newspapers filled with harangues on Scots rebels. He adds,

> [t]he officers returned from the toils of war, instead of being encouraged to cultivate that generous and noble friendship, which is the summit of military virtue, and gratefully to call up the mutual obligations they owe each other for the tenderest good offices in foreign climes, are now diverted by periodical papers about C[hurchill] and W[ilke]s distorted parallels between the impious Tiberius, and his most sacred majesty King George, or between Sejanus, a wretch in private life, a minion of the former, and Lord Bute, the faithful trustee to the throne. (21, 22)

Smollett, as we shall discuss shortly, picks up on this image of the under-appreciated soldier who has suffered for his country in his portrait of Lismahago in *Humphry Clinker*. Scottish masculinity has been textually wounded.

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42 This is not unlike the concept of “white negroes” that McClintock links to the Irish in the mid to late nineteenth century (52, 53).
Political Responses to Wilkes's (Mis)use of the Family

Smollett and Murphy respond to Wilkes's denaturalization of the royal family in sharply different ways. In addition to reacting with outrage to the accusations about Augusta and Bute and denouncing the use of such personal attacks in general, Smollett detaches his masculine exemplars from the family, constructing masculine tropes of British identity that deal with the area of public matters. In issue 26, he talks of the nation as an estate, run by Fitzgeorge, who is trying to manage his servants, some of whom are corrupt. In issue 38, he writes of the nation as a ship which is steered off course by Pitt and rescued by a heroic Bute. The onslaught of anti-Scottish material, however, leads Smollett to rethink the nature of the Anglo-Scottish union in *Humphry Clinker*. The result is a less optimistic model of Great Britain. The proto-national tale solution of wedded bliss is rejected in his last novel and, as I shall discuss shortly, the model of masculine friendship is revived, if somewhat battered and bruised.

Murphy uses a two-pronged approach to attack Wilkes. First, he challenges Wilkes's qualifications as a moral arbiter regarding natural familial relations by accusing him of unbecoming and aggressively unnatural behaviour towards Bute's teenage son. Whereas Smollett explicitly refuses to attack Wilkes's family or personal life, Murphy has no such qualms, although at one point he ironically claims "[o]f your behaviour to a wife, who trusted her person and her fortune to you, I shall not here make mention; your atheism, your obscenity, and your buffooning jests upon every thing that is true, good or praise-worthy I shall pass over in silence; the ruin of your private fortune I

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43 See issue 37 for Smollett's attack on Wilkes for insulting the royal family.
shall not state” (99). In an accusation that greatly concerns Wilkes and, for perhaps the only time in the history of the North Briton, puts him on the defensive, Murphy states that during a visit to a Winchester bookshop, Wilkes by chance ran into Bute’s twelve year old son. Wilkes allegedly told the boy, “young gentleman, your father will have his head cut off – Sir! – He will lose his head in less than six months.” When the young lad objected, insisting that his father had many friends, including George III, Wilkes is said to have replied, “Ay! He is your father’s great puppy dog, – but depend on it your father will lose his head, or the mob shall tear him to pieces” (114). The young man then tearfully ran out of the store, calling Wilkes a “squinting scoundrel” (114). Murphy sarcastically informs his readers that he has told this story to demonstrate “what a truly heroic, manly and liberal mind” Wilkes possesses (114). This highly unlikely story not only attempts to deflate Wilkes’s heroism, it also challenges his ability to make moral judgements on the royal family, and, in particular, to critique Bute’s oppression of the young ‘childlike’ king. His own oppressive behaviour with children disrupts the domestic. In recognition of the danger of this approach, Wilkes spent several issues working to vindicate his reputation.

Second, Murphy refuses to take a defensive position on the royal family. Rather, he promotes a British national courtship, one aligned with Bolingbroke’s concept of the patriot king. He celebrates the union of the young British king, George, and his beloved queen, Charlotte of Mecklenberg-Strelitz, centering on the pending, and then actual, birth, of the young prince of Wales. This regeneration of the nation through its monarchs,

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44 Smollett states his unwillingness to attack Wilkes personally in issue 37 of the Briton. Murphy makes the aforementioned attack in issue 17.
45 This story occurs at the end of issue 19, published Thursday, September 30, 1762.
Murphy asserts, is directly beneficial to the liberty of the British people. Whereas the *North Briton* lampoons the many complimentary poems surrounding birth of the prince, Murphy upholds the Queen-Consort as one of the principal instruments by which providence may either defeat or perpetuate the succession in the house of Hanover. Should the royal nuptials not happen to be favoured by heaven, and remain unproductive of issue, the

security of our happy establishment would in time begin to be precarious, and every Briton would be alarmed for our civil and religious liberty. New provisions would be necessary to be made by parliament, and eventually the nation might be obliged to entrust the constitution to newcomers, wholly unacquainted with our laws, our language, and our manners....A Queen, therefore, whose conjugal felicity is crowned with a numerous offspring, gives the people of England new guardians of their liberties, and raises fresh bulwarks around the constitution in church and state. She does more for our protection than all our ministers and all our wars have done for several years past....This great national felicity is in part derived to us from her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager, to whom we owe the happiness of having so just and equitable a sovereign at present, together with a large collateral security for the succession in that illustrious house, which has distinguished itself in the cause of liberty.

(63)

The national marriage on which Britain is founded, Murphy adds, is based on love, for “[we] have long known that his majesty was completely happy in his choice,” and that he
was "thoroughly blessed with domestic happiness and connubial felicity" (64). The issue ends with a discussion of the king’s obligation to raise a virtuous son who will learn to rule from watching the example of his father. This picture of domesticity rejects the unnatural familial relationship gleefully disseminated by Wilkes’s supporters, and asserts a familial model that once again naturalizes the British nation.\footnote{This tie between family and nation does foreshadow Burke's use of family and nation. However, Burke's overtly Whiggish approach to the nation does not allow him to tie this familial model directly to the British royal family, although he does linger on the downfall of the French royal family as an example of a ruptured nation controlled by the mob. Of course, as Deidre Lynch points out in "Domesticating Fictions and Nationalizing Women," Burke's familial model is deeply troubled.} This is not a family under siege, but a household built on natural desires. Wilkes’s source of disorder, Princess Augusta, through which Caledonians metaphorically penetrate the nation, is refigured as the source of order and stability. The king, by assuming the position of husband and father, implicitly contradicts the idea that Bute is illicitly filling that role.

Post-Bute Tropologies

The First Treaty of Paris, the peace treaty ending the Seven Years War, was promoted by Bute and signed in February 1763, but despite the valiant attempts of Smollett and Murphy, the Bute ministry itself was doomed to failure. Bute stepped down in April 1763, and the Anglo-Scottish conflict surrounding his ministry that had played out in the battle of the periodicals left its mark on the literary representation of Anglo-Scottish relations. Emergent concepts of Scottish masculinity had been attacked and this, along with the related Ossian controversy, fractured the explicitly Scottish project of the Moderate literati.\footnote{Of course this does not mean these writers stopped publishing, only that they changed direction. Robertson went on to focus on America, Ferguson went on to develop sociological theories, and after a few attempts to write plays that dealt with Scottish matters, Home focused on the same kind of classical plays produced by the literary mainstream.} This is not to suggest that Scottish men were unable to function and succeed within English society. Colley has clearly demonstrated that Scots made
substantial progress in the professions, trades, the empire and in state employment (126, 127). It was the cultural crystallization of this progress – its representation in literary works – that remained problematic. Of course, there was to be a glorious Scottish revival in the mid 1780s, stimulated by the work of Robert Burns, whose image, as an unthreatening, untaught plowman, was carefully crafted by the Edinburgh literati, and whose songs and poems would not have seemed as culturally pretentious as the forms favoured by Home and Macpherson. The extent of this revival would not have been foreseen in the sixties, however, and for those sympathetic to the Scottish cause, renegotiating the nation may well have seemed like an insurmountable task.48

Did the Wilkes/Smollett conflict influence the tropological configuration of Anglo-Scottish relations in the years that followed Bute’s resignation? One way to assess influence is to examine the ‘post-Bute’ tropes produced by the Scottish writers whose work we discussed in Chapters Two and Three. In the final portion of this chapter, I will assess the tropology of Macpherson and Smollett following the Bute dispute and gesture towards its influence on models of union that gained strength in the 1780s and 1790s. Macpherson, I will suggest, counters Wilkes’s accusations of unnatural sexuality and mimicry by reverting to tragic images of the suffering of Scottish women, designed to replace readerly anxiety with readerly sympathy. Along with elements of the travel narrative, the romance genre and the emergent historical novel, the trope of the suffering

48 Some writers tried to deal with the “threat” of the Scottish male raised by the North Briton by folding him into Englishness. Henry MacKenzie’s *Man of Feeling* (1771) is one such work. We might expect the protagonist, Harley, who embodies so much of the sentiment of the Ossianic works, to be Scottish, particularly as he is a creation of a Scottish author with strong ties to the Scottish intellectual community, but his place of origin is not marked. Instead, elements of the sentimental, natural Scottish warrior are cleansed of ethnic markers and are absorbed into Englishness. Such absorption is not necessarily negative. It is likely not a coincidence that two Scots, Adam Smith and David Hume, developed concepts of sympathy and sentiment or that MacKenzie worked with such themes in fiction. Emphasis on benevolence and mutual sympathy throughout Britain could only improve Anglo-Scottish relations.
woman will ultimately be assimilated into the national tale, with its emphasis on the anguish of a melancholic feminized Scotland/Ireland before the final act of union. Smollett, on the other hand, counters Wilkes with a wounded Scotsman in *Humphry Clinker*, a Scot whose central characteristic is the antithesis of a mimic. The frank, traumatized Lismahago blunts Wilkes’s tropological feats, allowing Smollett to reconstruct a trope of friendship of sorts to capture Britishness. This concept of Anglo-Scottish relations will be picked up and smoothed of rough edges by the English and Irish authors of nation-building novels, a subgenre I will define and examine in detail in Chapter Five.

Ina Ferris, in “Translation from the Borders,” suggests that the basic plot of the national tale is that “an English stranger travels into the hinterland, full of national prejudices, only to fall into a cross-cultural romance that radically alters his perspective” (208). The origins of this genre, Ferris suggests in an earlier article, are the “romance modes and the proto-ethnographic discourse of travel” (“Narrating Cultural Encounter” 288). Building on this assertion, I will suggest that after the impulse towards British masculinity that had been broached in *Douglas* and *Fingal* had been damaged by Wilkes’s unnatural masculine Scots, Macpherson and Home reverted to a tropology that foregrounds the suffering woman as a means to appeal to the sympathy of the English reader. Fragmented families, courtship disruption and particularly traumatized women can be read as a means to evoke Britishness through the exchange of English emotion and Scottish suffering.

There is a reversion to suffering Scotswomen whose death or distress cannot mediate relations of friendship within the narrative. This inability to intercede is evident in a
comparison of *Fingal* and *Temora*. *Fingal* had been written before the dispute between Smollett, Wilkes and Murphy, and a certain confidence in Anglo-Scottish relations was exemplified in the final words of friendship between Fingal and Swaran — built on the memory of the long-dead Agandecca. Some minor poems published alongside *Fingal* refer to the death of Oscar, most obviously a fragment called *Temora*, which contains — in the body of the poem and the notes — the seeds for the fully evolved epic. Indeed, it is almost identical to the first book of the full epic. The note Macpherson attaches to the poem also predicts the end, in which “the good fortune of Fingal preponderates,” although this success is not made contingent on the death of Cathmor (456). There is space, then, for a cross-cultural friendship again at the end, one which might echo the sympathy between Fingal and Swaran. This fragment is developed into its full epic form at the height of anti-Bute hysteria. *Temora* was published in March 1763.

In the revised epic there is a central shift that reflects the disillusionment circulating in the public sphere. Despite the recurring appearance of women in the new epic, mutual sympathy for their suffering and death can no longer bridge enmity. There is no ghostly Agandecca whose memory can form the foundation for an emergent masculine friendship. Even Malvina’s presence seems to have been reduced from a material woman or a bard in her own right, to a mere muse to the male poet. The addresses to Malvina in the poems attached to *Temora* are surprisingly different from those that appear with *Fingal*. In *Cathlin of Clutha: A Poem*, for example, she shifts from an individual to a “beam that art lonely, from watching in the night,” and is called on by Ossian to “[a]wake the voice of the string, and roll my soul to me...Malvina pour the song” (295).
One woman does enter the narrative for a significant period of time. Sulmalla, a woman in love with Fingal’s foe, Cathmor, does accompany her beloved to battle disguised as a man. However, it becomes quickly clear that she has neither agency to intercede nor the ability to promote sympathy between enemies. Her presence alongside her lover echoes one of Macpherson’s early works, *The Highlander* (1758), in which a Scandinavian prince, Haco, is accompanied by his new wife on an invasion of Scotland. Hearing of Haco’s concern for his wife, Alpin, the Highlander of the title, sympathetically ends the battle and escorts the couple to their ship. *Temora* is not as optimistic. Fingal’s opponent Cathmor is honourable, and has been forced into acting against Fingal through the dishonourable acts of his brother Cairbar, and Cathmor, like Swaran, is the recipient of Fingal’s generosity. Having wounded him, Fingal offers him succour for his wounds, but instead Cathmor tells them where he wishes to be buried (290). A martial alliance between opposing communities is not possible in a moment immersed in Scotophobia. While, as Dafydd Moore suggests, the melancholia at the end of *Fingal* seems misplaced, as the battle is a victory, the despondency that concludes *Temora* seems more justified. This epic is centered on the death of the hope of Scottish heroic masculinity – Oscar – and the death of unity between compatible individuals placed in opposition to each other through a deceit that taints the narrative.

Although it is clear from Macpherson’s notes to the original fragment of Temora that the general plan for the full poem had been mapped out, including the different personalities of the brothers Fingal must face, the doubled masculinity that opposes the hero seems particularly appropriate to the historical moment. Post-Wilkes, Scots must engage with a divided England which paradoxically both alienates and welcomes them.
The insistence on ending without reconciliation, and the resulting melancholia, may well reflect the inability of certain Scottish authors, in this moment, to envision a trope of an egalitarian relationship—particularly within the masculine epic genre—which can elide the dissonance Wilkes had both exposed and manufactured.

Post-Wilkes, we have returned to the world of *Douglas* and the *Fragments*, a world in which—for the London marketplace at least—a distinctly Scottish identity must be filtered through the representation of tragic women, and the inability to achieve union. This is not to say that marital tropes, or the uniting role of women had altogether vanished. Indeed, George Colman the Elder adapted Voltaire’s *L’Ecossaise* for the stage in 1767, and it was performed with great success. While Coleman gives far greater centrality to the positive machinations of the English merchant Freeport, who ultimately brings about the marriage between the Scottish Amelia and her beloved Lord Falbridge and gains the pardon for Amelia’s father, it is still very much centered on reconciling a Scottish woman and an English man.\(^{49}\) This type of narrative, however, was far outnumbered by the tragic feminized progeny of the Ossianic works.

Home was one of the principal authors of these works. Despite the gradual shift towards celebrating Scottish masculinity that I identified in Chapter Three in Home’s *Siege of Aquileia* (1760), Home’s post-Wilkean *Fatal Discovery*, which appeared in February 1769, moves back to the same model of female suffering that had worked so well in *Douglas*.\(^ {50}\) The play expands fragment IX from the original Ossianic *Fragments*. In the drama, Rivine, the daughter of the King of the Isles has been married through

\(^{49}\) Colman also reconfigures the core of the problem between Amelia and Lord Falbridge, which is centered on the misbehavior of Falbridge rather than a feud between fathers. The name, appropriately, was changed to *The English Merchant*. 
trickery to Durstan, king of the Picts. Durstan had led Rivine to believe that her betrothed, Ronan, the Prince of Morven, had married someone else. She is furious when she discovers that this tale is not true. Her father’s “faithful servant,” however, later proven to be a traitor, begs her to be “the pledge of peace between nations...not the cause of war and mortal strife” (24). Rivine rejects this role. When Ronan returns he is tricked into an unequal fight with the Picts. Rivine, captured by Dunstan, stabs herself and, immediately after this, both Dunstan and Ronan fatally injure each other in combat.

Suffering Scottish women continue to be central to this genre, but, as in *Douglas*, they merely appeal to their English audience for sympathy rather than metaphorically unify nations within the narrative. It is significant that it is the traitorous Euran, rather than the virtuous characters, who tries to negotiate unity through female suffering. Rivine recognizes, however, that this unity is ineffective and based on art (trickery) rather than nature. Once again, this non-threatening trope of the dying Scottish woman was initially very successful on the English stage, evoking English sympathy until Home revealed himself to be the writer, when, according to Boswell and others, attendance diminished considerably, likely due to Home’s connections to Bute.

Tobias Smollett’s tropological trope leads to a different way to emphasize metaphorically the strength of the unifying impulses between the two nations. Smollett seeks to undo Wilkes’s damaging representations of Scottish sexual aggression by rejecting his own earlier tentative gesture towards a courtship trope in *Roderick Random*. What replaces this brief excursion into courtship in *Humphry Clinker* (1771) is the decidedly odd relationship, not between Tabitha and Lismahago, but linking Matthew

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50 Alice Edna Gipson makes reference to Boswell’s account of this incident in *John Home: A Study of his Life and Works*. (144)
and the Scottish captain. From the moment of their meeting, Matthew and Obadiah engage in an ongoing debate. Jery initially defines this in purely negative terms, explaining that Lismahago is addicting to wrangling and complaining that he is partial to his own country in all his positions (190, 201). Matthew’s position toward his future brother-in-law is more tolerant. Of Lismahago’s possible marriage to his sister, he comments,

we shall find a way to settle them comfortably in our own neighbourhood. I, and my servants, will get rid of a very troublesome and tyrannic gouvernante; and I shall have the benefit of Lismahago’s conversation, without being obliged to take more of his company than I desire; for though an olla is a high-flavoured dish, I could not bear to dine upon it every day of my life. (273)

Smollett’s Wales is a sort of utopian, gentler England, and Matthew is the central personification of this amiable nation, particularly after his acculturation into Scotland, although even before crossing the border, he explicitly rejects anti-Scottish satire. Seeing “doggrel rhimes, in abuse of the Scotch nation” on the windows of the inns in northern England, Matthew fumes that “the scribblers of such infamous stuff deserved to be scourged at the cart’s tale for disgracing their country with such monuments of malice and stupidity....I admire the philosophic forbearance of the Scots, as much as I despise the insolence of those wretched libellers” (197, 198).

The immersion of Matthew and Jery into the traditions and manners of the peripheral nation, in the tradition of the travel narrative, promotes their acceptance and celebration of the marginalized culture and its principal personification – Lismahago –
even further.\textsuperscript{51} By culture here I mean a set of traditions and manners belonging to a particular region. The acculturation experience of the Anglicized Welshmen changes their perception of the Lowlands and the Highlands and their own concept of identity.

The well-being of Matthew Bramble, as critics have pointed out, is miraculously improved after his visit to Scotland.\textsuperscript{52} While he voices complaints about Scottish practices of waste disposal, housing, Scottish pronunciation and the lack of commercial development in the Highlands, his explicit delight in Lowland society, particularly the commercial achievements of Glasgow and the intellectual milieu of Edinburgh, seem to have contributed to the change in health and character he describes to Dr. Lewis at the end of the narrative.

I have put myself on the superannuated list too soon... We should sometimes increase the motion of the machine, to unclog the wheels of life, and now and then take a plunge amidst the waves of excess, in order to case-harden the constitution. I have even found a change of company as necessary as a change of air, to promote a vigorous circulation of the spirits, which is the very essence and criterion of good health. (311)

For Bramble's nephew Jery, it is both the Highlands and Lowlands that impel change. He half-jokingly tells his friend Watkin Phillips in one of his first letters from Scotland,

if I stay much longer at Edinburgh, I shall be changed into a downright

\textsuperscript{51} If Roderick Random can be said to foreshadow the national tale by virtue of the Anglo-Scottish courtship at the end, Humphry Clinker possesses the other elements that Ina Ferris identifies as being central to the national tale – the immersion of (usually masculine) strangers into the traditions of a peripheral culture.

\textsuperscript{52} Walter Scott, in his Lives of the Novelists (1821) notes that when the novel was initially published, the periodical critics "observed, maliciously, but not untruly, that as the cynicism of Matthew Bramble becomes gradually softened as he journeys northward, and that he who equally detested Bath and London,
Caledonian... The people here are so social and attentive in their civilities to strangers, that I am insensibly sucked into the channel of their manners and customs, although they are in fact much more different from ours than you could imagine — That difference, however, which struck me very much at first arrival, I now hardly perceive. (221)

When he visits the Highlands, he encounters an even stronger experience, one which might be described by what Ferris and Michel de Certeau refer to as ravishment: a moment of excess in a cultural encounter (Ferris 296). While hunting, he tells his friend, he saw “the lonely hills of Morven, where Fingal and his heroes enjoyed the same pastime: I feel an enthusiastic pleasure when I survey the brown heath that Ossian wont to tread....When I enter our landlord’s hall, I look for the suspended harp of that divine bard, and listen in hopes of hearing the aerial sound of his respected spirit” (240).

Matthew and Jery, then, having experienced the acculturation of Scotland, are equipped to engage in a mutually tolerant, if somewhat awkward, relationship. To formulate an Anglo-Scottish friendship grounded in common trust and exchange, however, Lismahago, wounded and scarred by his participation in British wars, also has to undergo a transformation. This change must in no way be conducive to accusations of mimicry. Indeed, Lismahago’s very bluntness seems to be designed to effectively counter Wilkes’s projection of mimicry or hypocrisy onto Scots. Lismahago is the very antithesis of duplicity. He says exactly what he thinks, regardless of the consequences, preferring to debate issues head on than to acquiesce graciously to the opinion of his companions. He

becomes wonderfully reconciled to walled cities and the hum of men when he finds himself an inhabitant of the northern metropolis” (Lionel Kelly 358).
defends Scots humour, Bute’s peace treaty, and lambasts the effects of commerce on national character (199, 203, 204).

Despite his directness, Jery, during what might seem like a Wilkean moment, is briefly suspicious of him and wonders if the lieutenant’s real devotion is to money and personal security, familiar accusations directed at Scots over the previous decade (197). Smollett weakens this allegation not only through Lismahago’s blunt character, but also through Matthew’s revelation that Lismahago is still entitled to his half pay and “has amassed eight hundred pounds” in savings, in addition to possessing some relatively valuable (if somewhat strange) goods (344).

The transformation in Lismahago’s character is not grounded in acculturation. His participation in British affairs, after all, is responsible for his scars. Scottish trust can only be regained through English demonstrations of friendship, here represented by Matthew’s behavior, his renunciation of anti-Scottish propaganda, and his tolerance and willingness to engage in “amicable disputes.” These acts help to soften his friend’s character, for as Jery recognizes at the end of the novel, Obadiah’s “temper, which had been soured and shrivelled by disappointment and chagrin, is now swelled out, and smoothed like a raisin in plum porridge. From being reserved and punctilious, he is become easy and obliging. He cracks jokes, laughs and banter, with the most facetious familiarity” (347). In the fractious years after the Wilkes/Smollett dispute, consistent displays of English tolerance and appreciation alone can help to heal the rupture provoked by Wilkean circles and provide a space to rebuild Britishness. While we might imagine that Bramble and Lismahago will continue to disagree noisily, any bitterness behind their exchanges will rapidly be diminished by their growing affection for each
other. Smollett’s post-Wilkes Britain, then, is represented by a couple of quarrelsome, contentious amiable old gentlemen, one pro-commerce, scholarly and sympathetic and the other, honest, educated and wounded in the service of his country. Jery describes this portrait of Britishness in the following manner:

[Lismahago] and Mr. Bramble discoursed, and even disputed, on different subjects in war, policy, the belles lettres, law, and metaphysics; and sometimes they were warmed into such altercation as seemed to threaten an abrupt dissolution of their society; but Mr. Bramble set a guard over his own irascibility, the more vigilantly as the officer was his guest; and when, in spite of all his efforts, he began to wax warm, the other prudently cooled in the same proportion. (191)

As I have argued elsewhere, Smollett does not discount relationships grounded in a strong mutual desire – relationships best captured by courtship. However, generational change needs to take place first. England needs to be softened through Anglo-Welsh alliances, Wales representing a form of utopian England, before it can be fully united with Scotland. A child of Humphry and Win or a child of George Dennison and Liddy might perhaps be a better candidate for such an alliance. For the moment, the disputatious, curmudgeonly trope of friendship between the ancient Briton and the Scot allows Smollett to recognize Wilkite scarring and to retain socio-political differences between the nations, which need to be held in constant memory in order to retain distinctness, at the same time as he promotes an egalitarian model of cross-border friendship.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have focused on a historical moment of overt tropological warfare. With Culloden ten years behind them, members of the Moderate literati had began to present distinctly optimistic tropes of Britishness, tropes which promoted English sympathy and Anglo-Scottish friendship through lingering on the suffering of Scottish women. Sympathy for Scottish suffering was naturalized by giving it a history. Home’s representation of Percy and Douglas as political enemies who had sympathy for each other in difficult times validates the sympathetic response of an English audience to Lady Douglas’s sufferings in the 1750s. Smollett’s *Briton* takes this sympathy a step further, eliding cross-border difference. Wilkes explicitly challenges such tropes in his quest to unseat Bute, and while this does not permanently damage Anglo-Scottish relations, we have seen that it does cause narrative representations of Anglo-Scottish relations to be reconfigured. Home, Macpherson and Smollett find tropological means to respond to such claims, refiguring Anglo-Scottish relations to evoke English sympathy and defuse claims of doubleness and hypocrisy.

Home and Macpherson’s trope of the suffering woman and Smollett’s trope of friendship feeds into two central tropes of Anglo-Scottish friendship that emerged after the American war had strengthened relations between England and Scotland. The suffering woman in *Temora* feeds into the proto-national tale of the 1790s. As Trumpener points out, elements of the Ossianic works heavily influenced the Gothic novel, particularly its emphasis on “the melancholy weight of tradition, its presentation of experience as continually, claustrophobically mediated by textual precedent, and its compression and concretization of historical time in particular haunted places,” not to
mention its “highly stylized and textualized mode of representing Britain’s landscapes” (111). This tragic genre also influences an emergent Anglo-Scottish Gothic sub-genre, which may well foreshadow Charles Maturin’s Anglo-Irish tragic form in *The Milesian Chief* and Walter Scott’s Anglo-Scottish tragedy, *The Bride of Lammermoor*. Sophia Lee’s *The Recess* (1783) would be an early example of this form, and, if we read its representation of conflict between clans as a displacement of Anglo-Scottish anxiety, Mrs. Barby’s *The Rock* (1798) might also fit this category. The national tale and Scott’s *Waverley* inherited the anxiety and melancholy of this genre, and, in some cases, it also accedes to the feminization and traumatization of Scotland and Ireland. The heroine of Regina Maria Roche’s *Children of the Abbey* (1796), for example, must undergo repeated harrowing experiences – experiences which the narrator readily lingers over – before finally reaching an uneasy alliance with her Anglo-Irish suitor, ensuring readerly sympathy is fully aroused for the peripheral condition.

Smollett’s trope of friendship was most frequently used by a sub-genre I have labeled as the nation-building novel, a genre I will discuss in some detail in the next chapter. Primarily used by English and Irish writers to promote specific political positions, and written in the 1780s and 1790s, during a time when Anglo-Scottish relations seemed harmonic in relation to other ruptures in the nation, the tropes lose the sharp dissonant edge that Smollett had given them. The female suffering that appeared in the proto-national tale and the robust friendship of the nation-building novel would coexist side by side until, as I shall discuss in Chapter Six, Scottish writers writing in the post-

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54 This Anglo-Scottish Gothic form, however, is not always tragic. Anne Radcliffe’s *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* (1789) and Joanna Baillie’s *Family Legend* (1810) end in unity and celebration.
Napoleonic period started to question their value in capturing contemporary Anglo-Scottish relations. Their reformulation of the tropes would attempt to retain the agency figured in the trope of friendship and conflate it with elements of cultural nostalgia that surrounded the trope of courtship in the national tale.

Lee's *Recess* is about the fictional twin daughters Mary Stuart had with Norfolk, whom she secretly wed while imprisoned. Despite brief moments of happiness with their loves, Leicester and Essex both women ultimately suffer greatly and the novel ends tragically.
Chapter 5
Figuring Agency, Building Nations: Britain in the 1790s

Introduction and Historical Context

In the last three decades of the eighteenth-century, British writers increasingly produced works that engaged with Anglo-Scottish tropes of union. Some novels that did so, a few of which we shall discuss at the beginning of Chapter Six, can be thought of as prototypes for Sydney Owenson's national tale with its emphasis on peripheral culture and peripheral vulnerability.¹ These works frequently celebrate Scottish dress, manners, music, traditions, history and virtue, and sometimes demonstrate unease with Anglo-Scottish relations by considering the susceptibility of these elements of culture to English materialism and neglect. Power imbalance in these works is often configured through courtship tropes. But there is another group of novels emerging in the same period that approach Scotland from an entirely different direction, novels rarely discussed in terms of their use of Scottish identity. It is this second category of novels that forms the core of this chapter. Rather than explore tensions in Anglo-Scottish relations or work to reify a specific concept of Scottish culture, these works use tropes of union for overt political purposes, purposes that relate to such issues as socio-political reform or Anglo-Irish relations. Nation-building novels might be an appropriate term for such works.² I am including in this category works by Robert Bage, Charlotte Smith, William Godwin,

¹ When I discuss the proto-national tale in Chapter 6, I work with a definition of culture as a loose collection of communal manners, traditions, historical moments and geographic images, selections from which, as James Buzard notes, in “Translation and Tourism,” were reified by Walter Scott in the early nineteenth century to satisfy the British desire for lost romance and antiquity in a time of modernization. The works of the writers in this chapter do not celebrate Scottish culture in the sense of this particular definition, therefore they take minimal cultural elements to mark their characters as Scottish.
² As Miranda Burgess clearly establishes in the early chapters of her recent book, the romance and the novel have always been political. This politicization became more explicit and didactic at the end of the eighteenth century as Gary Kelly and M.O. Grenby have shown in their studies of Jacobin and anti-Jacobin novels.
Robert Bisset and Maria Edgeworth. I am, of course, cutting across various generic categories here, the Jacobin and the anti-Jacobin novel, for example. Yet there is a need for a category other than that of the national tale because many novels that explicitly grapple with British national identity do not fit neatly into that grouping. By explicitly grappling with national identity, I mean frequently containing the following elements: didactic material promoting certain socio-political conceptions of Britain; various tropes of union (not merely courtship); movement throughout various parts of the nation and even of the empire (not necessarily just from the center to the peripheries); and often a positioning of Britain in contrast with other nations. In representing Anglo-Scottish relations, many of these works use homosocial tropes which either characterize Scottishness as an avenue through which a degenerate England (or Ireland) can be transformed, or represent Scottish characters as equal partners alongside English characters in rebuilding a Britain that represents the political views of the author, whether reformist, conservative or somewhere in between.

Scottishness could be used as a force of revitalization and recuperation during the last decades of the eighteenth century because, at a time when traditional power structures were being vigorously questioned and defended, Anglo-Scottish relations were increasingly perceived as stable. This does not mean that tension did not still exist. Yet the intense flux in other areas diminished the perception of cross-border dissonance. The French Revolution had destabilizing effects on power relations in general throughout Britain. Conventional gender roles were challenged by writers like Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Hays. A movement for class reform was underway, and Jacobinism, and

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3 The issue of a Scottish militia still existed, and there was a push for political reform because of a significant number of corrupt boroughs in Scotland.
particularly at the beginning of the 1790s, seemed to hold out promise of a means to increase the political power of socio-economic groups other than the aristocracy. The abolition movement, gaining momentum from the 1780s, questioned racial hierarchies that had been used to naturalize slavery. Power distribution was shifting in religious groups. Catholics were gradually being given increased rights, despite resistance, and Methodists broke away from the Church of England in 1795. The Irish situation, influenced by events in France, was becoming more volatile. And, in addition to domestic instability, Britain was trying to comprehend and come to terms with its ever-increasing colonies.

In the midst of this instability, Anglo-Scottish political unity was strengthening, becoming most firmly solidified by Scottish support for Britain during the American War of Independence. Stephen Conway points out in his recent book on the war that “[c]ontemporary opponents of the conflict with the Americans sometimes called it a ‘Scots war.’ The purpose of this jibe was to highlight the part played by the Scots and their enthusiasm for the government’s line” (132). Linda Colley notes that in the 1780s any influential Scots...seized on the American war as a means to underline their political reliability to London, deliberately contrasting their own ostentatious loyalty with American disobedience, and with the anti-war activity of English radicals. The loyalty address submitted by the

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4 For background on the reform issues and its relation to the French Revolution, see Mark Philps’s *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* and Marilyn Butler’s *Romantics, Rebels and Revolutionaries*.

5 For a brief summary of Britain’s changing position on slavery, see Linda Colley’s *Britons*, pages 350-360, and for details on the Irish situation, see E.W. Macfarland’s *Ireland and Scotland in the age of Revolution*. 
magistrates and council of Fortrose in Inverness-shire, for example, waxed scathing on that ‘set of men...who, under the mask of patriotism sow sedition,’ a clear reference to John Wilkes and his allies who were now spearheading opposition to the war in London.  

Anglo-Scottish unity of purpose was extended beyond America into the 1790s, when Highland troops engaged in dispelling class disruptions in Lowland Scotland were deployed against the Irish in the rebellion of 1798 and participated in war against France.

By the end of the century, Anglo-Scottish discord had lessened to such a degree that events which may well have been perceived as part of a Scotch conspiracy had they occurred in the 1740s or would have been eagerly used by Wilkes to disseminate Scotophobia in the 1760s were rarely interpreted in terms of national origin. Thomas Hardy, one of the founding members of the London Corresponding Society, was a Scottish shoemaker. Following his arrest for treason in May, 1794, Hardy was defended by the well-respected Thomas Erskine, also a Scot. The national origin of either man was not central to public opinion of his trial. Revolutionary sentiment focused on class rather than regional origin and was generally seen as a British (and Irish) problem.  

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6 Colley 140. Colley also notes that in contrast with Irish settlers in America, “Scottish settlers seem to have opted overwhelmingly for the loyalist side in the War of American independence” (140).
7 For information regarding Scottish participation in quelling the Irish rebellion, see Macfarland (194) and Tom Devine’s *The Scottish Nation* (210). Linda Colley notes, regarding the French Revolution, that “[b]efore the British state committed itself to popularizing civil defence in 1798, the statistics it compiled revealed that a higher proportion of Welshmen and Scot had attached themselves to volunteer corps than had Englishmen….And in this early stage of the war, Scots and men from South Wales were far more extrovert in their military commitment than their English neighbours” (294). She does note that this did decrease after 1798, though 52,000 Scots were serving as “rank and file members of volunteer regiments” by 1803 (295).
8 Biographical information on Thomas Hardy is hard to find. The best recent biographical work is *Liberty or Death: Early Struggles for Parliamentary Democracy* by Ray Hemmings.
Tom Devine suggests, “one of the striking features of the history of radicalism since the 1790s had been the close association between Scots and the English proletarians in a shared struggle for rights and liberties,” and notes that even the Radical War that would occur in 1820 showed a “fusion of Scottish and English symbols of freedom” (228).\(^9\) Moreover, the Scottish administration had committed to suppressing dissonance in Scotland promptly, placing emphasis on its commitment to British well-being.\(^{10}\)

While Scottish radical groups certainly existed, as E.W. McFarland demonstrates in *Ireland and Scotland in the Age of Revolution*, and caused some disruption in Scotland, sometimes working in concert with Irish and English groups, radicalism did not significantly disrupt Anglo-Scottish relations. Unlike Ireland, Scots did not relate national independence to radicalism.\(^{11}\) Socio-economic conditions in Scotland meant that radical groups tended to prefer reform to revolution. McFarland points out that in Scotland “[g]reater social homogeneity, a more organic process of economic development, and a muted tradition of political protest meant a more hostile terrain for democratic mobilization.” Adding to this unreceptive terrain was the “peculiarly repressive Scottish legal system” (233).

Several conventions of Scottish reformists were held in Edinburgh, but the harsh treatment of Scottish radicals tried under Scots law, far harsher than for those tried in

\(^9\) The use of the term “proletariat,” of course, is anachronistic. I refer to Devine’s point regarding the interaction between English and Scottish radicals without agreeing with the term he uses to describe the radicals.

\(^{10}\) Perhaps one of the best illustrations of the difference between the 1760s and the 1790s is the lack of negative response in England to a Scot holding one of the highest positions in British politics. While response to Lord Bute, as we have seen, was hostile (though much of this was manufactured), response to Henry Dundas, who has been called Pitt’s “right-hand man” and who was made British Home Secretary in 1791 and Secretary of State for War in 1794, was not centered on his national origins (Michael Lynch 181).

\(^{11}\) Macfarland points out that Scottish pledges to radicalism were not related to a distinct Scottish identity. She notes that when the oath was adapted from Ireland to Scotland, the word “Ireland” was replaced with “Britain” or “North Britain,” displaying the dedication of Scots to Britain (157).
England and Ireland, clearly displayed the loyalty of Scottish leaders and institutions to the best interests of middle and upper-class Britain. The Scottish administration was quick to activate loyalist societies and propaganda to counter attempts by Scottish radical groups to attract supporters. The quick and harsh response ensured Scots did not become strongly linked with revolutionary principles in the minds of the English. Some Scots who were sympathetic to the French Revolution, such as Robert Burns, did manage to activate Scottish symbols to capture Jacobin sentiments of liberty and fraternity, which may, in part, explain the appearance of Scots in several radical novels, but the strong loyalist associations that the Scottish administration crafted may explain equally well Robert Bisset’s ability to harness Scottish intellectual history for a conservative novel.

Tropological Agency: Anglo-Scottish Relations in Nation-Building Novels

Representing Scots as nationally recuperative or as co-partners in building Britain is ambiguous in terms of the power dynamics of Anglo-Scottish relations. In

12 Thomas Muir, William Skirving and others, were exiled for 14 years, in contrast to far lighter sentences and acquittals received in England.
13 Robert Burns was one of the most skilled adaptors of traditional local symbols for international ends at the end of the century. Burns had been supportive of the Americans during the American war, and expresses his admiration of concepts of liberty in his poetry. His work also became caught up in the principles of the French Revolution. His poetry activates symbols previously relevant only to Scottish national identity for a broader cause. Both Thomas Crawford and Marilyn Butler refer to William Wallace as a specific example of this process in “Robert Bruce’s March to Bannockburn” (1793). Butler notes that

[v]iewed one way, the poem is steeped in the specific historical record, nationalistic about and for the Scots. It is used for that purpose, and could be used only for that if it stopped at four verses. But Burns rarely continues levelly in one vein....The fifth verse moves purposely into the present tense:

By Oppression’s woes and pains!
By your Sons in servile chains!
We will drain our dearest veins,
But they shall be free!

(ll. 17-20). (Robert Burns and Cultural Authority 99)

Burns is no longer addressing the Scots, Butler suggests, by the fifth verse, but is making clear references to contemporary events. He has done so, however, particularly through the invocation of a suffering Scot – Wallace.
transforming Scottishness into a component of a trope which supports a larger British agenda, English and Irish writers textually colonize certain elements of a peripheral area to accomplish socio-political objectives that have little to do with Scotland. In previous chapters I have considered the way in which tropes of family and friendship are used to negotiate Anglo-Scottish relations. In this chapter, I am suggesting that after the American Revolution, cross-border relations shift, in some works, from the tenor of tropes – a primary locus of tension that requires the continual reinvention of metaphors and tropes to elide or resolve potentially disruptive socio-political memories and ongoing disputes in its relationship with England – to a benign malleable concept useful to resolve fractures and dissonance in other areas of dispute, in other words, the vehicle of the tropes. This shift is perhaps most obvious in the lack of cultural distinction inherent in this model of national identity. While, as we shall see, the Scots in these tropes have agency, they possess few features that make them distinctly Scottish. This lack will be most apparent when we contrast the works coming from English writers with one written by a Scottish writer, Robert Bisset. Bisset feels the need to inject a specific Scottish history and socio-political development into his imagining of Anglo-Scottish relations.

On the other hand, working from Linda Colley’s argument that Scots increasingly held strong loyalist associations during the 1770s and 1780s, a position that strengthened cross-border relations, these novels also reflect the equal collaboration of North and South Britons in the construction of new national virtues, systems of power distribution and commercial enterprises (Colley 144). The Scots in tropes of union in nation-building

\[14\] It might equally be said that the English lose a sense of cultural distinctness too – both are absorbed into a larger British political project, which does not dwell on traditions and manners.
novels, on the whole, are no ghostly Ossianic figures steeped in elegy and past glories.
While they lack elements of cultural nostalgia, they have considerable agency in
manufacturing the British nation, sometimes greater agency than their English
counterparts. They tend to be robust, intelligent men, who engage in powerful, directed
egalitarian relationships with English men. Emphasis on Scottish masculinity may be
necessary because agency to transform Britishness is more easily performed by a male
character who can advise, guide, or exchange ideas from a position of equality with his
English associates. This is not to say that Anglo-Scottish courtship did not appear in
these politico-national works, but that courtship and marriage are generally not the center
of the narrative, nor are they often seen, as they will come to be seen in the Irish national
tale, as tormented relationships filled with obstacles relating to national reconciliation.

Recent critical discussion of Anglo-Scottish relations between the 1790s and the
1820s has focused, for the most part, on emergent ideas of Romantic nationalism,
particularly the emphasis of early nineteenth-century peripheral (mostly Lowland) writers
on the Highlands as the source of a nostalgic Romantic Scotland. Engaging with this
regional appropriation through postcolonial theory is appropriate, as the emphasis of this
theoretical approach on inequality in regards to power, knowledge and access to the
technologies of knowledge distribution is relevant to the socio-economic differences
between the Highlands and the Lowlands, and in turn to the differences between Scotland
and England. Saree Makdisi recognizes this division when he notes that in Walter Scott’s
Waverley “the Highlanders and the vanishing remnants of the ‘ancient’ and Jacobite
Scottish past are stripped of their own historicity, and left stranded on the banks of the

15 It is not surprising then that Edward Kimber’s James Ramble is republished in this context under the
name The Adventures of George Maitland Esq. John Murray is the publisher, and it is republished in 1786.
river of Time. In other words, their history, and hence their space, is colonized by the novel, it is taken over and used for and by the Lowlander present" (75). Peter Womack locates the emergence of Romantic nationalism in an earlier period, suggesting that "Gaelic was increasingly perceived as a ‘female space’ after the ‘Forty-five Rising’ (qtd. in Pittock, Poetry and Jacobite Politics 212). And Ian Duncan points out the link between feminization and genre when he suggests that Scott, disturbed by the absence of patriarchy in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland revealed in his novel Heart of Midlothian (1818), turns away from the “political idea of the nation and ... [concentrates] upon the domestic and moral economy of a private estate whose virtue consists in its seclusion from a hopelessly chaotic external world” (152). Charles Snodgrass, in his recent dissertation, explores the dominance of the feminized Scot in tropes of British union, suggesting that it was manufactured and developed by a specific circle of early-nineteenth-century writers to support a particularly Scottish Tory concept of Scottish identity. Working with Edwin Muir’s infamous remark on the ‘emptiness and unreality quite peculiar to Scotland,’ Snodgrass suggests that the group of writers associated with the Edinburgh Blackwood’s Group play “a significant role in helping to forge this empty unreality of imaginary Scots in an imaginary Scotland” because of their pro-union/British sentiment (17).

I seek to complicate and interrogate recent studies of Anglo-Scottish relations by widening critical awareness of the range of works published in the 1790s, works which preceded Scottish writers’ production of the “empty unreality of imaginary Scots.” My analysis will suggest that Scots writing in the Romantic period had access to many tropes
in which Scots possessed substantial sociopolitical agency. The final chapter in this book will suggest that Scottish writers of the 1810s and 1820s were reacting to competing tropes of fame either by rejecting a tropology of union altogether and exposing the ineffectiveness of such figural connections, or by designing a tropology that folded both agency in British affairs and a distinct Scottish culture into cross-border tropes. I will begin this task by analyzing tropes of the 1780s and 1790s that configure Anglo-Scottish relations without the emergent nostalgic antiquarianism that Trumpener traces back to Ossian. Moreover, while the tropes share with the national tale a gradual and growing emphasis on Scottish virtue they do not cloaking this virtue in the language of elegy and myth.

Adam Ferguson’s *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) suggests that in moving from savage to barbarian to commercial and polite, certain virtues are sacrificed or weakened in society. Thus Scotland’s reduced commercial development in comparison to England can be configured as a strength, if, as Ferguson contends, “[t]he virtues of men have shone most during their struggles, not after the attainment of their ends” (196). Scots, particularly Highlanders, who were still living in relatively backward conditions, have increased access to the ‘virtues of men’ in this model and the commercially advanced English have increased susceptibility to moral decay (196).

Ferguson suggests that

16 I am interrogating Buzard’s claim that Scottish culture in the works of Scott looks like a British effort to make Scotland function as a culture for the English (41).  
17 Ian Duncan, Ann Rowland and Charles Snodgrass point out in their introduction to a special edition of *Studies in Romanticism*, centered on Scotland and Romantic nationalism that “[i]n Scotland ...Enlightenment and Romantic formations occupy the same historical stage, rather than articulating a succession” (3).  
18 Although, as Tom Devine points out, Scotland’s advancement in commerce had been speedy in the second half of the century.
[t]he commercial and lucrative arts...gain an ascendant at the expense of other pursuits. The desire of profit stifles the love of perfection. Interest cools the imagination, and hardens the heart; and recommending employments as they are lucrative, and certain in their gains, it drives ingenuity, and ambition itself, to the counter and the workshop. (206)

In less developed societies, Ferguson asserts, men, guided by common interests and by communicating passions, develop “[w]isdom, vigilance, fidelity, and fortitude” (207, 208). The popularity of Ferguson’s work (six editions appeared in his lifetime alone) ensured that the concept was in circulation throughout Britain.19 The concept of the Highlander as ‘purer’ and particularly virtuous was configured in elegiac tones in the poetry of Macpherson.

In most of the novels in this chapter, however, Scottish virtue is transposed into something more active, and something that does not necessarily disconnect virtue from progression. The prevalence of Scottish intellectuals who were grappling with concepts of virtue and society in a public forum, whether connected with primitivism or with ideas of politeness and social advancement, had led to social recognition that Scots were fully involved in formulating British identity, identifying precisely what a virtuous Briton ought to be.20 Scottish philosophers were perceived as agents of social change and national identity in Britain, and it is this agency that will be revived again and again for contradictory purposes in the nation-building novel of the 1790s.

19 For the dates of editions see Fania Oz-Salzberger’s notes to the recent Cambridge edition of the Essay (xxxv).
20 J.G.A. Pocock links Scottish political economy to the growth of ideas of politeness, manners and culture which were seen as intricately connected to growth in exchange and production (199). He suggests that such manners were placed in opposition to older ideas of civic virtue. I am not discounting this shift. However, I would suggest that writers of the time would have still seen themselves as engaging with ideas
Since the emphasis on the courtship trope in the national tale and historical novel generally genders Scotland as female or as a feminized male, Scottish agency and recuperative power is limited. To change the level of agency captured within the trope, the writers of nation-building novels frequently employ tropes of homosocial friendship. The Scottish component of these tropes is frequently instilled with intellectual traits, a progressive impetus, and whatever other characteristics will help it to service the particular political position of the author. I will examine this initially in Anglo-Scottish tropes in the optimistic novels of the English reformist writer, Robert Bage, and will then explore how the figure is transformed in the darker visions of the radical writers Charlotte Smith and William Godwin as they harness nationalism and patriotism for their own reform project. Next, we will consider the way Robert Bisset, a Scottish anti-Jacobin writer, refigures the trope of union for conservatives, using it to attack the ideas of Godwin and Smith. Finally, I will examine Maria Edgeworth’s use of Anglo-Scottish and Scots-Irish tropes of union to interact with both class and Anglo-Irish boundaries. By interacting with multiple works, it will become clear that we are not looking at one particular conception of Scottishness, virtue or intellect. What I will introduce is a plethora of voices which use the same basic homosocial trope in various of virtue. Adam Smith, for example, spends a considerable amount of time on various systems of virtue in *Moral Sentiments*.

21 J.O Bartley has used the terms, “determined, independent, blunt, and well-educated” to refer to the stage Scot of the period, but as Peter Faulkner points out, the English dramas he points to often contain characters who are satirical representations of these characteristics (47). Linda Colley mentions in *Britons* that after 1750s two stock Scottish characters appeared in English drama, “the intellectual and the careerist,” yet she does not follow up on the former and only talks about ambitious Scottish characters in terms of ridiculous caricatures, in particular, Sir Pertinax Macsycophant in Charles Macklin’s *True Born Scotsman* (1764) (122). There might be a number of reasons for neglecting this particular personification. The recuperative or intellectual Scot may simply seem too “ordinary,” too much like a “regular English character” to engage with or not relevant to analyses interested in uncovering dominant repressive forces and subordinated peoples. Ignoring such representations, however, can lead to the idea that the Romantic nationalist concept of the Scot is the only one existing in the period, and it is this assumption I hope to disturb.
ways, shaped by the gender, place of origin, political affiliations and socio-economic position of the writers and the political project they are trying to promote.

The growing association of Scottishness with loyalism and national virtue would make Scottishness a useful category to English reformists and Jacobins who wished to present their position in a patriotic light. Scottish loyalty to the betterment of Britain could easily be harnessed to present reform as serving the best interests of the nation. Reformist writers are not particularly concerned with inserting the “manners and characteristics” of the Scots into their tropes. They are more interested in exploring the effectiveness of Scottish agency as it works with English agency. A Scottishness unburdened by foibles and traits would likely appear more genteel, authoritative and virtuous.

The loyalist Scot as reformist begins to appear in tropes of Britishness during the years of the American Revolution. One of the first novelists to configure cross-border relations in this way is Robert Bage, an English paper-maker and novelist. His first novel, *Mount Henneth* (1782), was written as the American Revolution was coming to an end, and is focused primarily on class tension, reform and a reestablishment of Anglo-American relations. Bage embraced commerce and science as a means to social progress. Anti-Jacobin writers clearly recognized the subversive implications of Bage’s novels, and placed him “in the rogues’ gallery of *The Anti-Jacobin Review*, in February 1800, along with other prominent radical writers” (Faulkner 22).

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22 Gary Kelly places Bage among the English Jacobins, referring in particular to his *Herm sprong; or Man as he is Not* (1796), which positively presents “civic-minded French aristocrats working for the French Revolution,” in its “earlier, moderate phase” (28).

23 Godwin was an admirer of Bage’s writing and went out of his way to meet him in 1797 (Faulkner 31).
Bage inserts Scottish characters into his tropes which have little to do with any actual sense of Scottish identity and have a lot to do with finding ways to make a re-imagined Britain palatable to readers. It is likely for this reason that a writer such as Walter Scott, who was concerned with defining a tangible and perhaps ‘marketable’ Scottish identity (whether it be without an original as Buzard has suggested or not) felt uncomfortable with Bage’s ability to create “that species of character which is formed by profession or by nationality” (145). He laments that Bage’s “Scotchmen” were “awkward caricatures and the language which he puts in their mouths, not similar to any that has been spoken since the days of Babel” (145). Dr. Gordon is a more complex character than Scott implies, and operates in complex ways with the trope of homosocial relations to convey Scottish participation in nation building. Yet the goal of English reformist writers was not to manufacture and disseminate a distinct Scottish culture, but to invent and promote a reformed Britain, using complex tropes to increase its attractiveness.

Before tackling Dr. Gordon’s function in this little-known novel in some detail, I will briefly summarize the plot. Mount Henneth is an epistolary novel with multiple correspondents. It begins with an exchange between an English brother and sister, Thomas and Ann Sutton, whose uncle has disinherited them after Thomas dared to suggest he enter the army. Thomas introduces into the narrative two brothers he has befriended, John and Henry Cheslyn. Henry, the younger brother, has lost his inheritance after investing it in a partnership with an American house, which failed after the breach between Britain and America. As the story unfolds a number of love interests evolve. These love interests cross class and national divisions and are generally fraught with
tension. And, in an immensely straightforward courtship, the English Ann and the Scottish Dr. Gordon enter into the least problematic relationship in the novel.

At the close of the novel, and after many machinations, primarily involving the relationships between Tom and Laura and Henry and Camitha, all of these couples come together into a utopian merit-based community developed by the rich merchant Mr. Foston. In this community, commercial and landed interests merge and ethnic distinctions vanish. Mr. Foston explains that in this new Britain, perhaps appropriately reborn in Wales, the space associated with the original Britons, “every man...should be a man of business, of science, and of pleasure,” and manufactures and commerce will assure the happiness and prosperousness of the community (238).

The formulation of this community occurs because of the machinations of two men, who initially do not know each other, but who work towards the same goal of community. The English Mr. Foston offers economic support and an initial vision for a reformed community. The Scottish Dr. Gordon, an intellectual physician with remarkable mediating skills, is able to weave together the community in spite of a number of potentially disruptive obstacles. Gordon helps his fellow Britons overcome class-based conflict and, perhaps appropriately during a “Scot’s War,” is instrumental in repairing Anglo-American conflicts, resulting in a new Anglo-American alliance between Henry Cheslyn, who has lost his money in the conflict, and Camitha Melton. His actions contribute directly to the formation of the utopian middling-class community that rejects

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24 Thomas falls in love with a Laura, a daughter of an aristocratic family, whose siblings are appalled at the possibility of her marrying a man of lower rank and take action to prevent it. John Cheslyn falls in love with Julia Foston, who is of mixed origins. Julia’s deceased mother had been half Jewish and half Persian and her father is an English curate’s son who has become a wealthy merchant through his marriage. Henry Cheslyn falls in love with Camitha Melton, the only surviving child of an American man and a Native American woman.
traditional social divisions. Foston and Gordon become friends and leaders of the new community, forming a tropological partnership to better the nation.

A Highlander from Inverness, Dr. Gordon is educated, intelligent, humorous, sympathetic and a skilled mediator. Rather than a languishing Highland warrior, he is a progressive, action-based professional. He enters the novel in a professional capacity. While Ann is on a visit to her uncle he becomes ill and calls in “a young Scotch physician, whose name is Gordon, and who is rising in great reputation, though he had been from Edinburgh only two years. He speaks broad Scotch, and seems to be a man of humour, and good humour too” (172). When Ann discovers that the housekeeper, who is planning to marry her uncle, is promiscuous and fails to convince the elderly man of his fiancée’s guilt, Dr. Gordon becomes an active part of the solution to the conventional plot device of an unfairly lost inheritance, persuading a witnessing servant to substantiate Ann’s story, and negotiating a settlement plan for the housekeeper. Having mediated reconciliation between Ann and her uncle, Dr. Gordon continues to mediate between her brother Tom and Mr. Sutton. Writing to Tom, he proffers his Scottishness as a source of humour to enhance their exchange. He notes,

[t]here are, amongst your countrymen, who say, that when a Scotchman speaks truth to save anybody but himself, he must be possessed of singular merit; and also that he is never unprovided with a quantum sufficit of impudence to make the most of it. Whatsoever you may be able to allow of the former quality, you will not dispute the latter, when I inform you that there is an impertinent fellow of that country, who is ready to besiege

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25 The dearth of information relating to Bage’s life means that we do not have knowledge about his personal experience with Scotland.
you, on your arrival in town, and will pretend a claim to your friendship;
who pretends also to the surly honesty attributed sometimes to his
countrymen: in consequence of which, he advertises you that he
is, within all his might, endeavoring to steal the affections of your amiable
sister. (182)

Far from being confined by a stereotype, as Scott suggests, Bage seems to play
with typical traits and stereotypical allusions to Scots in his representation of Dr. Gordon.
Bage represents benign anti-Scottish remarks as being a potential building block of
Britishness. There is no need for the feisty flyting of Lismahago and Matthew Bramble.
Negative characteristics – self-interest and ‘surly honesty’ – traditionally imputed to Scots
by the English have become objects of play, lacking any sense of aggression or indeed
merit. Perhaps one of the most startling examples of this shift is Bage’s use of the
Scottish dialect. When Ann first meets Dr. Gordon she notes his broad Scotch dialect.
When Ann converses with him later about possible resolutions to her family problems,
she realizes that his speech has “so much less of the Scotch pronunciation” (175). He
explains that his broad accent is “an innocent deceit...by which he found he could keep
the generality of his patients in good temper, with very little aid from wit and humour”
(175).

In a fascinating inversion of the much discussed mid-century Scots obsession with
erasing Scotticisms, Bage suggests that Scottish dialect is endearing, pleasantly
humorous. He suggests that it facilitates friendship and good humour between fellow
Britons from either side of the Tweed. It is a useful tool that Dr. Gordon picks up at will
to tease his patients. Bage seems to preempt Linda Colley’s suggestion that “[h]uman
beings are many-layered creatures, and do not succumb to the hegemony of others as easily as historians and politicians sometimes imply” (163). Indeed he uses one of the markers of his Scottishness – performance of his native dialect – to create a connection we might call Britishness between himself and his patients.

In the long passage quoted above, the doctor also tells Tom that he intends to court Ann. The untroubled courtship between Ann and Dr. Gordon signifies that Anglo-Scottish relations, particularly mutual desire between England and Scotland, are not fractured in the novel. At one point, shortly after revealing the truth about his housekeeper to Mr. Sutton, Dr. Gordon asks Ann for a kiss and is promptly given one. No mediation is required, nor obstacles to overcome.26 Their only moment of disagreement is about how long after Mr. Sutton’s death they need to wait to marry. The ease of their courtship is at odds with the troubled relationships between Tom and Laura who are trying to overcome class differences and between Henry and Camitha who are dealing with the painful result of the American war in which Camitha’s brothers have been killed and which appears to have contributed to her father’s death. Dr. Gordon facilitates both tumultuous courtships: the first through restoring a small inheritance to Ann and her brother, and the second through reconciling Camitha with her father. Camitha had not wished to think of marriage while she was mourning the loss of her father, whom she believes died in a shipwreck. Dr. Gordon discovers that her father is alive, however, during a medical visit to a hosier’s wife. Becoming intrigued by a melancholy gentleman residing with them, he tries to comfort the man. During this act of kindness and humanity

26 It is significant that while American and Indian colonies are represented as female in Bage’s narrative, Scottishness is unequivocally masculine. Dr. Gordon is neither female nor a feminized Gael. Moreover, while both colonial/British marriages are mediated by a patriarchal figure, Dr. Gordon and Ann mediate
he discovers that the gentleman is Mr. Melton and starts the process in motion to reconcile father and daughter, facilitating Henry’s marriage. In having a Scot undertake this recuperative act, reuniting individuals separated in a “Scots’ War,” Bage may be suggesting that those who most supported the war now wish to move towards reconciliation and regeneration.

Dr. Gordon is not the only recuperative force in the novel. Mr. Foston, John Cheslyn and others help to facilitate the marriages. Yet Dr. Gordon’s ability to mediate even in awkward situations is explicitly recognized by others. Mr. Foston notes that a meeting that he arranges between Tom and Laura’s father, Sir Richard, is extremely stiff and formal, and adds, “nor could any man of my acquaintance, Gordon excepted, have rendered it otherwise” (231). The Scot, then, is an important, even vital part of the British team required to rebuild the reformed nation.

The book ends with letters from Gordon and his wife, who describe to their friends, in Scotland and England respectively, the new British community in which they reside. As Peter Faulkner notes, it is significant that he chooses “a Scotsman to make the values [of their community] explicit,” for it is Dr. Gordon who provides an extensive description of the division of labour (47). Gordon’s character may directly reflect the interjection of Scottish Enlightenment philosophers into the political economy of the British nation. After all, Adam Smith, David Hume, John Millar and other Scots had contributed a great deal to the study of political economy earlier in the century, explaining its operation to British readers. Dr. Gordon tells his Scottish friend that Tom Sutton and Mr. Foston take on the land management in the community because it is their own. As an aside, it may also be significant that the Anglo-Scottish union took place under a queen with the same name as Dr. Gordon’s wife.
suitable to their "tempers and inclinations" (238). The American Mr. Melton and his son-in-law the English Harry combine their skills in trade and a ship building venture. John Cheslyn offers to be the community lawyer, and, as Dr. Gordon remarks, in addition to contributing his medical skills, he has told his fellow residents,

I understand something of my own country's linen manufactory. Welsh women may be taught to spin, and Welsh land to bear flax. But, above all, I consult my own propensities in the erection of a dome to make glass bottles. I have marked a hill abounding with excellent flints for the purpose; and when we have made glass...it will be the easiest thing in the world to make spectacles. (238)

John Cheslyn agrees to be Dr. Gordon's pupil in these projects. As well as providing mediating abilities, then, Dr. Gordon can provide practical professional and trade skills, as can his nation. Moreover, his profession is significant for reasons beyond the production of a significant number of doctors in Scotland each year. He is a healer, who contributes both to the physical and mental well-being of the English, and in producing spectacles, he implies that he will also be able to improve the figurative vision of the English as they try to imagine new forms of community.

After the men select their areas of business, Mr. Foston assures them that "for the disposition of business; we shall have a thriving colony," and encourages them also to pursue science and natural philosophy to further improve their community (238). These reform-minded thinkers, then, invert the usual relations between Britain and empire, representing themselves as having colonized part of Britain, which implicitly is
backward and needs to be cultivated and improved by forward-minded thinkers, of whom Scots are an integral part.

Six years later, Bage published *James Wallace* (1788), which also makes significant references to Scottish identity in its conception of Britishness. In this novel, Bage is no longer concerned with formulating the birth of a reformed Britain. The title character is a Briton already, an Anglo-Scot hybrid, as is Pauline Edwards, the young woman he discovers to be his sister as the story progresses. The work of producing a hybrid Britain has been accomplished by the previous generation, but it has emerged from a dissonance that has not yet been resolved, leaving both Britons without a coherent sense of identity. This dissonance emerges from class conflict, and can only be resolved if English and Scots of the generation before the hero, James, work together to erase its alienating effects.

Both James and Pauline have been raised by an English family, but neither of them knows their origins, or, indeed, the other. James has been raised by the English pharmacist who helped his dying mother give birth. The pharmacist has given him a basic education in the law, but a series of unfortunate incidents has reduced him to working as a footman. Pauline is raised by an English vicar and his wife, who adopted her when she was found, as an infant, without identifying documents, in a carriage with a dead servant. Order can be restored only if past class division is repudiated on both sides of the border.

James’s father, Wallace Islay, is the second son of the “laird of a sma’ clan in the county of Caithness” (458). After purchasing a commission in a regiment, Wallace secretly marries a “Miss Corbet of Lincolnshire” (459). Neither the Corbets nor the Islays

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27 Though she – unlike James – is born in Germany
are happy with the match, and while the reasons are not dwelt on at any great length, they seem to involve the perceived class biases of the families. We are told that it is the wealth and pride of Miss Corbet’s parents that lead them to reject Wallace (496), for Mr. Corbet is “a clergyman, rich, indeed, but not of family” (482). On the other hand, Wallace’s father “chafed like a wounded boar, when he learned that the man who made so little estimation of the best blude in the eastern Highlands, was na mare than an English parson” (459). Emphasis here appears to be on Mr. Corbet’s station in life rather than his national identity, as a member of Wallace’s mother’s family is earlier treated with disdain for committing “the great crime of falling in love with a burgher’s daughter of Cromartie” (459). Bage critiques this prejudice by foregrounding the fluidity of class in a modern society. By the next generation the social position of each family has reversed. The sister of Miss Corbet has married an aristocrat and is now part of a family of rank, whereas Captain Islay, Wallace’s brother, a younger son, who has been left neither title nor money by his parents, has become wealthy through trade.

The full integration of James and Pauline into mainstream British society is not focused on negotiation between regional cultures, but on the question of ways to nurture values which privilege merit, and thus lead to more negotiating room for the middling and commercial classes. It is the questionable social status of the siblings that prevents their marriage into respectable English families, not their Scottish descent. Their fledgling relationships are broken before their hybrid identity is even known. Pauline’s

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28 The shape of the narrative contains echoes of Smollett’s Roderick Random, but within a more firmly established British novel. Through a series of unfortunate incidents James, like Roderick, ends up working as a footman for the woman he falls in love with, Judith Lamounde. She, like Narcissa, is impressed by her footman’s learning and gentility. And James’s financial situation is ultimately greatly improved through discovery of a Scottish uncle who has grown rich through trade.
English suitor, Sir Everard Moreton, is sent away by his family because of his feelings for a mere "parson’s daughter," and James leaves the family where he is a footman because he is concerned about his inappropriate feelings for Judith, the niece of his employer (441).

Yet, while the dissonance in the text emerges from class prejudice, the journey to restore James and Pauline to their place in society must be undertaken by those on both sides of the Tweed. As in *Mount Henneth*, reform is only possible if both Scotland and England manufacture it. The trope of union in this novel involves two key figures who participate in the restoration of the siblings. Captain Patrick Islay, a gruff Scottish sea captain, "merchant and navigator" who does not know James is his nephew, having been rescued by James from a duel with an Irish captain, takes the young man under his wing, giving him access to an improved social position through commerce (462). Meanwhile, the English Lady Moreton, sister to Miss Corbet and a source of gentility and inherited wealth, is able to piece together fragmented knowledge she hears about Pauline’s birth, an act that not only links Pauline to her maternal aunt, but also to James. Social mobility through commerce and proof of gentility through birth are wedded together to provide a re-imagined Britain, which, as in *Mount Henneth*, integrates both commercial classes and landed gentry. Two final actions relating to class are necessary to complete this re-visioned Britain, however, both of which involve courtship tropes. The first is the successful marriage of James Wallace with Judith Lamounde, whose wealthy family has also crossed social ranks. Judith’s deceased father is the son of a “merchant of some consequence at Liverpool” and is a man of gentility, being well educated in the classics (417). His wife is the daughter of a Jamaican plantation owner. The second action is to
reassert a degree of discomfort with the values of the aristocracy. Pauline’s relationship cannot come to fruition because her suitor, who turns out to be her maternal cousin, and whose father was an aristocrat, is addicted to the rakish behaviour frequently associated with the aristocracy. Such dissolute values cannot comfortably be integrated with commercial gentility.

In *James Wallace*, the Scots and the English alike play a vital, and mutually beneficial, role in the reconciliation of genteel and commercial elements of Britain – in other words, in resolving problems unrelated to conflicts between rival nations. In addition to Lady Moreton’s contribution, Judith’s wealthy English uncle and his friend, Captain Islay, James’s wealthy Scottish uncle, literally invest in the restoration of the nation, giving the young British couple, Judith and James, generous financial assistance. James, as the story draws to a close, is clearly linked to mercantilism from both Scotland and England, a history important to Bage’s imagined nation. In recognition of England’s earlier commercial advancement, Mr. Lamounde’s wealth is inherited from his merchant father, whose father in turn, as a Flemish weaver, had emigrated from the continent during the persecution of the Huguenots. Scotland’s more recent commercial blossoming is represented by Patrick Islay’s successful rise from the poor son of a minor laird to a wealthy trader, with the help of a commercially-minded cousin.

In *Mount Henneth*, Bage had paid little attention to Scotland’s socio-economic position and national differences were not an issue. In this later novel, however, Bage cannot simply assert Scotland’s commercial and professional advancement. *James Wallace* is written at a time when the early stages of the Highland clearances were becoming part of public discourse. According to Eric Richard’s recent account of the
clearances, this was a time of rapidly rising rent; “the rents of Skye trebled in the third quarter of the century” (74). And “[i]t was during the 1780s that clearances occurred on a new scale, and with a suddenness which began to cause widespread public disquiet” (78). Particular Scottish history has penetrated Bage’s fancied scheme of two commercial nations blending their economic strengths.

To address this dissonance, Bage distances James from the corruption associated with absentee landlords and rising rents by locating it in the previous generation, and by presenting alternative Scottish positions. Patrick Islay’s eldest brother, Archibald, who inherits his father’s estate, is associated, as is Pauline’s English admirer, with the excesses of the aristocracy. He lives in Edinburgh and rarely visits his lands. He dismisses an advisor who suggests that a “progressional value” should be set upon the lands, increasing rents slowly to allow the tenants to become accustomed to the new mercantile system (460). There is an alternative approach in the same generation, however. Patrick Islay embodies an alternative, progressive and commercial Scotland. Patrick reluctantly remains as factor for a year, having to bear the reproach of the tenants for his brother’s avarice, but ultimately refuses to continue in this position. His sympathy lies with the benefits of commercial growth. As the third brother, he is entrusted to a mercantile cousin, Lochiel, who promises to give him an education suitable to his “blood” (459). While willing to accept his offer to take on the cost of educating Patrick, the Islay family had disproved of the interclass alliance between a member of Patrick’s mother’s family and a burgher’s daughter that had produced this cousin.

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29 Bage’s use of the name Lochiel is likely ironic. Locheil was the name of a Jacobite hero, known for his fidelity to Charles Edward Stuart. Locheil, in Bage’s new vision of Scotland, is a more suitable hero - a commercial man.
Nevertheless, Patrick’s father has “the generosity to overlook the foul stain, and acknowledge him for a relation” in return for “some deft pieces of India manufacture” (459). Patrick does receive a genteel education that includes Latin, mathematics and history, but he seems innately sympathetic to commerce rather than aristocratic values. He insists, “with aw my learning, I never could ken how exchanging the goods of one nation for those of another, and benefiting baith by the operation, could damage my blude” (459). Thus Bage aptly manages to elide contemporary concerns about oppressive absentee landlords who seek only to benefit themselves commercially. When after Archibald’s death Patrick becomes Sir Patrick, he does so as a positive embodiment of a commercial man.

**From Reform Novels to Radical Novels**

Whereas Bage is clearly optimistic about the ability of all Britons to contribute to the well-being and transformation of the nation, reformist authors writing after the Terror and the backlash that followed in England are less certain of Britain’s ability to reform itself. Anglo-Scottish tropes are revived in both Charlotte Smith’s *Young Philosopher* (1798) and in William Godwin’s *Fleetwood* (1805). As in *James Wallace*, the Scots in these tropes are paternal, part of an older generation, who work with other male advisors (an English advisor in Smith’s novel, and English and Swiss advisors in that of Godwin) to repair national problems. While this generation is presented as intellectually and morally progressive, they are not always effective in protecting the vulnerability of their envisioned hybrid Briton. In both novels, this vulnerability is foregrounded by using a female figure to mark an emergent British identity. Smith’s heroine, Medora, and
Fleetwood's Mary, are Anglo-Scots. The selection of a young, vulnerable female to represent a united Britain signifies the defensive position in which the reformed Britain once envisioned by Godwin and Smith has now been placed. Moreover, while Scottish men retain their intellectual strength and desire for Britain to embrace virtuous principles, the refusal or inability of British society to recognize the worth of their ideas has led to their marginalization. Smith's Glenmorris is abroad throughout almost the entire narrative in part because the freedom with which he spoke and wrote has made him enemies in this country, who have now so much the power of hurting him, that the persuasions of his few remaining friends against his return to England were added to the reluctance he felt to revisit a country where he had found that fortune alone was the object of esteem. (73)

Godwin’s Mr. Macneil, whose central doctrine is the importance of community, decides to emigrate to Italy. In Milan, he has been assured, his English wife, who had made an unfortunate decision to elope with her music master in her youth, a mistake that Macneil had helped her to correct through divorce, would be given “that circle of female associates and acquaintance, which was denied to Mrs. Macneil in England; and this, though the admirable matron could have dispensed with it for herself without repining, he [Macneil] judged it to be an advantage of the first importance to his daughters” (260). Macneil leaves a Britain which has refused to live up to his own doctrine of communal inclusion and acceptance.

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30 As in Bage's James Wallace, an Anglo-Scot is born out of circumstances of turmoil (once again caused by forces other than regional ones), and the Briton originates in an alliance of a Scottish male and an English female.
Reformist writers had reactivated a form of the elegiac Ossianic Scot at the beginning of the 1790s. Murray Pittock points out that ballads, songs and poetry had initially revived this quasi-Jacobite symbolism in Scotland in the 1790s, and such imagery often glorified defeat and exile, using it to impel the nation to action. The strength of this iconography of defeat is discussed by John Galt in a novel written in the 1820s in which he notes that Flodden has been converted by the muses of Scotland, in an act of "beautiful alchemy" from a "memory of national disgrace and misfortunes into motives of national pride that tend to add vigour to the energies of patriotism" (65).

The Scottish component of Godwin and Smith's tropes of Britain use elements of oppression and exclusion, dropping antique heroic elements not appropriate for novels set in the contemporary moment, and integrate the intellect which Bage has linked to the Scottish psyche in the novel. The trope of the Scottish exile is particularly meaningful in this historical moment as the Clearances had continued to increase in the 1790s, leading to popular resistance at some points in the decade. The historically based emigrating Scot, excluded from the British social system for reasons of rank, income or otherwise, is useful for the radical argument that British society needs to reorder its social structure. It would be inaccurate, however, to place the radicals' marginalized Scot in the same category as the vulnerable Scots of Macpherson's epics. While Macpherson's Ossian is obsessed with death, and has no heir to carry on his traditions and ideas, the Scots in the

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33 Emigration from Scotland to America had been happening since the 1730s and 1740s, but it sped up at the end of the century and the beginning of the next. According to Eric Richards, 20,000 emigrated from the Highlands to Cape Breton alone from 1802 to the early 1840s (63).
novels of Godwin and Smith have British heirs, and although these successors leave Britain as the novels draw to a close, hope is held out for their return. Delmont, the central figure in *The Young Philosopher*, as he leaves for America, speaks of the absence of himself and Medora as temporary (353). Likewise, Mary and Fleetwood appear poised to return to England at the end of Godwin’s novel. While the radicals give reduced agency to Scots, and to whoever else supports their ideals in the text, reflecting their own marginalized position in a loyalist nation, their influence has been passed on to a future generation, and they are not devoid of hope that their influence will live on.

Despite a reduction in agency, the Scots in these novels do not regain elements of culture that they had begun to lose in Bage’s novels. The only marker of Glenmorris’s country of origin is the Caledonian melancholia that Trumpener suggests influences works after the Ossianic works. Godwin’s Mr. Macneil does have an accent, but no other traits suggest he is distinctly Scottish. Smith and Godwin, like Bage, are not concerned with Scottish identity, but want to harness it for other political purposes. Both *Fleetwood* and *The Young Philosopher* convey unease with the marginalization of ideas of reform and radicalism, yet their configuration of the nation and their representation of the Scot within it differs, influenced by their gender and social position.34

**Charlotte Smith**

Elizabeth Kraft, in her recent edition of *The Young Philosopher*, outlines Smith’s engagement with “writers and intellectuals sympathetic to the French Revolution” in

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34 It is worth pausing here for a moment to consider whether it is appropriate to look for an intersection of concepts of family and nation in radical writers. After all, we might expect them to repudiate Burke’s organic metaphor of family. In *Fleetwood* and *The Young Philosopher*, however, Godwin and Smith specifically look at the failure of family to protect emergent British ideas. Moreover, the violence each female Briton must face within the nation can be seen as using Burke’s image of a suffering Marie Antoinette against him.
Brighton in the early 1790s, and notes that under their tutelage, her tendency to “oppose arbitrary power,” was directed at broader and more political “uses and abuses” of authority” (xix). This resulted in works such as Desmond (1792), which was not unsympathetic to revolutionary principles and democracy. As Miranda Burgess points out in a recent article on Smith, readers of Smith’s later work, particularly works that followed the Terror, “note that political critique gives way...to the formation of communities based on sentiment” (123). The “containment of protest” in later works is not only influenced by “the increasing conservatism of late-century British response to the French Revolution, and the attacks on female self-assertion that accompanied it,” but also by Smith’s dependence on the preferences of the literary marketplace (123). Burgess clearly demonstrates, however, that The Old Manor House, published shortly after the execution of the French king, is still intricately involved in criticism both of the oppressive British social structure and of any reformed system which might replace it.

Smith’s works, Burgess establishes, are involved in political commentary despite their emphasis on sentiment, and the nature of her commentary on both the landed and commercial system is strongly influenced by her gender and gendered position in the literary marketplace. This chapter extends this emphasis on gender in Smith’s work to the way in which she chooses to manufacture the nation in The Young Philosopher. The majority of the works discussed thus far have relied on masculine depictions of the nation. In the pamphlets surrounding the union, Home’s Douglas, the Ossianic works and The Coffee Shop, Scottish women were used to negotiate Britishness. The authors of these works are not particularly interested in exploring the material position of women within the Scottish or British nation. Indeed, as McClintock notes of narratives of empire,
these women often acted as "threshold figures by means of which men oriented themselves in space, as agents of power and agents of knowledge" (24). In other words, Home, Macpherson, Ramsay and the other male writers discussed in this book engaged in masculine acts of negotiation, which formulated ideas of nation through women without engaging with the particular position of women within the nation.

Smith, on the other hand, was a woman whose ability to form a comfortable domestic space had been severely limited not only by a spendthrift husband who continued to access and squander her money long after their separation, but also, as Burgess points out, by national institutions. Smith's lack of money, she notes, "was a product of specific legal and financial structures – primogeniture, inheritance, probate court and gender-biased marriage laws that mandated informal separation rather than divorce from a husband who continued to sign her book contracts but paid no support" (124). Smith's experience as a female subject in a masculine nation unsurprisingly resulted in an imagined Britain in which the female Briton – the Anglo-Scottish Medora – and her English mother are faced with oppression of Gothic proportions. The only solution is to move to America, a decision reached by Glenmorris as the novel draws to a close, and strongly supported by his wife and daughter.35

Before engaging with the place of Scottishness in Smith's Britain – I will briefly digress into a discussion of the relationship between woman and nation.36 Understanding

35 Medora expresses a preference for America several times in the text. After escaping from the threat of a forced marriage with a lower-class kidnapper and a potential rape by a tyrannical aristocrat, she tells George Delmont, the young Englishman she will ultimately marry, that she is susceptible to trickery in England because she has been "used to the hospitality of America, where the stranger of whatever nation or persuasion, is received with the simplicity of patriarchal kindness" (327). And she asks Delmont, "if ever I should belong to you, take me, take me to America" (154).

36 Claudia Johnson writes that during the 1790s, "Only men have legitimate access to the discourse of the heart, and of course only certain men at that" (14). Women are barred from affective displays, as "their affectivity" is seen as "inferior, unconscious, unruly or even criminal" (14). Heroines, then, "become
the position of the female Briton in the narrative is crucial to interpreting Smith’s use of
Scottish characters and landscape. As a woman writer using a female character to signify
a fledgling concept of an emergent national ideal, Smith creates an unstable metaphor,
one which at moments appears to represent hope for a re-formed nation and at other times
signifies women’s position in the narrative of national identity. McClintock, writing of
Olive Schreiner in the mid-nineteenth century, notes her obsession with boundaries, a
result of the “cult of domesticity” having charged women with the maintenance of
boundaries in general, including those of the nation (263). Charlotte Smith’s Medora is
certainly an earlier example of liminality. She is British, yet not British; an icon of British
potentiality but also a marginalized woman; an heiress, deprived of an inheritance; a
dependent on a series of men who always manage to be absent at the wrong time forcing
her to extricate herself from various dangers. She does not enter the text this way. In fact,
Delmont’s initial attraction to her seems contingent on her being nothing much at all.
When he declares his love for Medora to his friend Mr. Armitage, who is also a friend of
Glenmorris, Armitage expresses surprise, commenting that “a girl of Medora’s age has no
mind; it remains to be formed” (72). Delmont replies that his love for her is predicated on
her being “so entirely the child of nature” who will become, “when she is formed…such
a woman as her mother,” blended with “the best part of her father’s singularities” (72).

Medora embodies potential and fluidity, both in her femininity and her status as
an icon of a hybrid nation. Not only is she the meeting point of English and Scottish
identity, but Laura, her mother, is herself a national and class hybrid. Laura’s mother is
English, with some connections to Glenmorris’s Scottish family, and her husband is a

equivocal beings in that they alone must shoulder the once-masculine virtues of stoic rationalism and self-
control” (16). Both of Smith’s heroines, but particularly Medora, display this stoicism.
wealthy Dutch merchant. Medora is the intersection point of North and South Britain, and of the landed and commercial classes. Her overdetermination is further extended by locating her place of birth elsewhere, in Switzerland, the nation commonly associated with republican sentiments. After the death of their first child, a boy, and the reunion of Glenmorris and his wife after a series of horrific incidents separate them for an extensive period of time, the couple emigrates, not to America, which is still in a state of war, but to Switzerland, where Medora is born (152). The young woman is simultaneously Briton and non-Briton. At one point her mother, referring to her own father’s Dutch identity, proclaims that Medora is “like her mother, a foreigner in this country [Britain]” (152).

As she is introduced into the text, then, Medora seems to be a passive icon of an emergent re-formed British nation whose identity will be determined by her Scottish father and her English lover, but at the same time she is the intersection point of multiple possibilities. Medora, the woman, however, will disrupt this iconography when she is forced to write her own story, and become the primary agent of her own fate. This happens because British masculinity fails to protect Medora, either as nation or woman. Kraft points out that “the troubles of [Smith’s]... heroines stem directly from their dependence on men who are – invariably in The Young Philosopher – somewhere else when trouble occurs” (xxv). Delmont spends much of his time trying to resolve the financial difficulties of his wastrel brother. He neglects to ensure that he has sufficient economic support to care for his future wife and her family. Mr. Armitage, at a crucial

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37 The radical John Thelwall, in The Rights of Nature (1796), writes that “of... the state of society, where the proprietor, or farmer, was joint and equal labourer with the persons employed, some traces remained in this island, in the memory of many who are still alive. It exists, to this day, in all its primitive simplicity, in several of the happy Cantons of Switzerland” (Gregory Claeys. The Politics of English Jacobitism 170). Medora speaks French (native tongue) and Italian.

38 Laura was born in Florence and “had never been naturalized” (112).
moment in the text, goes “to a remote part of England, to attend on an old friend suffering under recent and most severe affliction” (169), and her father, Glenmorris, whose strongest characteristic is his absence, is of little help when he does finally return at the end of the novel. He is immediately imprisoned for debt by his enemies, and must be rescued himself.

Can homosocial tropes of cross-border relations exist in this tapestry of masculine failure? While Bage’s novels depict a partnership of Anglo-Scottish nation building, Smith’s novels depict a specifically masculine trope of Anglo-Scottish failure to protect emergent Britishness and the women who have been used to encapsulate it. The Scottish Glenmorris and the English Armitage and Delmont share this ineptitude. Moreover, moving from particular masculinity to a broader nationality, Smith deliberately foregrounds feudal and commercial corruption in both England and Scotland and dwells on the traumatic effects of that corruption on two generations of women, Laura and her daughter Medora.

Glenmorris’s failure does not detract from the fact that he shares some of the positive and active qualities of Bage’s heroes. He is an intellectual and a reformist who has participated in public debate, though he is decidedly not a commercial man. He is “a scholar, a poet, a young man of extraordinary, though somewhat eccentric genius,” who finds little pleasure with the dull business training provided by the father of his future wife (84). At the same time, he rejects “the feudal pride” with which his father, who had embraced his position as “head of an ancient and illustrious clan,” had fed him (84). He initially seems willing to merge with the socio-political system, hoping to marry Laura with the approval of her family, but after his rejection, for reasons relating to class and
poverty rather than his place of origin, he starts to reevaluate its emphasis on hierarchy, rank and money. At this point, Glenmorris, confident that he does have a small Scottish estate, to which he could take Laura, has a degree of agency, at least over his domestic life. He reassures Laura with references to this Highland retreat: “I have yet a property left in the highlands – there lived my ancestors – why should I, falsely refined, suppose that I cannot also live there? With you, Laura, the wildest mountain of my rugged country would be to me an Eden” (98). He acts decisively to bring his Highland vision to fruition, putting together a plan to help Laura escape and carrying it out.

The escape involves an impromptu act of mimicry on Glenmorris’s part. Lady Mary, Laura’s mother, was greatly attached to the somewhat suspect idea that Geoffry Plantagenet, “the second son of the second Henry,” was her ancestor, and that some old pieces of armour discovered in the gloomy Lancanshire castle that had once belonged to her family likely belonged to Geoffry himself (89). Glenmorris equips himself “in the armour of the hero of the red rose” and, appearing to be a ghost, frightens the only servant who threatens their exit (101). This masterly act not merely of Anglicizing himself, but of assuming the persona of one of the most venerable figures in English history is almost instantly invalidated by Glenmorris’s inability to predict tidal currents. He inadvertently leads Laura into danger on the beach, and they are only rescued when somewhat ignobly gain help from a passing smuggler, whom they threaten (103).

Smith ultimately refuses to create a utopic Highlands which would elide dissonance as Scott would later do in *Heart of Midlothian*. Shortly after arriving in Scotland, Glenmorris is kidnapped by pirates, leaving Laura to face a series of threats alone. He returns only after she has been mentally tormented by his relatives, given birth
to a dead son, escaped with the help of some peasants, received the assistance of a
Scottish lord who is promptly injured in a duel, and returned by the lord’s malicious sister
to relatives of Glenmorris who have nefarious intentions towards her. Scottish
masculinity, then, for all its good intentions and heroic Ossianic connotations, seems
ineffective. Yet Smith is not condemning Caledonian masculinity in isolation. She
repeats this trope of the inept hero in the next generation, this time with an English
protagonist. The failure of masculinity is national rather than regional.

Delmont’s narrative bears an eerie resemblance to that of his future father-in-law.
Rejecting a professional education that would bring him social mobility, he chooses to
tend his own land, a choice not unlike that of Glenmorris who has undergone a
“metamorphose from a Scottish chieftain to an American farmer” (152). His ability to
assist Medora is even more inadequate than that of his predecessor. Having been
kidnapped by a fortune-hunting clerk, Medora escapes from her captor and makes her
way across England, evaluating the trustworthiness of various characters along the way.
She escapes from a rakish lord and finds her father, who has finally returned to England
to support his family. It is only then that Delmont finds her, and repeating an earlier act
of Glenmorris, promptly accuses her of sexual promiscuity. As Kraft notes, “both Laura
and Medora exhibit extraordinary strength and courage during their trials, yet each is
confronted at the moment of rescue not by praise for her strength but by unfounded
suspicions born of sexual jealousy” (xxv).

Even to men of good character, Smith suggests, women writing their own
narrative is a threatening act. Women, like nations, are to be shaped by men and their
institutions. In this moment of reunion, the duality of Medora’s character comes to the
fore. As an emblem of British potentiality and vulnerability, she is dependent on the manufacturers of a national philosophy for her existence, but as a woman, failed by masculine representatives of North and South Britain, she begins to become an agent and construct her own identity. Neither Delmont nor her father plays a part in the "little history" she recounts (298).

Smith’s insistence on the ineffectiveness of moral men on either side of the Tweed is matched by her assertion that institutional and general social corruption is distributed throughout Britain. As Angela Keane suggests in *Women Writers and the English Nation in the 1790s*, in the novel,

> [e]ach corner of Britain seems to have insufficient or unevenly distributed resources. The auld romance of Scotland has turned into a Gothic nightmare; its population is geographically and historically stagnant. Ireland features in a later episode when George Delmont travels in search of his dissolute brother Adolphus. There he is hounded as a candidate for marriage by an overabundant supply of female suitors: a sign that the Anglo-Irish ascendancy is running out of heirs. England meanwhile is overcrowded and parasitic. (105)

Burgess has pointed out that in Smith’s *Old Manor House*, the heroine Monimia is confined and terrorized by female “representatives of land and commerce” (125). Five years later, Smith repeats this critique of land and commerce, ensuring both Scotland and England are seen as complicit in corruption in both central elements of British society, commerce is seen as slightly less malignant than feudal tyranny in both nations. Laura’s mother, Lady Mary, and Glenmorris’s Scottish kinswoman, Lady Kilbrodie, cling to the
same rigid ideas of hierarchy and regionalism, and each is willing to sacrifice Laura to keep her belief-system intact. Both women feel threatened by Laura’s reproduction of a nation that rejects traditional class barriers and threatens the status quo. Although Glenmorris claims that his Scottish “family was the original stem from which...[Lady Mary’s] derived its consequence,” giving her the potential, as an Anglo-Scot, to embrace multiplicity and heterogeneity, she is obsessed with tracing and maintaining her dubious link to the English monarchy, even if this means other connections must be suppressed (89). She is certain that “her illustrious blood was derived from Geoffry Plantagenet,” and talks of “nothing but the Plantagenets” (89). Dedicated to making her family worthy of this glorious heritage, Lady Mary herself marries for wealth, and persuades her husband to give a far larger portion of his fortune to his eldest daughter, Guilielmina, should her husband take on the family name. She is overjoyed when this investment wins “the second son of a noble house” for the heiress and is horrified to discover Glenmorris, an orphan who possessed “only the last poor remains of a Scottish lairdship, not amounting to six hundred a year,” wants to marry her youngest daughter, Laura (84).

Lady Mary’s dedication to the values of the ancien régime is matched in Scotland by the far less illustrious, but equally vicious, Ladie of Kilbrodie, who, as a Catholic and Jacobite, clings to the century-old values of the Highlands. Her antique (and unclean) apparel and the “phillibeg and bonnet” of her son mirror the ‘Plantagenet’ armour in the castle of Lady Mary. Living in poverty on a ruined estate, Kilbrodie has hopes of “aggrandizing her two sons” and repairing the fortune of her house (109). After

39 Lady Mary’s rejection of Glenmorris as son-in-law derives from his social position rather than his Scottish heritage. Her obsession with English aristocracy, however, does imply that she thinks little of his place of origin.
Glenmorris is abducted by pirates, Lady Kilbrodie forces the pregnant Laura to reside with her, and does everything in her power to cause her to miscarry in the hopes that her own son will inherit Glenmorris’s small tower and estate. Laura’s own death, it seems, would also be welcome to her (113). Laura finally escapes, but not before her son is born dead.

Commercial forces are also, at their worst, oppressive and, at their best, of little help. Laura’s Dutch father, “bred in a Dutch compting-house,” loves both his daughters, and believes his wife’s obsession with antiquarianism to be frivolous. However, in yet another failure of masculinity to protect vulnerable women, he is controlled by his ambitious wife and unable to intercede to help his youngest daughter, although he creates a subversive will with a loophole that gives Laura hope that she might still be able to inherit her share of his fortune (72). On the other hand, the indeterminacy of the will leaves Laura open, like Smith herself, to the interminable manipulations of the English legal system, and is little direct help. It will take the intercession of Laura’s niece – the daughter of her elder sister – to restore the inheritance. Miss Cardonnel, for reasons deriving from personal morality and affection for her cousin, rather than from public morality promoted by institutions of law and commerce, ultimately divides her own inheritance with Medora.

The representation of commerce in Scotland, while more subtle, is also more violent (and masculine). Srinivas Aravamudan, in his recent book Tropicopolitans, engages with the relationship between piracy and commerce in Daniel Defoe’s Captain Singleton. While he points out that Defoe clearly understood piracy “as a sociopolitical practice that challenged mercantilism,” Aravamudan also notes the frequent slippage –
often parodic – between references to piracy and references to trade and commercial activity (79). Glenmorris and his wife, while in their Highland utopia, are attacked by pirates. The international crew of the American privateer, commanded by an English outlaw and manned by English, Scotch, Irish, Portuguese, and Genoese 'entrepreneurs,' are represented in commercial terms. Glenmorris, resisting them, is wounded, captured and transformed into a commodity. After he returns, he explains that "it was not the interest of my captors to let me die" (147). Rather, they treat him as a product, hoisted like "a bale of goods into the vessel" and transport him from nation to nation in hopes of a good ransom/price (147,148).

Britain’s hostility, both in the commercial and landed ranks, to emergent British ideas about reform, results in emigration. While this may not appear to be of concern to Britons of Glenmorris’s generation, who can simply configure him as a marginalized Scotsman with little money and dangerous ideas, Smith suggests that others will follow, even those who belong to the center, yet refuse, like George Delmont, to be defined by narrow regional concepts, like George Delmont. The possibility of reform will not necessarily be lost. Armitage chooses to stay to promote change and George seems to hint at his return, but, at least for a time, the national narrative will be left in the hands of lesser people, such as George’s materialistic brother Adolphus and his superficial wife (352).

Already it is clear that the position of Smith is darker than that of the reformist Bage. Anglo-Scottish tropes are not only potentially nation-building, but also potentially nation-destroying. In the first generation depicted, there is an Anglo-Scottish-Dutch trope of marriage at the center of the narrative, in the marriage between Glenmorris and Laura.
The marriage seems potentially equal in that Glenmorris’s masculinity is offset by Laura’s higher rank. However, the fruitfulness of this union is endangered by malevolent and corrupt Anglo-Scottish forces that try to destroy the reproductive potential of this union, and by the ineffective tropes of Anglo-Scottish masculinity that are unable to protect an emergent new Britain. The dead firstborn son of the union and the survival of only a daughter signify the fragility of concepts of a polity that disrupt old and new hierarchies.

The pessimism that pervades the novel, then, reflects the disillusionment of Jacobin writers after the Terror. Marginalized by the backlash against revolutionary thought, the Britain they envisioned seems elusive. Although Smith imagines this Britain as a product of an Anglo-Scottish alliance, the factors that threaten it also originate from both north and south of the border, a perhaps unsurprising position, given the Scottish administration’s reaction to revolutionary thought in Scotland. As in Bage’s novels, Anglo-Scottish tension is elided, decentered by political and class problems. Unlike Bage’s work, however, the ability of the Anglo-Scottish tropology to resolve this problem is limited as the collaborative Anglo-Scottish masculine alliance of Glenmorris, Armitage and Delmont is unable to prevail against socio-political forces and hierarchies. While their ineptness reflects the failure of revolutionary principles to take hold in Britain, it simultaneously reflects Smith’s recognition of the marginalized and dependent position of the female within the nation.

William Godwin

William Godwin, as some critics have noted, resembles a character in Smith’s Young Philosopher. Armitage, the good-natured character who seems to embody
Godwin, is sympathetically presented, illustrating Smith’s commitment to the principles of reform advocated by Godwin and her disappointment with their marginalization.⁴⁰ It is not surprising, then, that many of the concerns raised by Smith appear in Godwin’s *Fleetwood or, the New Man of Feeling* (1805).⁴¹ Writing, like Smith, at the climax of anti-Jacobin sentiment, Godwin also represents the vulnerability of radical ideas by using a young female Anglo-Scot as a blank slate on which British masculinity can write the nation. Mary Macneil’s father tells Casimir Fleetwood that when he marries he should choose a young girl who is all “pliancy, accommodation, and good humour” (254). Such pliancy, he suggests, will allow Fleetwood to form her to his mind. Mary is a wonderfully pliable locus on which a revitalized national consciousness can be written, inspiring Fleetwood to formulate “new views, new desires, [and] new thoughts” (254).⁴² Mary seems ideal for this process, as her association with youth, nature and order (she is an avid gardener who has designed her father’s grounds) underpins the hope for a new

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⁴⁰ Loraine Fletcher, in *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography* (1998), notes that “Armitage is clearly based on Godwin....[It] is the novel’s proponent of progress and perfectibility. But he is execrated by almost everyone in the novel who has heard of him, and the narrator is pessimistic about the direction European society is taking” (279). Somewhat less convincingly, she suggests that “Glenmorris resembles Paine in revolutionary commitment and in his long stay in America, though no work of fiction could equal the legends attaching to Paine’s life” (280). Smith, having been criticized for her political involvement in earlier works, distances herself from the views of Glenmorris and Armitage in the preface to the novel, asserting, “I declare...against the conclusion that I think either like Glenmorris or Armitage, or any other of my personages” (5). However, it is clearly no coincidence that both Glenmorris and Armitage are portrayed relatively sympathetically in comparison to such characters as Adolphus, Lady Mary, and the vindictive Mrs. Crewkerne.

⁴¹ P. Dawson, describing Godwin’s political position, notes that “[h]e certainly opposed the political principles of Burke, and his rejection of all authority or tradition led him to an anarchist position. At the same time he rejected the activism of Paine and considered that the resort to revolutionary action posed as great a threat to intellectual independence as did acquiescence in the established order. The combination of theoretical extremism and practical restraint made Godwin the perfect theorist for intellectuals” (58).

⁴² Godwin did have some concern with women’s position in society, which he likely inherited from Mary Wollstonecraft. However, his response to women’s plight in *Fleetwood* does not involve giving women agency, as Smith did in a *Young Philosopher*. Mary is dependent on various men throughout the narrative, and the danger of making the few decisions she does make on her own is severely heightened. Her attempt to aid her husband’s kinsman to pursue the woman he loves results in abandonment, divorce and public humiliation.
organic order (246). Yet British masculinity is not up to the task. This time, it is not because the failure of the previous generation has been passed on to the present, as it was in Smith, but rather that the narcissistic generation of the present does not have the faculties to interpret the wisdom of the past, tropologically embodied, in this novel, in friendships Fleetwood forms with a Swiss farmer and a Scottish philosopher.

At one point in the narrative Fleetwood laments that “the public character of England, as it exists in the best pages of our history was gone. I perceived that we were grown a commercial and arithmetical nation; and that, as we extended the superficies of our empire, we lost its moral sinews and its strength” (226). Fleetwood’s character, ironically, embodies the loss of moral character and strength. He is an overly sentimental man whose natural education in Wales has had little to do with order, leaving him unprepared to regulate his feelings appropriately within society. Mary will suffer from his oppressive and narcissistic personality in an experience which certainly highlights the failure of British masculinity to guard its national well-being. Walter Scott was appalled at Godwin’s ironic representation of the “new man of feeling,” the sub-title of the novel. He writes,

[w]e have been accustomed to associate with our ideas of this character the amiable virtues of a Harley, feeling deeply the distresses of others, and patient, though not insensible of his own. But Fleetwood, through the whole three volumes which bear his name, feels absolutely and exclusively for one individual, and that individual is Fleetwood himself.

(203)

43 Godwin’s work does not appear to be anti-commercial. Fleetwood’s noble grandfather, who had rescued Ruffigny from poverty, had been a merchant, and Ruffigny himself had been good at trade.
Scott was terribly distressed at the “happy” ending of the novel in which Mary forgives her husband for a series of appalling acts, and is “once more subjected to his tyranny” (203).

Godwin, like Smith, is willing to seek answers to British conservatism in other nations. In *The Young Philosopher*, this takes the form of Glenmorris’s emigration to America and his commitment to global good. He approves of Delmont as a son-in-law because he is a “citizen of the world... divested not only of local prejudice, but I hope of all prejudices” (169). In *Fleetwood*, a degree of internationalism is reflected in the participation of two men in the recuperation of English masculinity through several philosophical paradigms. Mr. Ruffigny, a Swiss farmer, whose financial success has come through the benevolence of others and a talent for trade, instills a sense of ethical behaviour in Casimir. Mr. Macneil, a Scottish landed gentleman with an estate in Westmorland, teaches the misanthrope the value of community and philanthropy. A third man, Mr. Scarborough, a Berkshire gentleman, who has no philosophy to teach, but whose experience with his own family has taught him the destructive forces of distorted passions and excessive control, enters the novel at the end, giving Fleetwood the gift of discernment by revealing the extent to which he has been manipulated by Gifford, his kinsman, who has played a powerful Iago to Fleetwood’s Othello. Once again we have a

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44 Elaine W McFarland, in an article on Scottish radicalism, comments on “[t]he outward looking and internationalist spirit of radical political activity” (Devine and Young, 275).

45 Gary Handwerk and A.A. Markley, in their introduction to the recent Broadview edition of the text, suggest that he is an altruistic “Rousseauvian sage, a figure whose lifestyle and moral character represent the attainable excellence of Rousseau’s ideals under fortunate circumstances” (25). In a discussion of Godwin’s *Fleetwood*, Peter H. Marshall points out that Godwin “vaunts Switzerland as the country of freedom, moderation and good sense” and laments the fact that “the public character of England was gone” (263). The view of Switzerland as a sort of pastoral utopia was circulated by radical thinkers, in part because of its republican state and in part because of its primitivism.

46 Peter Marshall points out that in *Caleb Williams*, Caleb is forced underground, “symbolically disguising himself as a beggar, Irishman, Jew and freak” (148). Scottish identity no longer contains these abject connotations; they have been placed on other national identities, class identities and mental states.
Scottish intellectual man participating tropologically, on an equal basis, with English and European men. Each man plays a central role in the progression of Fleetwood. While his influence on Fleetwood is limited, Macneil makes a substantial contribution both to the protagonist and the nature of the narrative. His emphasis on family and community transforms Fleetwood from an isolated man into a husband and father, and changes the novel's genre from an extended bildungsroman to a romance.

Macneil's virtue, like the virtue of the heroes of Bage and Smith, does not derive from his association with primitive peripheral virtues, which Godwin had explicitly denounced in *Political Justice*. He writes,

> [i]ndividuals of exquisite feeling, whose disgust has been excited by the hardened selfishness or the unblushing corruption which have prevailed in their own times, have recurred in imagination to the forests of Norway or the bleak and uncomfortable Highlands of Scotland in search of a purer race of mankind. This imagination has been the offspring of disappointment, not the dictate of reason and philosophy.” *(154: I, vii)*

The Scotsman's moral and philosophical integrity derives from his position as a citizen of the world. He has “resided much in foreign countries,” has been well acquainted with “the celebrated Jean Jacques Rousseau,” and is on his way to Milan with Mary's mother and sisters when the family is drowned in a shipwreck *(234)*.

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47 The centrality of Macneil may be appropriate in a book that makes clear by its subtitle that it essentially rewrites a book by a Scot. Henry Mackenzie's original man of feeling is replaced by Godwin's decidedly fallen new man of feeling, whose sentimentality is distorted and selfish.

48 Macneil leaves Britain, not because his Scottishness makes him marginal, but because the English woman he has married has been excluded from English social circles. Mrs. Macneil, as a young girl, had been seduced by and married her Italian music instructor. Macneil rescued her from her husband, who had made her a prisoner in Italy, and after a divorce had married her. Although she is sorely repentant for her mistake, she is denied a “circle of female associates and acquaintance,” which is vital to herself and to the development of her daughters *(260)*.
At the same time, Macneil is unmistakably Scottish, a quality Godwin emphasizes in direct relation to his intellect. Fleetwood notes, "[w]ith me the Scottish dialect is somewhat a favorite; it softens and mellowes the sound of our island tongue; and the gravity which accompanies it, gives an air of sobriety and reflection to the speaker" (242, 243). Although he is aligned with Rousseau in the text, and expresses "veneration and tenderness" towards him (243), the belief structure Macneil offers Fleetwood – perhaps appropriately – is more reminiscent of that discussed in Adam Smith’s *Moral Sentiments* (1759). Smith writes,

> [w]ith what pleasure do we look upon a family, through the whole of which reign mutual love and esteem, where the parents and children are companions for one another without any other difference than what is made by respectful attention on the one side, and kind indulgence on the other; where freedom and fondness, mutual raillery and mutual kindness, show that no opposition of interest divides the brothers, nor any rivalship of favour sets the sisters at variance, and where every thing presents us with the idea of peace, cheerfulness, harmony and contentment. (Smith I: 39)

When Fleetwood talks of the “early disgust” he had taken with the world, Macneil talks about the benefits of community and his family models Smith’s picture of domestic harmony. Fleetwood muses that in Macneil’s domestic surroundings there is “so much

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49 Godwin may have had plenty of models for Macneil, for he was surrounded by Scottish intellectuals and gentlemen, although he did not visit Scotland until 1813 (Marshall 305). Godwin’s Scottish friends included James Mackintosh, a member of the French assembly and the author of *Vindiciae Gallicae* (1791), who later denounced the revolutionary principles he espoused; John Arnot, a Scotsman who toured Europe and kept up a correspondence with him; and James Ballantyne, the Edinburgh printer. Godwin had also been appalled by the treatment of Scottish radicals, and, on Dec 7th, 1793, wrote a letter to the *Morning Chronicle* denouncing their harsh sentences (Marshall 134).
concord of affection without any jarring passions; so much harmony of interests, yet each member of the family having a different pursuit” (247). Macneil encourages Fleetwood to enter this same state of community. “Fleetwood,” he remarks, “you are too much alone....Marry! Beget yourself a family of children....Sit down every day at a table with a circle of five or six persons, constituting your own domestic group. Enquire out the young men on the threshold of life, who, from the regulations of society, have the best claim on your assistance. Call them round you; contribute to their means” (251, 252).

The value of Macneil’s advice surpasses even that of Ruffigny’s, according to Fleetwood, who muses that

Ruffigny, gallant, noble-hearted mortal as he was, stood alone; my intercourse with him was a perpetual tête-à-tête, and had too much of monotony and uniformity for the unsatisfied cravings of the human mind; but to return home with Macneil, after a morning’s temperate and sober discussion, and to see him surrounded with his blameless wife and accomplished daughters, what could the heart of man look for more. (259)

Fleetwood ultimately follows Macneil’s advice and marries his Scottish mentor’s youngest daughter, Mary. But Macneil is promptly removed from the narrative. Godwin acknowledges and privileges the intellectual influence of Scottish philosophy, but places it, along with that of the Rousseau-like Ruffigny, in the past. Fleetwood, as a representative of modern British masculinity, has inherited their philosophies, but must learn how to balance them by himself. His excessive misanthropy and idealism before meeting Macneil is replaced by an acceptance of family and community, but without the ability to discern truth and falsehood he cannot interact effectively within such a group.
Fleetwood follows Macneil’s suggestion when he contacts his kinsmen, the half-brothers Kenrick and Gifford, but his inability to recognize Gifford’s treachery and Kenrick’s innocence leads to a series of horrific misunderstandings and trauma.  

Scottish philosophy, then, is vital to the well-being of a reformed Britain, but it is open to misinterpretation by a British ruling class that has lost its strength of character, although Godwin seems to offer hope of recuperation. As the novel draws to a close, the couple, now in Paris, seem to be about to return to Britain with their son. Despite Walter Scott’s misgivings, a remorseful Fleetwood implies he has finally learned the lessons Ruffigny and Macneil had tried to teach him.

Following in Smith’s footsteps, Godwin constructs a vulnerable feminized Britain – Mary Macneil – who is dependent on masculine alliances to protect and support her. Unlike Smith, however, Godwin does not express concern with giving women a degree of autonomy within the nation. After her rejection by Fleetwood, Mary survives only through a network of men, including Mr. Scarborough and Fleetwood’s virtuous relation, Mr. Kenrick. Their kindness, however, only highlights the failure of the key representative of English masculinity – Fleetwood himself – to decipher the wealth of philosophical knowledge from the previous generation to which he has access. His inability to discern “truth” reflects the disappointment of radical thinkers in the “failure” of Britons to recognize core values of progress and community in reformist thought.

Macneil himself certainly seems to possess discernment. He expresses concern about the materialistic values of the family he leaves Mary with and, recognizing Fleetwood’s capricious nature, forces a promise from him never to be unjust to his daughter (262). This ability to discern moral character is not surprising given the concern of Scottish philosophers with deception and vice. Adam Smith, for one, discusses men who are “capable of willfully deceiving” (337) in *Moral Sentiments*, and David Hume dissects Iago’s methodology and Othello’s response in his essay “Of Tragedy.” At moments Macneil sounds like Rousseau, particularly in his notion that good is naturally in all men. However, Rousseau is certainly aware of evil, as N.J.H. Dent reminds us when he notes that Rousseau makes a careful account of the “empirical conditions giving rise to such emotions as envy, malice and spite in human relationships” (218).
(values which, through Macneil, seem to have part of their origins in British thought),
despite the excesses of the revolution.\textsuperscript{51}

The failure of English masculinity is not the only threat to the nation. The marriage of Mary and Fleetwood, an Anglo-Scottish alliance, is also endangered by empire. The empire, Godwin implies, can be infectious and undermines the moral fiber of the British nation. The central destructive force in the narrative is Gifford, whose mother had been divorced by her first husband when she was “caught in a situation with a young officer, a West Indian of colour” (328). Gifford appears to be a product of this relationship. He has a “dark complexion, approaching to the mulatto” which “was no agreeable portent” and he is extremely envious of his younger brother, who lacks the stigma of illegitimacy and merged racial origins. Acting much like Iago, Gifford brings chaos to the members of the Fleetwood family until a group of concerned friends convince Fleetwood of his duplicity. In \textit{Political Justice}, Godwin confirms his resistance to empire when he suggests there be “no more nation states. Colonies and dependencies would be given their independence....But this need not mean insularity, for without nation states the whole of the human species would constitute in a sense one great republic” (Marshall 109). Anglo-Scottish alliances are not the source of division, but are a symbol of unity, a unity which must be defended against external ‘infection’ and which needs to be reconnected to a rich European philosophical past which includes the teachings of the Scottish Enlightenment.

\textsuperscript{51} This is not unlike the England of \textit{Caleb Williams}, which cannot discern Caleb’s innocence.
An Anti-Jacobin Voice

Robert Bisset, a frequent contributor to the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, published a novel in 1800 entitled *Douglas, or the Highlander*, that responds to radical uses of the Scot by reclaiming Scottish agency for the loyalist camp, and by combining it with a distinct Scottish cultural identity and intellectual history. This work is a direct attack on Godwin, Smith and other radical thinkers. He lampoons Godwin in the character of “the great philosopher, William Subtlewood,” who primarily appeals to barbers and shoemakers, and he directly accuses Charlotte Smith of softening vice and telling nothing but her own story again and again (3:308).

Little is known about Bisset, and neither the *Dictionary of National Biography* nor the biography in Emily Lorraine de Montluzin’s book, *The Anti-Jacobins 1798-1800*, mentions his place of birth. In the dedication to the novel, which he dedicates to the Scottish Marquis of Huntley, however, Bisset asserts that he was born “in the Highlands of Scotland,” and that it is for that reason that he has tried to portray “the sentiments, manners, and character of a Highland gentleman; and endeavour to show, that the sense of hereditary dignity, to be found in Highlanders of family, is a powerful incentive to meritorious exertions” (v). The sentiments, manners and character of a Highland gentleman, imbued with that which we might call a coherent Scottish culture, are strongly aligned with anti-Jacobin thought, according to Bisset.

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52 Although it is not a particularly reliable source, it may be worth noting that according to the www.familysearch.org run by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, there was a Robert Bisset born on 29th of March 1759 in Logierait, Athole, Perthshire, Scotland, who seems to fit the characteristics of this Robert. We know he was forty six when he died in 1805 and he claims to have been born in the Highlands. His detailed knowledge of Edinburgh University suggests he was educated there.

53 Such sentiments seem to prefigure Scott’s ideas about culture.
This is a little-known novel, and a brief plot summary might be helpful to this discussion. The narrative begins with a brief history of the family of the hero, Charles Douglas, a young Scotsman, the eldest son of the youngest son of a Highland family. His father, an educated man, has done exceedingly well in the army and is, at the time of the main narrative, a general who has served with distinction in North America and the West Indies. General Douglas sends Charles to begin his formal education at St. Andrew’s College. He then attends Edinburgh University, where he builds on this foundation, excelling in his work and becoming a favorite of Adam Ferguson, who recommends that he be educated in the English law. He is sent to an English academy near London to prepare, where he manages to learn despite an inept Irish instructor. He befriends a fellow student, the English Mr. Sidney, who will “unfortunately” fall under the influence of Jacobin thinkers. In a hostile misreading of Godwin’s critique of marriage in *Political Justice* (1798), Bisset has Sidney, led by his alliance to Jacobin ideas, seduce an innocent young woman before falling in love with Douglas’s sister, Louisa. He must undergo serious reform to win Douglas’s approval for this Anglo-Scottish alliance. Douglas is not blameless himself, although his moral shortcomings are not related to his politics, and his sexual encounters are generally initiated by willing women of various ranks, ranging from the delightful Miss Bouncer to the alluring and vindictive Lady Mary Flint. Douglas meets a school friend from Edinburgh in London, a Mr. Wilson, and promptly falls in love with his sister, Isabella, an unwise match as his financial prospects are still unknown.

54 There is not the same emphasis on a newly emergent Britain in this work as there is in the works of radical writers. After all, in the Burkean model the traditional England is just fine as it is. Douglas does find he has an illegitimate half-brother, Dudley who is half English, but he is a minor character and is not developed at all. Moreover, the marital unions at the end are Scottish, with the exception of the alliance between Sidney and Louisa, which produces only daughters in contrast to Douglas’s sons.
and Isabella’s family has little money. While Charles is trying to complete his education in London, and protect his sister and mother, who have been left under his care while his father serves overseas, various nefarious activities go on around him. Some are related to the dissemination of Jacobin principles, which Charles must continually rebut. Others are connected to more private matters. There is a plot afoot by various English and Scottish rogues, to obtain, through fraud and trickery, the Highland estate of Charles’s uncle. At the same time, money that Charles’s father has sent to him has been misappropriated by his father’s agent abroad.

The series of fraudulent acts is ultimately uncovered by a matching series of fortunate events, including the return of wealthy uncle from India and the return of General Douglas. The novel ends, as many novels of the period do, with marriages. Charles, whose prospects have been vastly improved by the death of one uncle and the heirless state of the remaining one, marries Isabella and returns to Scotland and Sidney, “nearly cured of both his democracy and dissipation,” marries Louisa (4: 215).

Charles’s agency takes a variety of forms throughout the novel. His intellectual development, both in Scotland and England, is carefully foregrounded, and he puts his education to use in a number of ways that display not only his own ability to succeed in British society, but his ability to help others, including the English. When he is concerned about monetary issues he engages, along with Wilson, in writing for publication. He uses his small legacy to help support his mother and sister, and also, in the central Anglo-Scottish trope in the novel, to help his English friend Sidney save himself from creditors he acquired while being misled by Jacobin thinkers. He enters into masculine scholarly debates, defending Edmund Burke and his principles against
revolutionary beliefs. He is ultimately rewarded for his activity, and his loyalty to the anti-Jacobin cause, not merely by inheriting land, part of his uncle’s estate, but by obtaining political power. He is secured “a seat in parliament at the first election” (4: 381). Although Ossianic works are celebrated in the text, Bisset’s work rejects the elegiac tone of the epic of the heirless bard (1: 247). Charles’s lineage is assured by the production of two sons, suggesting that Scottish participation in British public affairs will have a long and fruitful future.

Charles’s success is not mere coincidence. Scotland no longer has the broken heritage that we saw in the ancestry of Smollett’s Roderick Random. He is specifically represented as coming from a long line of active and successful Scots. Charles’s grandfather, who, being a younger son, received a scanty portion, and who, at that time was precluded, by the prejudices of family pride from commercial enterprise, which has, since that time raised so many cadets of houses to an affluence much superior to that of the elder branches; and debarred, by narrow finances from that education which might have enabled him to rise in literary professions; without money, or interest to raise him in the army, he appeared in the first years of his manhood destined to the alternative of remaining at home as an idle dependent. (1:2)

The senior Douglas was not content to remain in such a role. Entering the army, he rises to the position of Captain before inheriting the family estate when his brother dies. The estate is heavily in debt, but through frugality and his attention while an officer “to pastorage and agriculture,” he brings the estate back into his control. Moreover, he
facilitates the transformation of the peasants on his estate from feudal to commercial values. The peasants, "sensible and intelligent, soon discovered that the landlord, by teaching them industry, and this affording them the means of independence, conferred upon them a much more important benefit than he who feasted them with roasted oxen" (1:6).

The son of this multi-talented man, Charles's father, studied philosophy, in preparation for a career in law. However, he followed his inclinations to join the war against France and rose through merit to be a General. His eldest brother, James, had also had success in the army, and his brother, Alexander, "a youth of enterprise and understanding" found an advantageous position in India, and rose to wealth (1:6). It is Alexander who returns to save his nephew at the conclusion of the novel. There is also professional success on Charles's mother's side. Charles's maternal uncle is an Edinburgh counselor-at-law, who is rising high in his profession (4: 367). Scotland, in Bisset's vision, is in the midst of an unsurpassed period of growth, and with right principles and perseverance, a capable young Scot can achieve substantial public influence. Bisset underlines this opportunity by demonstrating that success is not limited to Charles alone. Wilson, we are told at the end of the novel, is "steadily pursuing his literary career...[and is] fast attaining distinction.... He finds that booksellers are by no means so sordid as inferior authors represent; but that, like other merchants, they pay handsomely for commodities which produce suitable returns" (4: 372). By the end of the novel, Scots have access to two primary areas of power – the political arena and the literary marketplace.
At the same time, the novel’s obsessive and explicit disassociation of Scottishness from Jacobinism reveals concern that despite his optimistic narrative of Scottish success in the British public sphere, Bisset is concerned that public perception might connect Scots with the Jacobin use of Scottish iconography or even with Smith’s novel, which he explicitly refers to in the body of the novel. Scotch Jacobins, therefore, are either studiously avoided or minimized, although he is quite comfortable with Scottish roguery. A Scottish usurer and a number of Scottish swindlers are woven throughout the narrative. But Scottish radicals are largely erased. The Scottish Thomas Hardy is transformed into Tom Croft, a shoemaker without national markers who Douglas meets in England. All traces of Scottishness are erased. Wilson momentarily shows interest in revolutionary thought but is quickly persuaded by Charles, during one of the many debates the young men have about the principles of the French Revolution, to moderate his opinions. Wilson’s convenient conversion seems designed to allow Bisset to point out that a key Scottish writer who supported the revolution, James Mackintosh, had undergone a similar transformation. Charles treats Mackintosh’s *Vindiciae Gallicae* (1791) respectfully, noting, in an argument with his companions that the work, a reply to Burke’s *Reflections on the French Revolution*, was “a work of uncommon genius, and very uncommon learning, and very uncommon depth of philosophy,” although he stresses that he, like Wilson, has misunderstood the French interpretation of liberty, taking it to mean a “just

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55 Amelia Opie was another loyalist writer who may have been concerned about the use of Scottish characters in Jacobin literature. In *Adeline Mowbray* (1805), published the same year as *Fleetwood*, her heroine is attracted to a weak, young man, whose ideas on marriage cause the downfall of the heroine. The young man is clearly modeled on Godwin, and, while he is not explicitly identified as Scottish, his name, Frederic Glenmurray, and his tendency towards Ossianic melancholy certainly gestures towards the Jacobite/Scottish imagery used by Jacobins, leading Katie Trumpener to refer to him as a “Scotch philosopher” (172). This parodic representation suggests that anti-Jacobins were concerned at the potential power of a Scottish iconography and sought to undermine it whenever possible.
and well regulated liberty” (volume 3: 39). During a later visit to Wilson, at a time when
Charles’s friend is engaged in writing an essay explaining why he had changed his mind
about the French Revolution, Bisset gleefully adds a footnote noting that

no man of very distinguished ability, literature, moral, and political
science has vindicated the new order of things in France, except Mr.
M’Intosh. It must be pleasing to the lovers of the British system of polity,
to be informed that this able writer now acknowledges that his *Vindiciae
Gallicae* was written under an erroneous impression, arising from an
imperfect knowledge of facts.\(^{56}\)

Scottish intellectuals, Bisset suggests, overwhelmingly reject the French concepts of
liberty and the few who do not are simply struggling with incorrect definitions. Once
they are enlightened, this implies, they, like Wilson and Macintosh, will quickly recant.

While Bisset carefully purges his texts of committed Scottish intellectual radicals,
he cannot completely ignore the Scottish radical movement. What he can and does do,
however, is to tie Scottish radicals to a small extremist group that primarily occupies a
space outside the Highlands and outside Scottish institutions in general. Bisset establishes
at the beginning of the novel that it is fanatics and religious extremists, having assumed
the “anti-monarchical and leveling doctrines” of “the independent fanatics of the last
century” who “in Scotland, have been the most active propagators of Paine’s political
doctrines” (1: 72, 73). While these “dissenters from the doctrines of the established

\(^{56}\) Bisset 3: 167. For details on Macintosh’s position in *Vindiciae Gallicae*, see Stuart Andrews, *The British
Mori notes, in *Britain in the Age of the French Revolution*, that “[b]y 1796 Mackintosh had joined the
loyalist camp and apologized to Burke for the *Vindiciae Gallicae*, though he remained an Opposition Whig
in political orientation” (48).
church” infest the Lowlands, he adds, they have also corrupted Highlanders (1:72).

Wishing to locate some of the blame even further south, Bisset ties the fanatics to various “methodist doctrines,” ensuring that religious extremism is not located only in the north. 57

The representation of a masculine Scottish agency in this novel matches and exceeds that in a number of the other works discussed in this chapter, perhaps unsurprising in the work of a Scot. What also becomes clear in a comparative reading of Douglas is that Bisset’s marriage of agency and culture challenges English representations of Scots which signify Scottishness, in cross-border tropes, with only a few key characteristics: a primitive and noble virtue here, an accent there, perhaps flavoured with a sprinkling of melancholia. Bisset’s concept of culture is far more detailed and developed than any we have seen in this chapter. April London, in her recent article “Clock Time and Utopia’s Time in Novels of the 1790s,” has quite rightly suggested that Douglas “offers a culturally specific representation of Scotland that draws extensively on the models of Enlightenment historiography in order to suggest that alternatives to radical utopianism may be discovered in Britain’s peripheries” (549). However, London suggests that for Bisset, “the primitive virtues of the Highlanders confirm a stadial interpretation of progress in which Scotland appears ideal in its preservation of a simplicity of manners that England has sacrificed to the pursuit of luxury” (549). There is some truth in this – Bisset’s emphasis on the importance of Ferguson in young Douglas’s education is not coincidental – yet there are several problems with this position. First, while Scottish Jacobins are certainly minimized in the

57 Methodism originated in England, at Oxford, where it was founded by Charles and John Wesley and by George Whitefield (Brumwell and Speck 244).
novel, Scotland is the breeding ground of much of the corruption in the novel, corruption associated with greed and luxury. One of the central problems Charles must grapple with throughout the novel is the fraudulent attempt of a group of Scottish swindlers to claim the estate of his uncle. It is, in fact, Mr. Maunage, the *English* agent of his uncle, who helps him to tackle their scam.

Second, what Bisset is constructing in Scotland is more complex than a Highland “simplicity of manners” and purity. Charles Douglas is not a primitive Highlander and the Scottish culture that he embodies is complex and multifaceted. He is the intersection point of Highland folk-tradition and Lowland educational practices. After preliminary education at the University of Saint Andrews, Charles studies at Edinburgh where he attends “Dr. [Adam] Ferguson’s class, for moral and political science; Mr. [Dugald] Stewart, for the higher branches of mathematics; Mr. [John] Robison, for natural philosophy” (1: 186).\(^{58}\) It is a strong Scottish intellectual heritage that gives Charles the reasoning abilities to recognize the many flaws in Jacobinism and helps Wilson to grow “cooler in his approbation of the French revolution” having “more narrowly investigated its individual character” (3:18). Charles even seems to see the Scottish philosophers as an antidote for English dissipation. Indeed, when he has a moral lapse, and becomes involved in an affair with Lady Mary, who tries to involve him in gaming, he seeks recuperation through reading Mondboddo’s *Ancient Metaphysics*, Ferguson’s *Principles of Moral and Political Science*, Reid’s intellectual essays, and Dugald Stewart’s *Elements* (4: 132).

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\(^{58}\) Bisset spends a number of pages extolling the Edinburgh system of education and discussing tenure for faculty.
Scottish intellectualism is strongly linked to tradition in *Douglas*. During a detailed description of Charles’s experience at Edinburgh University, Bisset writes that young gentlemen would gather in the middle of the city each afternoon and revel in their culture, singing Scottish tunes. The Douglas family take this custom to England with them and we are told of several “home concerts of Scotch music” (4: 215-217). Bisset also provides a detailed description of a Highland fair that Douglas attends during a visit to the Highlands, describing, in glorious detail, regional games and sports, Highland/Lowland rivalry, traditional female dress, heroic songs and ballads and dance (2: 237-250). Scottish culture, to Bisset, is not incidental, but central to Scottish identity and ought not to be seen through an elegiac veil as it coincides with agency and progress rather than detracting from it.

We have seen, through cross-border tropes that engage with reformist, radical and anti-Jacobin positions, that Scotland offers alternative histories and alternative political readings to British writers. At the same time, it becomes clear that the English authors we have discussed do not perceive Scotland as a distinct culture that needs to be carefully crafted either to give Scots a sense of distinct national identity or to appeal to the English. Rather, it is a loose collection of materials which can be appropriated and moulded to fit specific political interests. When a Scottish writer responds, however, Scottishness becomes more than a malleable, unifying concept. Bisset’s work values specificity. It weaves together and elucidates a Scottish loyalism that derives from a specific Scottish intellectual tradition, quaint Highland folk customs, the Erse language, oral and literary

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59 Nira Yuval-Davis, in a recent work on gender and nation, suggests that cultural stuff is not fixed or homogeneous, but is “a rich resource, usually full of internal contradictions, which is used selectively by different social agents in various social projects within specific power relations and political discourse in and outside the collectivity” (in Smith *Nationalism and Modernism* 207).
tradition, Scottish music and dress, and a distinct social structure. Bisset's work is different from his English contemporaries, and clearly occupies a place somewhere between Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, which introduces cultural and economic and aspects of Scotland and the novels of Walter Scott, who would shortly transform fragments of Scottish history and tradition into an enduring cultural institution.60

**The Voice of Erin**

Scotland was not only important to English and Scottish writers of the period. Trumpener gestures towards the importance of Scottishness to Irish identity in her discussion of various versions of Swift's *Injured Lady* that were published in the 1790s in the satirical Irish newspaper *The Anti-Union* (1798-99). In one, the writer returns to the familiar familial metaphor used in the pamphlets we discussed in Chapter One to challenge the Anglo-Scottish union, and Scotland still plays an important role in some of these stories. Trumpener, writing of the pamphlet, recounts that John, who has been chasing the young orphan Ireland, “has another wife still living, ‘who though of harsh features and slender fortune, was of honourable parentage and good character’ and has been shamefully treated by her husband, ‘with every mark of slight and contumely,’ with many of her marriage articles ‘scandalously violated’” (Trumpener *Bardic Nationalism* 134). Regina Maria Roche, as we will briefly discuss at the beginning of the sixth chapter, also uses courtship in her novel *Children of the Abbey* (1796) to engage with Anglo-Irish and Scots-Irish relations. Roche’s work does not reject union. As Miranda Burgess points out, however, it demonstrates considerable unease with the viability of Anglo-Irish union (“Violent Translations” 148). As Anglo-Irish relations become more

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60 It may be that what appears to be Scott’s overemphasis on culture in *Waverley* is a reaction to this erasure of culture.
troubled, there is a turn back to the trope of a troubled courtship to capture the reality of troubled “border” relations. Once again, geographical areas join political ideologies in the fractured center of certain literary works and old metaphors are revived to engage with dissonance.

Masculine cross-border tropes do not really enter this literary space because strong, active Scottish characters who contribute to the British nation would challenge the very power inequities Roche and the writers of the Anti-Union want to foreground. However, another Irish writer, Maria Edgeworth, does pick up homosocial tropes of union. In “Forester,” a short story in Moral Tales (1801), Edgeworth uses a cultured, intelligent Scottish family, much as Bisset uses Charles Douglas, to engage with and prevail over the extremist views of an Englishman. As engagement with Irish issues in her work develops, she discovers a new significance for the Scottish intellectual, one which comes to fruition in Ennui (1809). Scotland had come through a remarkable period of socio-economic growth, and had produced a significant number of political economists who had theorized economic and social development, such as Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson and others. The strong association between Scotland and progress, then, meant that Scottish characters could readily operate within tropes of union, guiding England or Ireland through a transitory period as they moved towards a society founded in progressive, professional middling-class values. At the same time, having experienced and overcome some of the same derogatory prejudice as the Irish, they could help diminish it in Ireland. In contrast to the representation of Scotland in the Irish newspaper

61 Although, as I shall discuss later, masculine friendship is not central to Roche’s work, there is a momentary Anglo-Scottish-Irish connection at the very end of the novel between Oscar and the Marquis of Roslin.
*The Anti-Union*, Edgeworth sees Scotland as a model of a successful nation, a nation with self-direction, despite the absence of a parliament, the sort of nation she hopes Ireland can become.

“Forester” can be read as a work that confronts and critiques radical extremism. Richard Edgeworth, as Marilyn Butler reminds us, along with many others in Britain and Ireland, had been sympathetic with the French Revolution, at least up until 1795, but “[l]ater…with the rise of Bonaparte and the threat to national security, Edgeworth, like all English liberals, ceased to approve of France” (*Jane Austen* 125). Moreover, the French invasions of Ireland in 1796 and 1798, at a time when he and Maria were in Ireland, would have certainly brought home the threatening nature of extremist thought. “Forester” may well reflect the position of Maria Edgeworth towards revolutionary idealists after this time of violence.

Critics have noted that the protagonist in the tale seems to be based on a character who has little to do with the French Revolution. Forester, Elizabeth Harden and Marilyn Butler note, is based on Thomas Day, author of *Sandford and Merton*, and a friend of Edgeworth’s father. Day had died in 1789 and was not identified with the revolutionary ideals of the French Revolution, although he was a reformist. He had challenged the power structures of society through his involvement with abolition and had given support to the American colonists during the American Revolution. Moreover, he was prone to idealism, trying at one point to raise a young girl to be his wife using Rousseau’s natural methods, an attempt that, perhaps fortunately, did not come to fruition. Despite this link with Day, the character of Forester seems clearly part of a commentary on radical

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62 Sources are Elizabeth Harden (37) and Marily Butler, in her biography of Edgeworth (258).
63 Edgeworth writes about this in *Belinda.*
positions. Forester's visionary idealism is tied to the valorization of the working classes, a tendency of early radical writers. In the preface to the *Moral Tales*, Richard Edgeworth writes of his daughter's protagonist that "full of visionary schemes of benevolence and happiness, he might, by improper management, or unlucky circumstances, have become a fanatic and a criminal" (viii). This certainly is reminiscent of some of the accusations leveled against Jacobins following the Terror. Elizabeth Hamilton's representation of the obsessive Mr. Myope in *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers* comes to mind, with his utopian scheme to "form a horde in the neighborhood of Haabas, and from the deserts of Africa send forth those rays of philosophy which shall enlighten all the habitable globe" (144). Further indicating the Edgeworths' unease with certain radical behaviors, a minor character in the novel, the radical Tom Random, is shown to be insincere: "for all his democratic talk, Tom will brook no disagreement from a mere compositor" about the quality of his work (Butler 139). As Butler points out, Maria Edgeworth does not ridicule reformist ideas. The members of the Scottish family whose good influence transforms Forester are liberal thinkers. However, moderation is clearly differentiated from extremism, and the moderation process revolves around Scotland.

Edgeworth's narrative tells the story of a young orphaned Englishman who goes to live with his Scottish guardian after the death of his father. Forester, the son of an English gentleman, eschews civilities and social graces, justifying a rejection of the higher classes by pointing to their vices. He is horrified by the inequality between the rich

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64 Marilyn Butler suggests that although Edgeworth places value on the individual rather than society, as Jacobin writers tended to do, she "is far more nearly bi-partisan than Jane Austen" (124).

and poor, and dedicates himself to reforming society. When he is orphaned at the age of nineteen, he is sent to live with his guardian, Mr. Campbell, in Scotland. Mr. Campbell and his son Henry are models of middle-class politeness and virtue, and it is their friendship with Forester that formulates the central trope of the tale. Both scientifically-minded and benevolent, the Campbells work through the appropriate channels to rectify social injustice. Forester initially rejects their example and immerses himself in other class positions. Gradually becoming disillusioned with the ‘noble’ working classes as he is progressively employed as a gardener, a clerk in a brewery and a printer, he finally returns to his guardian's home where he receives a warm welcome from the family.

Flora Campbell, Mr. Campbell’s daughter, haunts the margins of the narrative, and it is suggested that she might be a possible marital partner for the new and improved Forester, but renewing his friendship with Henry Campbell seems even more important. At one point, while separated from the Scottish family, Forester becomes overwhelmed with emotion when he comes upon Henry’s handkerchief and reminisces about their past connection. Once again, a relationship with Scottish socio-political agency is given value.

Edgeworth echoes Bisset in having the Scottish intelligentsia educate and civilize an uncouth English radical. Forester can be seen as similar to Mr. Sidney, although the action of the former are never portrayed as immoral, only misguided. Mr. Campbell lets Forester learn through his unpleasant experience in the working world and by comparing his work environment to the manners and education present in cultivated society, exemplified by the Campbell family, which, in its entirety, has an excellent education. At

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66 Both Marilyn Butler in Jane Austen and the War of Ideas (138) and Elizabeth Harden in Maria Edgeworth (37) suggest that Mr. Campbell is based on Dugald Stewart, the Scottish philosopher.
one point, Forester is surprised to find that Flora “knew full as much natural history as he did” (31, 32). The family uses this education, and the cultured manners that derive from it, to promote benevolence in society. They help a poor child and her grandmother improve their circumstances, when Forester’s ill-advised plan to help them through violent confrontation goes awry. They help the community by setting up a school. Forester is told that “many of the manufacturers in Edinburgh sent their sons hither twice a week; and Dr. Campbell, and Mr. Henry Campbell, and some other gentlemen, came by trying to instruct them” (141). And they intervene in public affairs through reasoned discourse. While Forester is working at the printer’s shop he comes across an essay by Henry in the process of being published on “the best method of reforming abuses,” a work that Forester recognizes will “instruct and charm” the public (117).

Through observation of the Campbell family’s effective agency in Scottish society, and through experiencing the inconveniences and lack of agency of a member of the lower classes, Forester gradually becomes civilized. Edgeworth, like Bisset, is far from presenting Scotland as a Utopia. The dissolute Archibald Mackenzie and his proud, wordly-wise mother, relations to the Campbells, form an effective counter to the Scottish family, and Forester finds corrupt or foolish individuals at almost every level of business he attempts. Yet recuperating impulses are strongly present in Scotland, and like many of the flawed Englishmen we have discussed in this chapter, from Mowbray to Sidney, Forester is reintegrated into society through the help of Scottish mentors. Ironically, given the concept of fatherlessness and lack of political agency that is often associated with Scotland by writers such as Walter Scott, Forester receives access to socio-political
agency through Scots, for they teach him to introduce reform through society – rather than to force change through violent opposition to communal values.

We have noted that Bisset’s novel is one of the few works in the category of political novels which introduces and celebrates Scottish culture. Edgeworth, perhaps because of her own concern with cultural conservation in Ireland, does create a semblance of Scottish culture in this brief story, one which does not make its way into *Ennui*, perhaps because the later novel is centered in Ireland. Culture, in “Forester,” as in Bisset’s *Douglas*, blends the process of becoming cultured through a liberal and practical education with folk culture, particularly Scotch music and dance which become central symbols for Forester’s reformation.\(^67\) Shortly after moving in with the Campbell’s, Flora asks him if he had “learned to dance a Scotch reel” since he arrived in Scotland (32). Forester responds with contempt to this question, which rapidly lowers his esteem for her. At a ball shortly thereafter, Forester responds to the music by covering his ears, and he tries to distract himself by trying to compose an essay, clearly a critical essay, on “the power of the ancient bards, and the effect of national music” (56).\(^68\) As Forester experiences lower-class life, and starts to transform himself, he starts to appreciate the value of culture and its relationship to community. He pays a friendly French dancing master to teach him to dance, and his reassimilation into the Campbell family is marked by another ball, during which Forester tells the good Doctor that he has cured himself of his “foolish antipathy to Scotch reels,” and promptly leads Flora into a dance. Scottish culture, in Edgeworth’s model, is intricately connected to Scottish agency. It is

\(^67\) Edgeworth is using two of the meanings Raymond Williams attaches to culture.

\(^68\) One Scottish pastime which does not receive the same valorization in the narrative is golf. The son of the gardener that Forester goes to work with plays golf, which he calls “goff,” and it is the horror of golf that leads him to recollect “Scotch reels with less contempt” (80).
specifically the social networks formed and strengthened at cultural events which enable Henry and his father to improve society. Forester must demonstrate that he appreciates the connection in order to prove his readiness to assume a position of social power.\textsuperscript{69} It is, of course, not accidental that Edgeworth, who is concerned about the state of Irish culture, ends her novel with an Englishman celebrating and performing peripheral cultural practices, foregrounding the value of such practices.

In \textit{Ennui}, the recuperative powers of Scottish identity are directed towards Ireland. The novel was published in 1809, but according to Marilyn Butler it was drafted in the years immediately following the terrible 1798 rebellion, the Union and the suppression of Emmett’s rising. Between the drafting and publishing, full Catholic emancipation was still an area of intense disagreement. Grattan had made an unsuccessful motion in support of emancipation. Moreover, English prejudice towards the Irish remained strong, a matter Maria Edgeworth and her father had tried to address in their satiric \textit{Essay on Irish Bulls} (1802).\textsuperscript{70} They remark that the English continually presume that the Irish are blunderers: “Indeed, so perfectly persuaded are Englishmen of the truth of this proposition, that the moment an unfortunate Hibernian opens his lip they expect a bull, and listen with that well known look of sober contempt and smug satisfaction, which sufficiently testifies their sense of safety and superiority” (9).

Edgeworth integrates the recuperative intellectual Scot into \textit{Ennui} to address both the state of Ireland and the state of Anglo-Irish relations. The function of Mr. M’Leod, the agent on Glenthorn’s Irish estate, is twofold. First, he mediates between his

\textsuperscript{69} Of course, an immersion in culture is not \textit{in itself} sufficient to redeem one’s character. Archibald Mackenzie is an excellent dancer, but also a dishonest scoundrel.

\textsuperscript{70} Edgeworth had inverted this in “Forester.” Several Scottish clerks accuse him of having an accent.
Anglicized Irish landlord and the native Irish, negotiating his way between English superiority and Irish vulnerability. Second, as Butler asserts, where the Union should take place in Ennui, it is displaced by Glenthorn’s shift from an aristocrat to a professional. M’Leod plays an important role in this transformation, helping to facilitate not only Glenthorn’s conversion, but contributing to progression in Ireland in general, forming concepts to smoothen the transition from a feudal style aristocratic society to a modern, rational class-based society run by progressive, benevolent, professionals (“Introduction” Castle Rackrent and Ennui 35).

In the second half of the narrative, Lord Glenthorn, who suffers from an overabundance of ennui despite returning to his Irish estate, discovers that he is not the true heir to the estate, but is the son of the native Irish woman who nursed the true heir. This leads to a process of professionalization. Glenthorn throws off his lethargy and applies himself to legal studies in London. A series of incidents leads to the death of the birth heir, and Glenthorn returns to Ireland, better equipped to play an active role in the revitalization of his nation. Like most of the works we have reviewed in this chapter, Ennui employs a coalition of men from different parts of the nation to lead to this revitalization. Lord Y__, “an Irish nobleman,” recommends that he train in the law and introduces him into society despite his lowly state (294). A kindly English pleader, introduced to Glenthorn by his clergyman brother, prepares him for the bar pro bono (314-15).

Mr. M’Leod, Glenthorn’s Scottish agent, holds up the Scottish end of this British coalition. He does much of the early work to prepare the unwilling Glenthorn for his eventual role as benevolent Anglo-Irish landlord. He introduces him to Scottish ideas on
the management of the estate, at one point referring directly to Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (191). He 'translates' Irish customs for his employer, demonstrating that practices which can easily be misread as Irish bulls are in fact purposeful and comprehensible. When Glenthorn observes some Irish workers working in a bog on a hot day with a fire burning nearby, he initially dismisses this as absurd. M'Leod explains that "the Irish labourers often light fires that the smoke may drive away those myriad of tiny flies, called midges" (253). M'Leod's knowledge of the Irish also alerts him to the dangers of rebellion, and he convinces Glenthorn to "take an active part in public affairs" to demonstrate his loyalty (246).

When Glenthorn's status shifts downwards, M'Leod continues to give him material help to assist him adjust. He finds him a suitable residence for his old employer in Dublin and sends him anonymous presents. The practicality of his assistance to this man who is struggling to come to terms with his native Irish heritage is a continuation of the substantial support he has given to the native Irish on the estate he manages. He has formulated theories of development that can be gradually implemented to significantly enhance the way of life of the native Irish. His schemes include a long-term education plan for the peasant population, the slow introduction of ideas relating to property improvement and the removal of a divisive religious educational apartheid. Catholics and Protestants alike attend school together so study secular matters.

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71 The Edgeworths had spent some time discussing the role of interpretation in demystifying Irish practices in removing the tendency of the English to attribute anything they did not understand to Irish Bulls. In *Essay on Irish Bulls*, there is an extended scene in which an Englishman, Irishman and Scotsman, traveling together in a coach, perform this act of demystification at length (208-250).
M’Leod’s ideas are said to resemble those of Richard Edgeworth. Edgeworth perceives her father to be continuing in the tradition of the Scottish political economists and philosophers, who are well respected throughout Britain and seem to have introduced progressive changes into their own nation. She might also have been impressed by a trip she made to Scotland in 1803, where she was exposed to the professional community in Edinburgh. Butler writes,

[o]f all the places they had originally thought of visiting, Edinburgh was the most naturally congenial. They were able to mix with people like themselves, intellectual, rational, progressive....Their principal host in Edinburgh was the Professor of Moral Philosophy, Dugald Stewart, who had acted as teacher, host, and father figure in turn to Lovell and Henry....His house attracted many clever men throughout this period.

*Biography* 198

To Edgeworth, the Scottish example of a professional class ought to be heeded by Ireland, as should the myriad of socio-political ideas originating in Scotland. In *Ennui*, therefore, while Anglo-Irish and English men provide much of the impetus and means for Glenthorn’s transformation, the ideas for transforming the nation emanate from Scotland. Moreover, the influential intellectual contribution of the Scots to British society occurred despite the fact that the Scots, like the Irish, did not have a parliament. Scottish

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72 Harden comments that M’Leod is “modeled after Maria’s father, and his management of the Glenthorn estate is a close transcript of Richard Lovell Edgeworth’s own practice as landlord in 1782” (105). Marilyn Butler also notes that Dugald Stewart, the model for Dr. Campbell in “Forester,” is possibly the model for M’Lean (*Biography* 198).

73 Richard Edgeworth clearly valued the works of the Scottish political economists. He gave Maria Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* to read, “when he took her from her English boarding school in 1782” (Butler “Introduction” 28).
masculinity, to Edgeworth, was potent and relevant to a modern Britain and could be a model for the Anglo-Irish.

**Conclusion**

Tropes of union in the 1780s and 1790s were not employed to work out specific Anglo-Scottish difficulties. They were turned by authors concerned with contemporary politico-national issues to suggest British unity of purpose in resolving various socio-political problems, whether Anglo-Irish relations or political differences relating to the French Revolution, although, as we have seen with radical writers, their ability to succeed in their purpose is influenced by the growing marginalization of radical thought. Anglo-Scottish unity invested Scottish characters within these tropes with considerable agency, reflecting both the actual increasing participation of Scots in British politics and professions. At the same time, I would suggest, that a sort of readerly agency is created for Scottish readers who, viewing Scottish characters with authority and intellectual vibrancy, might feel empowered to participate fully in British affairs without fear of biases.

In these works, the sense of Scotland’s being a culture for England, in Raymond Williams’s terms, is relevant, but not in relation to its reference to traditions and manners. Rather, it is appropriate insofar as the word culture refers to acculturation – a “general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development” (in Buzard *Beaten Track* 7). Dr. Gordon, Mr. Macneil and Mr. M’Leod participate in homosocial relations with English characters both to assist them build the nation, and as a means to acculturate them. However, these tropes do not provide what Buzard identifies Scott as providing, a reified set of Scottish traditions or “a set of prized aesthetic objects and performances”
(Buzard *Translation and Tourism* 33). In creating a Scotland that is a fully participatory part of Britain, and in constructing a trope of mediation rather than a trope which grapples with internal dissonance, English writers, in particular, tend to minimize cultural difference. Distinctness was of little use to works constructing concepts of British solidarity, whether they are based on reform, Jacobin or anti-Jacobin principles.

This excursion through a series of works which engage with Scottish influence and the potency of Scottish masculinity lays the groundwork for reconsideration of the works of the Scottish writers who produce various concepts of Romantic nationalism, a reassessment I will undertake in my final chapter. As might be expected, Scottish writers placed substantial value on their distinct traditions and history and refused to elide them from their tropes of union. The emergence and prominence of homosocial tropes in English literature of the 1790s and the early nineteenth-century also allow Scottish writers to engage with masculine models without fear of an anti-Scottish backlash. What results in the work of such writers as John Galt, Mary Brunton, Susan Ferrier and James Hogg, is an attempt to conflate both culture and agency in concepts of Britishness. These models, as we will discuss in Chapter Six, make clear that the impotence of Scottish masculinity which Ian Duncan and James Buzard identify in such works as *Heart of Midlothian* and *Waverley*, clearly comes into focus as a deliberate construct rather than a necessary response to Scottish powerlessness.
Chapter 6

Union as Passé: Scottish Alternatives to Traditional Tropes

Introduction

Miranda Burgess, in her recent book *British Fiction and the Production of Social Order*, suggests that as Walter Scott produced an increasing number of novels, he recognized that the domestic romance, which he had used in *Waverley*, was no longer an effective means to resolve national conflicts. In his own version of a domestic romance, *St. Ronan’s Well* (1824), she notes, legitimacy is relocated from literary genre to literary production. Scott constructs an artistic hero who moves towards the literary marketplace, becoming “a true cultural entrepreneur, making his own way in the world with his title and family behind rather than before him” (233). The hero of domestic romance – particularly of national domestic romance – is reconfigured as a character who moves towards the marketplace rather than as one who ultimately revels in blissful marital union. The marital trope becomes an inadequate tool to conceal national ruptures and social inequities.¹ Scott rejects the familial, a union between an Anglo-French male and a Scottish woman for a world that is primarily homosocial, founded in genteel male business relationships and professional commercial exchange.²

In this chapter, I will suggest that a number of Scott’s contemporaries, in particular Susan Ferrier, John Galt, James Hogg and Mary Brunton, share Scott’s later discomfort with courtship as a unifying trope, despite the popularity of tropes of inter-cultural marriage in Sydney Owenson’s *Wild Irish Girl* (1806). Katie Trumpener argues

¹ The hero is Anglo-French and the heroine is Scottish. There is a strange clause in Mr. S. Mowbray’s will and testament that a certain large estate would be bequeathed to the (English) heir of the Earl of Etherington, should he marry a (Scottish) lady of the house of Mowbray, of St. Ronan’s (348). Impulses towards the courtship trope, then, are imbedded in the text.
that in the second decade of the nineteenth century the national tale shifts away from a "celebratory nationalism, which both recognizes cultural distinctiveness and believes in the possibility of transcultural unions, towards a more separatist position," a position in which "rapprochement and reconciliation [become] increasingly inconceivable" (146).

While this chapter does trace a turning away from the model of nationalism promoted by the *Wild Irish Girl* and Scott's *Waverley*, I have suggested throughout this book that for Scottish authors, rapprochement and reconciliation had rarely been conceivable in terms of tropological marital union, likely because of its hierarchical associations and its feminization of peripheral nations. It is the turning towards a tropological courtship that is the aberration in the tropological configuration of British relations by Scottish writers, not Scott's desire to turn away from such tropes. The four authors I will discuss approach tropes of Anglo-Scottish union differently, despite their shared membership in the Tory Blackwood's circle – the circle of writers published by William Blackwood's publishing house.³

While Brunton's *Discipline* (1814) and Galt's *Andrew Wylie* (1822) share Scott's appreciation of commerce and progress, using it to reformulate tropes of union, Hogg's *Perils of Woman* (1823) and Ferrier's *Destiny* (1831) deconstruct tropes of union altogether, turning back to Scottish affairs and concerns. Despite these differences, I will suggest that all of the writers are uncomfortable with tropes of courtship as central unifying devices between nations. Brunton retains the trope, but subordinates it to commercial agency as a central unifying device. Galt defers, like Scott, to homosocial

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² Scott also rejects a romance between Valentine – a "purely" English aristocrat – and a Scottish female.
³ This circle included such writers as Walter Scott, John Galt, James Hogg, John Wilson, and others.
union. Both Ferrier and Hogg expose the underbelly of the marital trope of union, revealing the violence and oppression that it attempts to elide.

The works also share a tendency to move towards negotiating a space *between* the broad socio-political and economic agency that Scots held in the robust homosocial tropes of the nation-building novel of the 1790s *and* the compelling and picturesque appeal of the contained, reified Scottish culture that Scott had constructed in *Waverley*, a reified, even feminized, Scottish culture that was associated with tropes of courtship in the proto-national tales of some English and Irish novelists in the 1790s. Having already explored agency in the vigorous homosocial tropes of the nation-building novels of the 1790s, I will examine briefly the momentary turn towards tropes of Anglo-Scottish marriage in several of the proto-national tales of the 1790s, a turn that foreshadows the works of Owenson and Scott. I will then consider how Scott’s contemporaries reformulate the ideas of ideas of agency and culture that were circulating during the fin de siècle.

The term ‘national tale’ has been used to define a very specific type of narrative of union, one which emerged in the work of Owenson and Maria Edgeworth in the first few years of the nineteenth century. In these narratives, an individual from the center enters a peripheral nation, is transformed by its inhabitants and culture and generally marries a representative of the marginal culture. The novels which I refer to in this section – Anna Thomson’s *Fatal Follies* (1788), Regina Maria Roche’s *Children of the Abbey* (1796), and Elizabeth Helme’s *Albert; or the Wilds of Strathnavern* (1799) – are, in part, the birth throes of the national tale. All three works center on Anglo-Scottish
marital union, although Helme and Roche also bring Irish identity into the mix. To different degrees, each work conflates ideas of Scottish virtue with various elements of a Scottish culture, such as distinct manners, landscape, history, music and national characteristics. The cost of these aesthetic qualities, I will suggest, is a propensity to vulnerability, a characteristic that suggests reduced agency and a degree of dependence on the English. In other words, the powerful participation of Scots in transforming the British nation that is so large a part of the nation-building novels of the previous chapter is here replaced by nostalgic desire for something purer, more authentic than the materialism of capitalistic London society. Such nostalgia, however, is disconnected from the power to shape national identity actively. Where the active recuperation of property takes place in these works, it is often dependent on external – often English – aid. Perhaps not surprisingly, in this decade which Claudia Johnson suggests texts abound with sentimental men and rational women, female Scots tend to be more active than their masculine counterparts in these works, but by virtue of their gender, are vulnerable to English debauchery, and, in the case of Roche’s characters, even to English violence.

Proto-National Tales

Like the nation-building novels, proto-national tales tend to emerge in England, and frequently seem to be written by English or Irish writers. Little is known about any of the authors of the particular novels discussed in this section. Janet Todd does note that Elizabeth Helme was married to a schoolmaster of Brentford (Dictionary 160). It seems

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4 Various elements of these works were picked up and modified by a number of Scottish women writers in the 1810s, including Elizabeth Hamilton, Christian Johnson and Catherine Bayley, the writer to whom Raven and Forster attribute the novel Caledonia: A Stranger in Scotland (1810).
likely that she was English, a probability increased by the lack of specific detail in her Scottish novels, and her tendency, like the English writers of the nation-building novel, to focus primarily on Scottish virtue rather than on specific cultural practices. We know that Regina Maria Roche was Irish, born in Waterford in the 1760s (Todd 272). Information about Anna Thomson is almost impossible to acquire. She does not even merit an entry in the Dictionary of National Biography. We do know that her husband, William Thomson, a man of letters, was from Perthshire and that his first wife (Anna was his second wife) was also Scottish. William Thomson had published a number of works that related to Scotland, including travel narratives, so there appears to have been a family interest in Scottish culture. Thomson’s work was printed in London by G. G. J. and J. Robinson in the same year as they published several other Scottish centered works, including her husband’s Tour in England and Scotland, in 1785 and a republication of James Thomson’s Seasons.

G.G.J. and J. Robinson was not the only publishing company producing works with Scottish themes in the London marketplace in this decade. Scottishness, in the 1790s, was eminently fashionable. All genres and many different publishing companies seem to have been touched by this Caledonian obsession, and the extent of its influence is far beyond the capabilities of this book to discuss. Representative works would include the following: a variety of comic dramas, particularly the farces of Archibald Maclaren; tragedies, such as Mary Deverell’s Mary Queen of Scots (1792); quasi historical tales, such as Anne Maria Johnson’s Monmouth (1790) and William Wallace (1791) by Henry Siddons, the son of the beloved actress Mrs. Siddons; and a variety of domestic and

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gothic works such as Anne Radcliffe’s *Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* (1789), Eliza (Mrs. Charles) Matthews’s *Memoirs of a Scots Heiress* (1791) and Mrs. Barnby’s *The Rock: or Alfred and Anna: A Scottish Tale* (1798). The poetry of Robert Burns was also continually reprinted throughout the decade.

Substantial archival and critical research is still required before we can have a comprehensive idea of the variety of tropes, plots and narrative strategies used to formulate Britishness in the 1790s. Chapters Five and Six of this work follow the research Trumpener has initiated in *Bardic Nationalism*, continuing what could surely be a long and arduous research project. Chapter Five has demonstrated that vigorous homosocial tropes were one way that the novel engaged with Anglo-Scottish relations. This section of Chapter Six will discuss the cross-border marital trope in a few novels of this period and its influence on the novel of the late Romantic period. I will argue that while the cultural awareness and dedicated ‘Britishness’ of these proto-national tales seem to form a basis for the elements of rapprochement in the national tale and Scott’s *Waverley*, the elusive darker aspects – the passivity and feminization of the margins and the shadows of violence, both past and present – display the inability of such tropes to negotiate Britishness in a way that gives both culture and agency to the peripheries. It is not surprising, then, that Scottish writers moved away from gendered tropes in the 1820s.

Before engaging with the dissonance within tropes, I will begin with the unifying elements of Scottish virtue in its relation to British identity in these proto-national tales. All three novels are centered on ultimately achieving a model of Britishness. Anna Thomson places a healthy friendship between the Earl of Stanmore and a young, ethical Englishman called Mr. Beauchamp alongside a description of a breakdown of relations
between a Scottish man and his English wife. Although this homosocial bond is broken when Stanmore's wife drives him to his death, it is replaced by another friendship between Mr. Beauchamp and Mr. Graham, a neighbour of Stanmore's, and "a gentleman of about two thousand a year in the county of Angus" (I: 208).

Several characters explicitly embrace British unity. Mr. Beauchamp, traveling to visit his aristocratic Scottish friend the Earl of Stanmore shortly after his marriage to the English Helen Ossory, sees harmony in the landscape, writing that "the present Berwick, which has been called the divorcer of the two kingdoms, has now become a commodious bond of union and communication" (1:191). A Scottish clergyman furthers this sentiment. Mr. Sylvester, tutor to Stanmore, stresses that he "was always a great friend to the Union" (1: 213). Sylvester sees cross-border matrimonial union as completing the intent of the national union and national conflict as a sign of the past, accessible now only through contemplation of ruins. He encourages Belmont to enjoy the "fallen monuments of former hostility and barbarism" in Berwick, monuments which foreground the distance between past antagonism and present harmony (219).

Elizabeth Helme's second Scottish novel, *Albert; or the Wilds of Strathnavern* (1799), despite its promising subtitle, has little to do with the wilds of Strathnavern. Primarily centered in England, it works towards British union through a fairly conventional courtship between two pairs of siblings. Albert and Marion, a Scots-Irish brother and sister, are ultimately united with their English counterparts, English siblings Gertrude and Frederic. Regina Maria Roche's *Children of the Abbey* also ends with a union between a Scots-Irish heroine and a hero who, despite a mother who seems to have been Irish, is most closely associated with his English father. This marital union is not
the only trope that weaves together the nation. Unlike later national tales which, according to Joep Leersseen, depict “a cosmopolitan character moving towards Ireland,” *Children of the Abbey* contains a swirling sense of movement that carries the heroine from her birth in Wales (where her Irish father has taken her Scottish mother) to Devonshire, Wales again, Ireland, a brief stopover in Wales on the way to London, Ireland, Scotland, London, Wales yet again, Ireland, and Scotland as if she were weaving together the nation with filaments of her very being.

All three novels foreground unifying impulses, primarily embodied in marital ties between representatives of England and the peripheries. Even Thomson’s text, despite the failed marriage that occupies most of the first half of the text, ends with a series of marital unions, one of which takes place between the Highland Mr. Graham and Elmira, an orphan who is half Indian and half English. Elmira, in one of these marvelous leaps of belief that haunt the eighteenth-century novel, is discovered to be the long lost daughter of Beauchamp’s rich uncle. Thomson’s British union is modified to envelop both nation and empire.

The idea of Scottish virtue and Scotland’s recuperative power common to the nation-building novels of the 1790s, is also a vital element of the tropes of unity, although here Scottish virtue is intricately interwoven with culture, a feminized culture that is to be appreciated and acquired by England, but which gives Scottish characters little agency without substantial external aid. As mentioned earlier, James Buzard, writing of the formation of Scottish culture in Walter Scott’s *Waverley*, notes that “Scott’s Scotland is, or furnishes:...a set of prized aesthetic objects and performances;...a process of cultivating or acculturating the self...; and an imaginary domain – a space that
Raymond Williams labeled a ‘court of human appeal’ in which the compromises of modern social life may be redressed” (“Translation and Tourism” 33). I suggest that novels which use the trope of courtship and marriage to negotiate the relationship between England and its peripheries in the 1790s preempt *Waverley* in that they present the English with the opportunity to cultivate the self, a process I define as moving towards “virtue.” This process of acculturation is made visible through English appreciation of Scotland’s “prized aesthetic objects and performances,” although it also exposes Scotland’s passivity as part of a landscape of acculturation for southern admirers.

In *Fatal Follies*, the newlywed Anglo-Scottish couple and their entourage arrive at Stanmore’s castle, where the moral worth of the party is displayed by their reaction to the aesthetics of Scotland – here represented as a combination of such elements common to many of the travel narratives of the day: a distinct social structure, beautiful scenery, virtuous and chivalric manners, a unique history, quaint characters, different social events and rituals of hospitality, unique music and dress and Gothic grandeur. The bride’s immorality is made apparent by her inability to appreciate Scottish culture, manners and traditions, which she openly ridicules and seeks to expel from Castle Stanmore. More literally, Helena drives the textual embodiment of Scottish antiquity, Lady Ann, Stanmore’s aunt, from the estate through insults and derision.

Helena’s response is continually contrasted with, and generally filtered through, that of Mr. Beauchamp or that of Miss Matilda Leicester, an impoverished young gentlewoman who travels as Helena’s companion to Scotland. The most striking representation of Matilda’s relationship with Scottish culture occurs upon arrival at the castle. She writes to Edmund’s sister,
I should have told you that we were received at the castle by Lady Ann Stanmore, my Lord’s aunt, and two other ladies. I had like to have committed a dreadful faux pas; for as our carriages approached the inner court, I saw the old lady attended by the two young ones, whose trains were borne by boys in Scotch bonnets and plaid dresses: and I really, as they did not stir, took them for figures in a piece of painting which was to represent some device emblematical of the present occasion. I was even going to express my admiration of the artist when the ladies began to curtsey, which they continued to do until the carriage stopped. (2: 22, 23)

This wonderful image is reminiscent of the containment of Scottish history at the end of *Waverley* in which Fergus MacIvor is transformed from a potentially disruptive being into benign art. Yet it inverts this representation. A distinct Scottish culture and history, while it may seem distant and contained, is, in fact, alive and accessible to those who appreciate it, as Matilda does. She writes, “I wonder that the Scotch nobility should leave their estates in the North, in order to live in London. They absolutely leave palaces, where they are treated with infinitely more respect than the King of Great Britain, to live in a smoaky city, where every shoe black who is not employed by his family and who meets him in the street looks upon himself as his equal” (2:199). And Scottish culture is rendered even more valuable by its threatened extinction. In a use of language that is loaded with implications, Matilda comments that with all the renovations, “you would think Lady Stanmore was going to establish a colony instead of a family here” (2: 54). Indeed Helena is attempting to colonize Scotland and to erase its difference, though she continuously claims to be bringing liberty to the north. Scottish culture, not to mention
the ineffective Lord Stanmore, then, is vulnerable to extinction unless the English learn to value it.

In Children of the Abbey, the same relationship is constructed, placing Scottish cultural richness and vulnerability alongside a desire for an English appreciation of this richness, this time combined with a similar representation of Ireland. England and its inhabitants are consistently described as materialistic and empty of the iconography of culture. Roche primarily limits her construction of England to London, and her central concern is to convey the danger, corruption, and oppression that can be found within this 'civilized' source of English hegemony. The character of one of the minor English characters, Mrs. Murphy, is tainted and her family destroyed when she succumbs to the temptations of London (136-138), and it is in London that a coalition of Anglicized villains — Lady Greystock, the Marchioness of Roslin and her daughter Euphrasia — attempt to destroy the reputation, and possibly the virtue of the Anglo-Irish heroine, Amanda, by conspiring to leave her in the hands of the lecherous Colonel Belgrave (221, 288).  

The peripheral nations are not completely virtuous, although the central Scots-Irish characters, Amanda and her brother Oscar, embody virtue, vulnerability and most certainly culture. As Euphrasia finds to her horror, Amanda’s cultural skills are superior. When her rival forces Amanda to play the harpsichord publically, she is mortified to find

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6 Lady Euphrasia Sutherland is the daughter of Augusta Dunreath (who shared a father with Malvina, Amanda’s mother, but who has a different mother, a poor woman Malvina’s mother had taken in) and Marquis of Roslin, who is an Irish as well as a Scottish peer (24, 150). Burgess points out that during the test of Amanda’s musical ability while she is in London, Euphrasia, who is half Scottish, “in her desire for allegorical triumph...makes an Englishwoman of herself” (48). Similarly, Lady Greystock and the Kileorban's, though nominally Irish, are Anglicized, they are centered on the discourse of the market and devoid of the rich collective memory Roche places within the peripheries.
that Amanda’s abilities far exceed her own (227, 228). The names of central characters, particularly that of Oscar and that of the mother of the siblings, Malvina, refer to the emergence of culture in the Ossianic poems of the mid eighteenth century. And Roche’s peripheries, like Thomson’s Scotland, are rich in cultural monuments and performances. The Irish Castle Carberry and the Scottish Dunreath Abbey, while gothic and neglected, are saturated in a history of past glories, and the potentialities of spiritual and cultural regeneration are placed in opposition to the English landscape. Both Ireland and Scotland possess wild landscapes, gothic architecture, decayed monuments, shared Ossianic imagery, a shared martial past and a rural virtue embodied in the two figures that represent the intersection of Irish and Scottish culture, Amanda and her brother Oscar.7 Bards, key cultural performers, are present in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. These wandering musicians help to connect the individual to their imagined community, and participate in the maintenance of a national culture. The blind piper in Ireland is part of the Irish community and disseminates Irish music, playing jigs at community events (158). Likewise, the Macqueens, a family that Amanda meets in Scotland, have a family musician, “venerable in his appearance, and habited in the ancient Highland dress,” who plays “Scotch reels and airs” (493) at communal gatherings. In England, however, such performances have been emptied of historic and communal meaning, and have become little more than a commodity to increase the value of the female in the marriage market. Mortimer, foreshadowing Sydney Owenson’s Horatio, becomes acculturated through

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7 As Miranda Burgess points out the inner walls of Carberry are lined with, "coats of arms, spears, lances, and old armor" and the outer walls are marked by the "depredations of war." Similarly, in Dunreath Abbey, "rude implements such as the Caledonians had formerly used in war and hunting, were ranged along the walls," nd within the old chapel "dusty and moth-eaten banners were suspended from the walls, and rusty casques, shields, and spears were promiscuously heaped together" ("Violent Translations" 453). Clare O’Halloran points out, in her discussion of the Irish reception of the Ossianic works, that by the 1780s "Ossian had become a major element of the literary culture" of both Scotland and Ireland (86).
rejecting the values of his English father, recognizing the value of the principal marker of the peripheral nation – Amanda – and committing himself to restore aesthetic antique cultural monuments symbolizing the historic value of both Scotland and Ireland. Scots, then, are dependent on English participation to maintain their culture.

Although Scottish virtue is not as strongly intertwined with distinctly aesthetic objects and performances in Elizabeth Helme’s *Albert*, Scotland remains a site of acculturation, a place where corrupt English cosmopolitan values can be purified through peripheral rural virtue. The “wilds of Strathnavern” only enter the narrative momentarily, yet the centrality of the Highland space to socio-cultural virtue is foregrounded by its presence in the title and in the two central characters. The English Gertrude and Frederic must purify themselves of past folly before they can prove themselves worthy of the virtuous Irish-Scots Albert and Marian. Gertrude must renounce an indiscreet pledge she made to her brother’s tutor and Frederic must reject the materialistic licentious life he had been living and undergo period of purification in Scotland. As in Roche’s novels, Scotland is not perfect. A number of Roche’s Scottish characters have been Anglicized and they cause disruption in the narrative, contributing to the marginalization of Amanda and Oscar. Similarly, the precarious economic position of the Scots-Irish siblings Marian and Albert has been caused by a series of incidents leading from problems in the peripheries. Their parents married against the will of their Irish mother’s family, alienating them from their Irish relatives, and their family is excommunicated by the Elders of the Scottish Kirk for having a concert at home on the Sabbath (1:104). The virtue embodied by Albert, Marion and their small Highland estate are distinguished from

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8 The family gets in trouble with the Scottish clergy for singing Shenstone’s “My banks they are furnished with Bees” on a Sunday (1:104).
elements of Scottish society which can be perceived as repressive or invasive (in other words, representing Scottish power), particularly the rigidity of Scottish Presbyterianism. The estate was a place, Albert suggests, of community, culture and productive labour, a place in which the summers were spent “in mirth, ease and alternate labour,” and the winters were spent in “varied amusements and social converse” (1: 98). The Irish mother and Scottish father of the siblings contribute equally to their acquirements. Their father’s library and mother’s musical skill ensures they are knowledgeable and cultured (1:100).

Scottish culture – as it is represented in the siblings and their estate – is endangered by Scottish poverty, English prejudice and potential English corruption. When Marian attempts to gain employment with Mrs. St. Austyn, the mother of Frederic and Gertrude, the proud English woman notes, “I’m sorry you are Scotch, for in general their pride is insufferable” (1: 37). Frederic initially admires Marian and considers her worthy of serious courtship, but his rakish tutor tells him that such a marriage “would be an effectual ruin on...[his] entrance into life – a sort of civil death” (1: 57), leading Frederic to attempt to seduce her. And the Scottish bank in which their father had left his funds has temporarily failed, leaving the siblings penniless in England (1: 107-109).

As in the narratives of Roche and Thomson, there are benevolent English

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9 Helme had written an earlier Scottish novel in which she is more explicit about the connection between Scottish virtue and culture. *Duncan and Peggy* (1794) is not concerned with resolving Anglo-Scottish dissonance through romance. The work ends with a marriage between Scottish heroine and Scottish hero. Helme does, however, uphold Scottish virtue as exemplary by engaging with vague elements of Scottish culture – including references to its history, the beauty of the landscape, military valour, its non-materialistic rural values, and, appropriately, in the decade following the publication of Burns’s work, to its songs and ballads. Peggy’s beauty is enhanced by her knowledge of such songs as “Hardyknute” and “Edom O’ Grodon” (1:113). The decadence in England is emphasized, suggesting again that England itself needs to be acculturated through encounters with Scottish performance and values.
characters who appreciate Scottish virtue. The central unifying force, Mrs. Stanhope, Mrs. St. Austyn's tolerant sister, does not share her prejudice, and values Marian's virtue and her accomplishments; like Roche's Amanda, she is musically skilled (1: 54). She hires Marian, helps her release her brother from debtor's prison and promotes Albert's interests to her banker, who agrees to "place the young gentleman" in a mercantile business and...[to] meanwhile hire him as second clerk (1: 127). Frederic and Gertrude have only been temporarily led astray by Berners, the tutor, and also are impressed by Albert and Marian. As a symbol of his admiration, Frederic demonstrates his admiration for Scottish culture by enlarging and improving the cottage at Strathnavern for Albert, who accepts the gesture "as a proof of brotherly affection" (3: 257).

Peripheral Frailty

Despite the strong presence of elements of rapprochement and the appreciation of a distinctly Scottish (and in Roche, Irish) culture in the proto-national tale, the trope of marital unity within each work is saturated in dissonance and peripheral powerlessness. This tension between desired culture and peripheral subordination is continued in Owenson's *Wild Irish Girl*, which, as Mary Jean Corbett suggests in her article "Allegories of Prescription: Engendering Union in the *Wild Irish Girl*," "indulges in a discursive violence of its own, narratively figuring the resolution to the rebellion of 1798 as willing consent on the part of an Irish bride to a forceful English embrace" (100). Their union, Corbett notes, exchanges protection for legitimacy, but the sexed status of Glorvina leaves the success of the union in the hands of the character of the groom, who, although he appreciates the value of Irish culture, still undertakes a "conquest of a yielding Ireland with the pen rather than the sword" (100).
The works of Thomson, Roche and Helme allow the reader to glimpse the hierarchical—and often dissonant—relation between England its peripheries. Rather than producing that which Buzard attributes to Scott, a space in which to redress problems of modern life, the works reveal the effects of an ongoing modern relationship of subordination between England and the peripheries. Peripheral dependence is primarily evident in the passivity and vulnerability of Scottish culture and those who bear it, in relation to their English counterparts, although this passivity is not always a result of tropological gender inequality.

Anna Thomson’s *Fatal Follies* was grounded in a particularly infamous and messy divorce case that had taken place several years earlier between the Countess of Strathmore and her second husband, Andrew Robinson Bowes. ¹⁰ This nasty public divorce between the English widow of a Scottish Earl and an English gentleman is used as a space to crystallize and display the marginally relevant area of Scottish culture. The first half of the epistolary novel is centered on Scotland, and on the terrible clash of values between the wealthy English heiress Helena Ossory and her husband, a Scottish Earl. Despite the fact that the gender of the Scot would seem to place him in a superior position, and despite his naïve wish for a reciprocal union, Stanmore is destroyed by English control and corruption. Driven to drink by his wife’s refusal to give him access to her funds to improve his estate, her excessive love of luxury and her unchaste behaviour, the Earl ultimately falls into a depression and dies in despair. This leads to Helena’s

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¹⁰ Several allegedly historical accounts of this case were produced in the late 80s and early 90s, none of which focus on Scottish culture. The Countess’s actual title was the Countess of Strathmore. Stanmore was a pseudonym. The Confessions of the Countess of Strathmore (1793), allegedly written by the Countess
equally disastrous second marriage to an English rake, which ends in scandal and divorce, leaving the Scottish estates to be wrangled over by the fallen and somewhat repentant Englishwoman and her violent, licentious English husband.

The marital union of Helena and Stanmore results in a loss of both Scottish agency and culture. The marriage echoes that unfortunate union between Rosie and Joukum in Allan Ramsay’s *Three Bonnets*. Stanmore’s agent in organizing the marriage, his guardian Lord Harley, does not protect his interests, and the marital contract gives Helena control over the fortune she brings to her marriage, a control she wields with an iron fist. Stanmore lacks the ability to improve his estates – a limitation that instigates estrangement from his wife. Mr. Ossory, Helena’s father, who supports his daughter’s dominance, explicitly compares the union of two kingdoms, a larger and smaller one, to the marriage and suggests that “where the domain is on the lady’s side, she, in fact is the oak, and the dependent husband the creeping ivy or honey suckle” (1:153, 154). It may be significant that this destructive tropological configuration of cross-border relations is produced by an author whom we know has significant Scottish connections, which may have led to a strong sense of power inequity between the two nations.

*Albert* lacks the traumatic hierarchy of *Fatal Follies*. Nevertheless, Helme’s work does reproduce reduced Scottish agency in a British nation. Albert, as the story opens, has to be rescued from debtor’s prison and receives assistance finding employment from the English Mrs. Stanhope (the aunt of Frederic and Gertrude). Socio-economic redemption also emerges from Ireland. Albert is ultimately relieved of his need to pursue a career by the appearance of the siblings’ wealthy Irish uncle, Colonel O’Bryen, who

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herself, makes brief references to spending time in Scotland. Concepts of cultural difference, then, despite their centrality to Thomson’s narrative, did not seem to be intrinsic to the legal case.
appears to have become wealthy through his participation in empire. In Helme’s work, then, peripheral unity does increase agency, but English assistance has also been crucial in assuring economic stability. In addition to Mrs. Stanhope’s help, Albert also gets news, before the appearance of his uncle, that his financial position has improved when one Mcleod rents his small estate for a three year period (1: 128). It later becomes clear that it is actually a repentant Frederick who has rented the house and land. English help is also required to reduce certain threats of violence against the peripheries from predatory elements of England. Frederic is severely admonished by his aunt for his treatment of Marian, leading him to renounce Berners.

In comparison to Albert, Celtic hybridity in Children of the Abbey has little influence on Scots-Irish political empowerment. In fact, Roche creates a dissonant environment for her cross-border courtship by suggesting that even the cultural heritage of the peripheries is neglected by the English. London society recognizes neither its own empty state nor the cultural richness of the margins. Both Carberry Castle in Ireland and Dunreath Abbey in Scotland show signs of neglect by owners who are either English or Anglicized. Carberry’s garden “was romantic, and long neglect had added to its natural wildness” (167). The remains of Dunreath’s garden lies at the foot of a hill; “The gay plantations were overrun with the progeny of neglect and sloth” (445). This neglect is allowed to occur because Lord Cherbury, the father of Amanda’s Anglo-Irish admirer, Mortimer, spends most of his time in England or travelling in France. And the Marquis of Roslin only visits his seat in Scotland once every three or four years (150), generally without his family, and when he is in Scotland prefers to stay in “a more modern structure” (447) twelve miles from the Abbey. As with Cherbury, much of his time is
spent in London rather than tending to his estates in the peripheries. If this time in London gives them any sort of power, it is clearly not apparent in their peripheral estates.

When Amanda and Oscar are restored to their proper position, through Oscar receiving an inheritance in Scotland that he had been denied due to the fraudulent act of a relative, the siblings do have access to some socio-economic power. The issue of political agency was of paramount importance to Irish writers, who, in the years following the formation of the short-lived Grattan’s Parliament in 1782, felt that Irish political autonomy was tantalizingly close. It is not surprising, then, that Roche seems more concerned than either Thomson or Helme with the ability of the peripheries to improve their own socio-economic situation. _Children of the Abbey_, however, was published at a moment in which the possibilities of revolution, republicanism and an Anglo-Irish union coexisted in an uncomfortable dissonance and an assertion of Irish autonomy may have seemed distant without the mediation of Scotland – a position that foreshadows Edgeworth’s political use of Scots, and that looks back to Swift’s _Injured Lady_, which constructs a female personification of Scotland that possesses considerable agency in comparison to Ireland.

Thus Oscar and Amanda’s recuperation of position and wealth does not occur through the native Irish line of their father, but rather through their Scottish mother and the Anglo-Irish line of Mortimer, inverting Helme’s model which locates economic resources in Ireland. The only legacy Fitzalan leaves is a “father’s blessing” (339), which, while rich in sentimental and cultural value, cannot directly aid Amanda and Oscar reclaim or restore their land/nation. When Amanda discovers, through the confession of her mother’s guilty stepmother, that her brother is entitled to a substantial
inheritance, she makes her way to London to try to have it legally validated. Obstructions face her, leading to danger from the seemingly omnipresent Belgrave. Her rescue is facilitated only with the aid of the English Sir Charles Bingley who also locates Oscar in a prison and arranges his release. Bingley travels north with Oscar to mediate with the Marquis of Roslin for Dunreath Abbey. He “knew the marquis personally, and was also well acquainted in his neighbourhood” and so could intercede diplomatically (561). When they arrive it is Sir Charles who takes “Oscar by the hand” and presents him “to the marquis as the son of Lady Fitzalan, the rightful heir of the Earl of Dunreath” (597). Thus while it is Oscar who ultimately ensures that Dunreath Abbey is “completely repaired and furnished in a style equally modern and elegant” and purchased it for Mortimer, he is only able to do so because he has had English support for his claim (628).

Thus far, I have suggested that while the nation-building novels of the 1790s foreground homosocial tropes in which Scottish men have agency and little cultural distinctness, the proto-national tale, which emerges around the same period, highlights a distinct desirable, but endangered and vulnerable Scottish culture and tends to do so through a marital trope in which Scotland is either represented as female or feminized. It is the latter model which Scott seems to embrace in Waverley, a model, which as Buzard notes, works to “make Scotland function as ‘culture’ for the English” (41).

I began this chapter with a discussion of St. Ronan’s Well, a novel in which Scott moves away from this model, celebrating agency rather than culture. However, Scott’s novel does not appear to be celebrating Scottish agency. It is by moving away from

Scotland that the protagonist, Francis, enters the literary marketplace. Scottish progress and culture is left to rapidly decline. Mowbray, the brother of the dead Scottish heroine, renouncing his penchant for gambling and having learned the value of frugality, departs from "the rules of economy" in one "remarkable instance" (540). But it is an instance which influences the commercial well-being of the entire community.

Having acquired, for a large sum of money, the ground which he had formerly feued out for the erection of the hotel, lodging-houses, shops. &c., at St. Ronan's Well, he sent positive orders for the demolition of the whole, nor would he permit the existence of any house of entertainment on his estate, except that in the Aultoun, where Mrs. Dods reigns with undisputed sway....The little watering place has returned to its primitive obscurity. (540)

While Mowbray's denouncement of gambling is certainly virtuous, and the departure of the eccentric group who surrounded Lady Penelope Penfeather seems to have detracted little from the cultural well-being of the village, the removal of the space from the narrative of progress seems, like the reduction of Fergus to a figure in a portrait in Waverley, to distance Scottish culture from commerce.

Brunton, Galt, Ferrier, and even Hogg are unwilling to make this disconnection between Scottish culture and British agency. Each of them returns to Scotland to grapple with the relationship between power and culture. Brunton and Galt share Scott's appreciation of progress and commerce, but weave it into various tropes of union that place value on Scottish culture. Written the same year as Scott's Waverley, Brunton's Discipline, like Scott's first novel, ultimately embraces tropes of sexual desire. However,
Brunton's work suggests that they must be grounded in the unifying agent of the marketplace and extend commercial agency to marginal communities that will later be excluded from power in *St. Ronan's Well*, including Highlanders and women. Unlike Scott, she suggests that such commercial agency can work in harmony with ongoing living cultural traditions, and resists relegating culture to a nostalgic space. Galt's *Andrew Wylie*, written eight years later, reformulates homosocial tropes of union to include both culture and commerce. Lowland 'authenticity,' the novel implies, can be commodified and used to negotiate socio-economic and political power within Britain. Other writers resist and even deconstruct tropes of union. James Hogg, in *Three Perils of Woman*, uses the marital trope to expose dissonance, not between Scotland and England, but between various geographical and social sectors of Scottish society. Scottish agency is possible, he suggests, only if culture recognizes – without transcendent mythologizing– the trauma of its past. Susan Ferrier, in several of her works, exposes the underside of various components of the cross-border trope of marriage. In her final work, *Destiny*, she does so most decisively, turning towards Scotland as the central concern of Scottish agency and culture. The moment in which Scottish culture and agency unite in *Destiny* is the moment when the narrative turns towards 'home.'

**Mary Brunton**

I will begin with Mary Brunton's use of commercial agency rather than courtship to write two intersecting marginalized groups to which she belonged into the Scottish nation – women and Highlanders. Brunton was born on Burra, in Orkney in 1778. Her parents were both from respectable military families, and her mother's side of the family had connections to aristocracy. After marrying Alexander Brunton, a Scottish minister,
she moved with him to Bolton, a town in East Lothian. The family moved to Edinburgh six years later, in 1803, and it was there that she completed her two novels – *Self-control* (1810-11) and *Discipline* (1814). Both novels sold well throughout Britain. She completed part of a third work, *Emmeline* (1819) before succumbing to childbed fever at the age of forty.\(^\text{12}\)

Born in one of the northernmost areas of Scotland, Brunton did not conceive of Highlanders as mere components of a cultural iconography. She represents them as an important segment of British society, one capable of being enriched, rather than erased, by progress. Likewise, writing as a middle-class Scottish woman, Brunton resists a category of gentility that would render women incapable of business management. Whereas Scott’s working women, such as Meg Dods, the innkeeper in *St. Ronan’s Well*, and Mrs. Glass, the tobacconist in *Heart of Midlothian*, are sharply distinguished from his refined heroines, Brunton refuses to use commercial aptitude as a class marker.

In the years leading up to Scott’s early novels, Brunton was already establishing an interest in commerce as a means to female agency within the nation. In both *Self-Control* and *Discipline*, as Susan Smith notes in her article “Men, Women, and Money: The Case of Mary Brunton,” Brunton resists offering the metaphor of marital union as a deficient solution for complex socio-economic problems. In Brunton’s work, cross-border marriage is reduced to a symbolic act of closure after actively reconfiguring the nation as inclusive through an accessible economic system.

Brunton’s novel ends in a marriage between an English gentlewoman, Ellen Percy, and one Mr. Maitland, who will later be revealed to be Henry Graham, the second

\(^{12}\) Although a fascinating work, we will not consider *Emmeline* which is centered on the concept of divorce.
son of a Highland chieftain and his wife, a member of a prominent English commercial family. Their courtship, however, is not the central organizing trope of the narrative. Maitland, a rich merchant of impeccable manners and virtue, despite his love for Ellen Percy, declines to pursue her because of her frivolity and tendency to participate in the shenanigans of the aristocracy. He forces their separation by leaving the country early in the second volume, and returns only at the end of the third and final volume.

The central organizing — and indeed unifying — devices of the text are benevolent mercantilism and commercial aptitude. While the marital union that closes the final volume does fulfill cross-border desire, it is more concerned with celebrating the presence of two commercially adept individuals in the Highlands where they can maintain traditional ways of living in rural communities while gradually enabling them to adapt to the new economy. Both Maitland and Ellen achieve commercial agency, but while commercial abilities are acquired relatively easily by the former, much of the text grapples with Ellen’s journey towards agency in the marketplace.

Anglo-Scottish union, in this text, has already happened. Maitland/Graham is a Briton who can operate effectively in either region. He is presumably born in the Highlands, where he is raised. As a young man, he is sent to his mother’s family in England, in part because the intrusive Lowland legal system was going to force him to bear witness against another clan that had tried to steal their cattle, and in part because his mother thought it would strengthen her relationship with her family, who had been uncomfortable with her marriage to a Scot. Fully knowledgeable about Highland life, he is transformed into a hybrid Briton when he receives a liberal English education, first by a tutor, then at Oxford. Finally, he travels around the commercial cities of the continent
where he “conversed with the most enlightened of their merchants” (2: 169-170).

Despite this Anglicization, he is clearly marked by his Scottishness, more so by his appearance than by his accent. When she first meets him, Ellen states

> [h]e was a tall, erect man, of a figure more athletic than graceful. His features were tolerably regular, and his eyes the brightest I have ever seen; but he was deprived of his pretensions to be called handsome, by a certain bony squareness of countenance, which we on the south side of the Tweed are accustomed to account a national deformity….His accent was certainly provincial; yet I believe that, without the assistance of his name, I could not decidedly have pronounced him to be a Scotchman. (1: 55, 56)

Although Brunton casts Maitland as a Briton he is firmly associated with North Briton, through his cultural memories as well as his visage. Although he has renounced his paternal home “in compliance with the will of his parents, and the caprice of his uncle,” he remembered his country “with the virtuous partiality which so strongly distinguishes and well becomes her children…[A]ll the charms of spectacle and song could not please like the rude verse which first taught him the legends of a gallant ancestry” (2: 165).

In a manner reminiscent of their meeting in the hero of Robert Bisset’s *Douglas*, Caledonian culture and substantial public agency intersect in Maitland. It is this blend that ultimately allows Maitland to bring the Highlands into the progressive British narrative in a way that respects tradition. He is sharply contrasted with Ellen’s father, a self-made merchant from an impoverished branch of an aristocratic family. Mr. Percy

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13 Ellen initially meets Maitland when he saves a woman from her speeding curricle (which Ellen is driving). We are told he seizes the reins “with British strength of arm” (1: 54).
embraces commercial values entirely, rejecting both good and bad components of his aristocratic past, a value system that leads to his suicide when he finds himself bankrupt. Maitland’s commercial background, in contrast, leads him to temper the commercial principles of improvement with moral responsibility. Appropriate to the period in which the novel is set, he is preoccupied with reform for slavery in his plantations, at one point speaking out before the senate and even traveling to the West Indies in an attempt to better the situation of his slaves. Maitland’s agency, however, goes beyond local improvement or development in the far regions of empire. He has influence in both British and European politics. While he had originally been content to exercise his benevolence as a “quiet citizen,” anonymously relieving the debts of the poor, slavery moves him to speak in the “cause of justice” (1: 275). His words are influential.

Himself a West India merchant, and interested, of course, in the continuation of the slave trade, he opposed with all the zeal of honour and humanity, this vilest traffic....In the senate of his country he lifted up his testimony against this foul blot upon her fame....The base ear of interest refused indeed to hear: But the words of truth were not scattered to the winds. All England, all Europe, caught the inspiration.... Our political augurs foretold his rise to the highest dignities of the state...The newspapers panegyrized him. (1: 276-277)

Maitland chooses not to pursue fame, although the narrative clearly foregrounds the willingness of the English political sphere to embrace Scottish agency. Unlike Francis Tyrell who moves away from the Highlands to pursue entrepreneurship, he chooses to use his agency and commercial success to ensure the Highlands are neither left behind
nor hastily forced into progress. *Discipline* is written during a particularly difficult moment in Highland ‘improvements’ and is set in the 1790s, a period which saw radical Highland resistance to the eradicating forces of modernization. The novel directly responds to contemporary concerns about the rapidity and sweeping determination with which communities were being displaced for the sake of profit. Between 1807 and 1821, it was the Sutherland estates that were undergoing massive reorganization. The Countess of Sutherland, a Highland heiress married to an extremely wealthy English lord, was determined “to turn her northern empire into an efficient paying property” (Richards 120). A fine objective, to be sure, but one that required the relocation of numerous tenants on the estate from the glens to the coasts, where it was hoped they would be able to establish successful fishing communities, despite their lack of experience in the industry.

From the perspective of the tenants, this initial stage of the Sutherland clearances did not go well, and the second round of clearances, which took place shortly before the publication of both *Discipline* and Walter Scott’s *Waverley*, was even worse. In June 1813, about the same time Alexander Brunton tells us his wife was completing the section on the Highlands, the eviction became so violent that the Countess’s factor was put on trial for cruelty. The responses of Scott and Brunton to this crisis are very different. In an essay on Scott and the Clearances, Saree Makdisi points out that he chooses to firmly locate his mythological Highland community in the past (72). Wealth and commerce, Scott makes clear in his “Postscript which should have been a Preface,” slowly but surely erases traditional ways of life. The old race, he argues, “has now

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14Makdisi implies that his friendship with the Countess of Sutherland may well have contributed to this position (78).
almost entirely vanished from the land, and with it, doubtless, much absurd political prejudice; but, also, many living examples [...] of old Scottish faith, hospitality, worth and honour” (340). Of course, as has been widely discussed by recent critics, Scott’s involvement in the visit of George IV to Edinburgh demonstrates that elements of this culture still could be revived, transformed and performed, detached from connections to banal everyday existence.

Brunton greatly admired Scott, and was mortified to find he had published a work on the Highlands shortly before her novel was released. But she substantially differs with him in her representation of the relationship between commerce and tradition. In Discipline, British commerce underpins the preservation and appreciation of Highland tradition. Improvement is embraced, but is gradual and not fundamentally destructive. This was not an unreasonable position. Tom Devine’s recent article on the involvement of Highland society in droving, forestry and fishing, and the engagement of many clan chiefs with Edinburgh money markets and Caribbean plantations, argues that “[c]lanship and commerce were not necessarily incompatible” (229).

Maitland is the agent through which gradual improvement must occur. When his older brother dies and he must take his position as heir, he brings his concept of development to the clan. Ellen tells us that Maitland’s plans for improvement in the Highlands, unlike those of the Sutherlands,

were minute and practicable, rather than magnificent. No whole communities were to be hurried into civilization, nor districts depopulated by way of improvement; but some encouragement was to be given to the schoolmaster; bibles were to be distributed to his best scholars; or Henry
would account to his father for the rent of a tenant, who... had reclaimed a
field from rock and broom. (3: 194)

Intellectual and moral developments go hand in hand with gradual improvement
in production and domestic space, and these shifts are accomplished without loss of the
distinct mannerisms or concepts of Scottish worth and honour, which Maitland himself
retains. This is not to say there is not some discomfort with mercantile values in the
Highlands. Maitland’s sister Charlotte tells Ellen that she never yet “called Henry
Graham by that upstart mercantile name”(3: 257). But even she clarifies by saying, “I am
not so prejudiced as you think me. I know that, if the name of those merchants had been
mean as obscurity could make it, it would have become honourable when borne by Henry
Graham. And to be sure, all professions are alike in the eye of reason; only there are
some which I think a gentleman should leave to people who need money to distinguish
them” (3: 263). Ellen privately disagrees. Though Maitland changes back to his name of
Graham at least while with his clan, Ellen says that this mercantile name “is associated
with all that is venerable in worth, and all that is splendid in eloquence” (3: 267).
Although Ellen and Maitland remain in the Highlands, Maitland appears to maintain his
business dealings. He is engaged in a meeting about possibly returning to London, likely
for business matters, at the end of the third volume and there is no indication that he plans
to sell his plantations (3: 269). While Flora and Fergus MacIvor are fated to exile and
death, with periodic revival as icons of ‘tartanry,’ Brunton’s clan, with the help of its
commercially experienced leaders, continues to work itself slowly into improved
agricultural production.
We have seen, then, that Scottish agency to influence British and particularly Scottish affairs is central to this text, along with an appreciation of Scottish culture, manners and traditions. Highlanders, however, are not the only group conventionally marginalized from the marketplace without the agency to actively shape the narrative of progress. Women are also excluded. Keane outlines the complex and contested relationship between women and nation at the time. Referring to the word ‘belongings’ in the subtitle to her book, she notes that although the idea of belonging to a nation, in its ideal form, “holds out the promise of full and equal participation for all nationals,” women were considered “more often belongings as proprieters” under contemporary contract law (2). In more specific relation to the marketplace, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, writing of the economic position of middle-class Englishwomen in the marketplace, notes that “[f]or a middle-class woman of the early nineteenth century, gentility was coming to be defined by a special form of femininity which ran directly counter to acting as a visibly independent economic agent” (315).

Frances Burney’s *The Wanderer* (1814) is one of the most obvious examples of this definition of gentility. Juliet’s failure to effectively find a way into the commercial marketplace through teaching music, giving public music performances, doing muslin piece-work, working in a milliner’s store, and running a shop is a mark of her rank, and even her virtue. Catherine Frank, in her recent article in *European Romantic Review*, notes that while it is possible to see this failure as “a relatively sympathetic critique of the injustices to which the wage-earning class, and particularly the single woman within it, is subject,” Burney ultimately must recuperate her heroine into the upper classes to avoid condoning a “bourgeois revolution” (445). This recuperation is accomplished, in part, by
emphasizing Juliet's inability to reject the characteristics that identify her as genteel but prevent her from operating successfully in the marketplace. The narrator tells us that Juliet had already witnessed "[t]he petty frauds, the over-reaching tricks, the plausible address, of the crafty shop-keeper in retail [...] [B]ut the difficulties of honest trade she had neither seen nor imagined. The utter inexperience of [her friend] Gabriella, joined to the delicacy of her probity, made her not more frequently the dupe of the artifices of those with whom she had to deal, than the victim to her own scruples" (4: 147).

Edward Copeland, in an impressive work on the relationship between women and money in this period, refers to novels that ultimately reject the connection between women and commerce as "genteel novels." He includes Austen, Burney and even Mary Wollstonecraft in this category. Brunton is placed in another classification, that of didactic novelist, by which he means that she writes novels which "stress the respectability of female employment, especially its respectability for [...] women from the ranks of the pseudo-gentry" (163). While in *St. Ronan's Well*, Clara Mowbray must die to facilitate Francis Tyrell's movement towards entrepreneurship, a central part of Ellen's journey to self discipline is her transformation from a woman associated with mercantilism in one of the conventional derogatory alliances of gender, marketplace and empire to one in which she asserts a degree of control over the marketplace.

Laura Brown refers to the association between female desire for luxury and the marketplace in Bernard Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* (1724). She writes that Mandeville "argues at length 'that a considerable portion of what the prosperity of London and Trade in general, and consequently the Honour, Strength, Safety and all the worldly Interest of the Nation' consist in, depends entirely on the Deceit and vile
Stratagems of Women’ in their consumption of a ‘vast quantity’ of trinkets and apparel, which they ‘come at by... pinching their Families...and other ways of cheating and pilfering from their Husbands” (104). The connection between women and luxury was brought up frequently throughout the long eighteenth century. And authors, particularly female authors, in the early nineteenth century, sometimes introduced materialistic characters to serve as a foil for their heroines: Mansfield Park’s Mary Crawford, for example, or Northanger Abbey’s Isabella Thorpe.

As the story unfolds, it rapidly becomes clear that Ellen, the narrator, looks back on her younger self as an embodiment of this association of woman, commerce and luxury, a conflation encouraged by her avaricious father. Funded by her merchant father’s fortune, she tells her readers of her eagerness “to taste the pleasures and the pomps of wealth,” spends her mornings “at auctions, exhibitions, and milliners’ shops,” and places herself in a compromising position by borrowing money from a rake in order to fulfill her immediate desire for a “tortoise-shell dressing-box” (1: 43, 88, 176). The main focus of the final two volumes of the work is Ellen’s redefinition of her relationship to the marketplace.

Maitland, along with a friend of Ellen’s mother, Miss Mortimer, initially promotes a more active relationship between women and commerce. Before losing her wealth, Ellen is approached by Mrs. Wells, a poor woman asking for advice regarding her daughter, a mantua-maker, who is being courted by a decent young house carpenter. The couple wishes to marry but cannot afford a house. Ellen wants to give them £50

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15 Women are warned against luxury in Martha Mears Pupil of Nature (1797) (Jones 96).
immediately, but neither Maitland nor the potential recipient approve. Mrs. Wells wants the couple to work and learn “patience and good management” (1:139). Maitland agrees and offers to help them if they work and save for a year. While Ellen’s love of luxury leads her to refuse to employ the young woman in case she cannot manufacture garments that are the height of fashion, Miss Mortimer helps to formulate a women’s network of buyers by exerting “her influence so successfully, as to procure employment for every hour of the girl’s time” (1: 140-141).

When Ellen is left penniless, orphaned and living with the dying Miss Mortimer, she has an encounter with the material results of her earlier obsession with luxury. Meeting a barefoot beggar girl with “a strong Caledonian accent,” she discovers the child to be part of the family of her Scotch gardener. Mr. Campbell had acquired a fatal illness because Ellen had ordered that “some delicate exotics should be forced into flower to adorn an entertainment. Poor Campbell, deputed to take care of them, watched them all night in the hot-house, then walked two miles to his lodging through a thick drift of snow, – breathed ever afterwards with pain” only to be cursorily dismissed when Mr. Percy no longer required his services (2: 146). Ellen, for the first time, manages to sell a few “little ingenious works which [she]...had been taught in school” to try to undo the effects of her past materialism by funding the journey of the Campbell family back to Scotland (2: 149, 150). With this incident her transformation begins. She starts to manufacture and sell small products privately so she can help to purchase necessities and even some treats for Miss Mortimer. When her guardian dies, however, this occupation is insufficient to support her. Foregrounding the position of women in the commercial world, she cries,

16 The Scottish gardener’s oppression under an English employer is reminiscent of literary representations of English oppression of Scotland.
“My own labour... was now become my only means of obtaining shelter or
subsistence... But how was I to direct my attempts? What channel had the customs of
society left open to the industry of women?” (2: 203) Following possible employment,
Ellen ends up in Scotland, penniless and alone.

It is in Scotland that female agency and access to the marketplace begin to open up.17
As Susan Smith notes, when Ellen meets an impoverished Highland widow, Cecil
Graham, she helps her to buy back “the household goods and tools that will help her to
keep her economic independence” through spinning (50). Smith notes that by enabling
Cecil to participate in the marketplace, Ellen is modeling precisely what Maitland and
Mrs. Mortimer had taught her earlier when they helped the seamstress acquire work
rather than just giving her charity. The Scottish marketplace certainly does not welcome
Ellen, leading her to complain that “Edinburgh, at that time, contained no markets for the
fruits of female ingenuity,” yet she does not encounter the sexual danger or male
disapproval faced by Juliet in Burney’s The Wanderer, or even by Laura, the heroine of
Brunton’s earlier novel, Self Control (2: 279). After a number of failed attempts to find
work, Ellen makes baubles at home and sells them to a toy shop. The owner tries to force
down her prices and, in response, Ellen, perhaps having inherited some business skills
from her merchant father, bypasses the greedy middleman and attempts to build her own

17 I have argued elsewhere that Ellen’s ability to negotiate the marketplace more successfully in Scotland
may be because the socio-economic position of Scottish women may have been particularly conducive to a
pro-commercial narrative. Elizabeth Sanderson’s recent book on women in Edinburgh suggests that the
Scottish marketplace in the eighteenth century, while not openly welcoming to women, was perhaps easier
to access than the English equivalent. She contends that single women of the professional classes who
worked for subsistence seemed to be accepted by Edinburgh society (85). Moreover, the wives and
widows of professional men, such as ministers, writers, teachers and officials, frequently worked - some
wives continuing work they had done prior to the marriage, and some widows continuing family businesses
(117). Far from being condemned, she notes, these women were often commended for their work (133).
Speculating on why Scottish women may have maintained stronger ties to the commercial world,
Sanderson suggests that Scotland’s belated economic growth and a number of serious financial failures,
clientele. Despite her concerns about how she will be perceived, she asks her landlady to use her position as washerwoman to display Ellen’s products to potential purchasers. When her first customer wants to discuss a new commission, Ellen visits her and works up enough courage to perform one of the critical duties of business – requesting an advance. As Smith notes, Ellen has echoed Miss Mortimer in starting a woman’s business network – one in which the working-class landlady, the genteel pauper and the wealthy patron work together to bypass that avaricious representative of male commerce at its worst- the toy shop dealer. It is during this meeting, brought about by Ellen’s action as an economic agent, that the groundwork is set to restore Ellen to wealth, through the equivalent business acumen of Mr. Maitland, who has negotiated a deal with her creditors to collect debts owed to her father only if Ellen receives a percentage. Her patron recognizes Ellen’s name and puts her in touch with Miss Graham, the sister of Cecil’s clan chief, a clan chief who will later be revealed to be Maitland.

Thus far, we have seen that Brunton follows Scott in her respect for the marketplace and, that while she does not go so far as to reject the marital union at the end of the narrative, she rejects the centrality of desire that colours the national tale. Rather, she subordinates desire for unity to the economic development of both her hero and heroine. However, in other ways, Discipline sharply differs from St. Ronan’s Well. It turns towards Scotland rather than away from it, folding Highlanders and women into the narrative of economic progress. She allots substantial politico-economic agency and a strong sense of Scottish culture to Maitland, who literally embodies the assimilation of

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18 I would suggest that women are too closely associated with familial relations to reject the traditional harmonic “romance” ending.
Anglo-Scottish values, and with the help of his progressive wife, disseminates values that blend both culture and commerce. Yet before these values can be passed on Ellen must acquire Maitland’s doubleness: his embodiment of both culture and commerce. Ellen, as narrator, expresses awareness of this need for acculturation before the desire on which union is founded can experienced. She notes, as she rejects the advances of an Edinburgh admirer, “My affections and my imagination were yet to receive their culture in the native land of strong attachment, ere I could be capable of such a sentiment” (2: 281).

Thus the act which demonstrates Ellen’s commercial agency – the development of a viable business network the moment in which she achieves this agency – leads to a meeting with one of the central proprietors of Highland culture, Charlotte Graham, who will teach her to understand and appreciate Highland manners, Ossianic poetry, music, Gaelic, the mountainous landscape, Highland dress, the distinct morality of the Highlands and different concepts of social status, in other words, culture. Significantly, in a process that diverges from those of the national tale, this acculturation is not centered on a hierarchical relationship naturalized through gender. Rather, Ellen’s acculturation is acquired through a lively, mutually respectful female exchange. Ellen notes, “[o]ur views of common subjects were different enough to keep conversation from stagnating; while our accordance upon more important points formed a lasting bond of union” (191).

The novel ends with this intersection of commerce and culture in both hero and heroine and consolidates the connection through references to the couple’s children. Peripheral agency (commercial and political) and culture should not be imagined as

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Charlotte Graham, as carrier of culture, significantly rejects commerce herself. She notes that his commercial work was a “temporary degradation in obedience to a mother” (3:262), although she admits that a mean mercantile name would become honourable if “borne by Henry Graham.”
distinct entities, but operate together. There is no need, in her representation, to contain the Scottish past in order to move into the British future.

**John Galt**

The work of John Galt is strongly associated with commercial transformation and social progress. As the son of a shipmaster to the Western Indies, and a man who spent much of his life exploring commercial and imperial projects, his focus on commerce and progress may not be surprising.\(^{20}\) *Annals of the Parish*, in particular, describes a rural Scottish community that gradually loses its markers of continuity, and is subsumed in a world of industry, commerce, newspapers and war, much of which seems to emanate from England. Yet impulses towards commercial progress in Galt’s work, unlike that of Brunton, frequently appear distanced from individual agents altogether.\(^{21}\) Society, rather than individual characters, progresses in *Annals of the Parish*.\(^{22}\)

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\(^{20}\) Information on Galt’s life is from Ruth I Aldrich’s *John Galt*.

\(^{21}\) Keith Costain has tied his approach, and the term Galt himself uses to describe certain of his works, ‘theoretical histories,’ to eighteenth-century Scottish social theorists and their four-stage theory of progress. Costain argues that this theory suggests that progress is “not achieved by human planning” but as a result of various interacting forces (346). Costain notes that Galt referred to a number of his works as theoretical histories. He argues that ‘‘theoretical history’ is a term which Galt borrowed from the vocabulary of the Scottish realist philosophers of the eighteenth century, and one which the realists themselves used to designate a form of historical speculation and historical writing which they made peculiarly their own….For the Scottish Realists the study of History was the study of progress, or, more specifically, the study of the various forces connected with the means of subsistence which [they thought] cause societies to evolve upwards in a series of definable stages…” (344-345). A corollary of this idea, Costain argues, is that “progress cannot be attributed to the schemes of ‘great men.’ Gilbert Stuart chided both David Hume and William Robertson…for dwelling upon ‘eminent men’ and ‘heroic action’ instead of composing disquisitions into laws and manners since it is in the everyday world, among the common activities of ordinary people, that the ‘laws’ of historical development are to be found at work” (346-347). This kind of work, then, is not focused on the agency of individuals. Costain makes clear, however, that the term, theoretical history, cannot be applied to all of Galt’s work. He includes *The Provost, Sir Andrew Wylie, The Ayrshire Legatees* and *The Entail* among works that do not fit under this label (362-3).

\(^{22}\) More recently, Katie Trumpener argues that several works which Costain excludes from his category of theoretical histories - *The Provost* (1822) and *The Entail* (1822) - do engage with human agency, but rather than emphasize its accomplishments, focus on the ability of members of the middle classes throughout Britain to camouflage “this agency as the movement of history, freeing the manipulators to appear, even to themselves, as public benefactors” (156). Trumpener suggests that in Scott’s novels the motor of history is strangely impersonal and Galt’s novels are different. “Historical change appears to be partly the result of deliberate attempts to alter the organization and character of social life and partly the indirect effect of such manipulations, the self-perpetuation and proliferation of changes once they have been introduced” (155).
narratives, however, commerce works in tandem with tropes of private relations to engage with Anglo-Scottish relations. In the *Ayrshire Legatees* (1821) and *Sir Andrew Wylie of that Ilk* (1822), works in which cross-border dealings are central, homosocial tropes that privilege Scottish agency are central. The earlier work embraces commerce and agency at the expense of Scottish culture, emulating, to a degree, the nation-building novels of the 1790s and perhaps foreshadowing *St. Ronan’s Well*. The *Ayrshire Legatees* is an epistolary work which traces the journey of a Scottish minister and his family to London to “obtain a speedy settlement with the agents” after he discovers he has inherited a substantial legacy from his cousin in India (1). While Dr. Pringle and his wife ultimately return to the village of Garnock, his son and daughter do not return, but rather merge into Britain through homosocial and familial tropes. Rachel Pringle marries an English Captain and after a honeymoon in France returns to live with him in Berkshire (110). Andrew Pringle, in a far more developed storyline, develops a strong friendship with the Charles Argent, the son of his uncle’s wealthy agent, and is introduced into a number of socio-political networks, ultimately leading to political opportunity. Both children seem embarrassed by the provincial behaviour of their parents and relatively impressed by London society. Andrew, at one point exclaims, “[a] raw Scotchman, contrasted with a sharp Londoner, is very inadroit and awkward, be his talents what they may” (102).

*Andrew Wylie*, published only a year later, does something quite different. Through a series of homosocial tropes, the narrative suggests that Scottish culture and agency can operate together within Britain, and that they can do so by following the commercial model of exchange. Of all the works we will discuss in the chapter, *Sir
Andrew Wylie, published early in 1822, most clearly asserts the ability of Scots to participate in British socio-economic and political power. It rewrites the depiction of the Scot in London, as Smollett conceived it in Roderick Random, as a success story, the story of a man who can negotiate his way to power because of, rather than despite of, his country of origin, his dialect or his cultural belief system.

Sir Andrew Wylie must be one of the most neglected works of Galt. Ian A. Gordon, in an essay on Galt and politics, identifies one possible reason for this neglect, the perception of a certain lack of something we might call ‘authenticity’ based on authorial intent. Gordon notes that while he was writing The Provost Galt was simultaneously engaged on a further political novel, designed as a companion piece. Galt’s intention was to do a parallel study, this time of a “humble Scotchman” who made his way to London, progressed there in the law, made a favourable impression on an earl and his countess, to be given (in those pocket borough days) a seat in parliament. There his shrewd outspoken comments were heard only in committee, never on the public platform. His reward was a baronetcy and a triumphal return to Scotland....[Galt’s] first draft turned out to be longer than The Provost. Galt thought it might need two volumes. His publisher William Blackwood had other ideas. Recognising that Galt had run beyond his usual one-volume length, he saw the chance to get from him one of the then fashionable three-volume extended novels so much in request from the subscription libraries. He demanded

23 Although Brunton’s Mr. Maitland also speaks in the senate on the slave trade.
expansion, a “good and striking story” replacing Galt’s normal episodic method. Galt was unwilling but – to his lasting regret – capitulated. The ultimate Sir Andrew Wylie of 1822 is replete with complex plotting and incidents which Galt later was to condemn as “too romantic and uncommon for my taste.” (125)

This long extract marks a dissonance between the narrative as it was conceived and as it was produced, and it is likely this discord that, in part, prevents critics from taking it seriously.²⁴ Yet, the editorial intervention does not seem to change the central elements of the plot, for indeed, it is a story of a humble Scotchman who achieves political and economic success in London, and returns to acclaim in Scotland. Moreover, the transformation from political success story into a longer ‘romantic,’ ‘uncommon’ story does not negate the implications of the work in its completed form, regardless of Galt’s later critique.

Andrew is born “a cottar’s son” in a “hamlet of Stoneyholm, in the shire of Ayr” and is raised by his grandmother, who earns a living by spinning (2). He is educated initially at a village school and privately trained as a lawyer’s clerk before setting out to London, where a kinswoman who has married a retired London solicitor introduces him to Mr. Vellum, a practicing solicitor. Andrew takes a position there as a copyist.²⁵ He then begins making a series of connections and resolving a series of English problems which give him increasing amounts of social and political capital which he uses to

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²⁴ Galt wrote to Blackwood “Sir Andrew Wylie, the most original of all I have ever done was spoilt by your interference” (Aldrich 85). H.B. de Groot suggests that another reason for this neglect might be the lack of irony in the work, an irony to which Galt’s readers had become accustomed (99).

²⁵ Although his job is not explicitly given a title, it is a junior position and it seems to be that of a copyist. He has to leave a dinner because he has “a codicil to copy to a dying man’s last will and testament” (67). It is, of course, ironic that a Scottish man hired to reproduce English documents ends up transforming England.
negotiate his social advancement. Finally, he returns to Scotland in triumph, to marry Mary Cunningham, the daughter of the local Ayrshire laird, a seemingly unattainable match for someone of his social origins.

Francis Hart, in his study of the Scottish novel, describes the protagonist of Sir Andrew Wylie as “the Scottish lad o pairts, the shrewd, original rustic whose wit and humanity triumph over – and occasionally redeem – a supercilious cosmopolitan society” (35). This redemption, I would suggest, is far from occasional. His intervention echoes that of the political novel in that it is recuperative in all sectors of society in which Andrew intervenes. His intervention repairs three different segments of English society: the familial, which is in a state of conflict; the legal, which is in a state of corruption, and the political, which lacks its full potential. It is also important to recognize, however, that English forces can be just as beneficial to Andrew and ultimately enable the regeneration of a dying breed of Scottish gentry with a vigorous new Scottish family founded on a cross-class connection based on merit.

Before looking in detail at the three areas of restoration, I would like to stop for a moment to consider the nature of the homosocial tropes of exchange in which Andrew participates. I will suggest that the ‘product’ Wylie deliberately packages and uses to negotiate upward mobility in the British political sphere is his culture. Access to elements of Scottish culture are exchanged for socio-political power. The narrative suggests that Wylie rapidly realizes the worth of his “authenticity.”

Wylie’s cultural authenticity is not configured in the way some contemporary works elide Lowland identity by representing Scotland through an idealistic representation of the Highlands. Wylie’s authenticity is a distinct Lowland culture, one
that retains much of the virtue and loyalty associated with Highlanders in earlier works, but which does not exist only in adventure time mode. In fact, early in the novel, Wylie distinctly rejects the pathos and nostalgia that marks Scott's *Waverley*. As he leaves Scotland at the beginning of the narrative, the youthful Andrew stops in Linlithgow and, as he shares the Scottish belief in “the superiority of the national monuments of his native land – to say nothing whatever of the superior excellence of her institutions,” he decides to look at the ruined castle “with mingled sentiments of admiration and sorrow” (64). An old woman gives him access to the interior of the castle and he sits “in the very seat where the gallant and unfortunate James of Flodden Field used to hear mass; and he saw also, with as sincere a faith in the truth of the story as any boy of his age did in the age when it happened, the chapel-aisle where the apparition of St Andrew warned the King from that fatal campaign” (65). Galt respects the power of this sort of tragic mythology, and its place in national identity of the current day. He writes that the muses of Scotland have deplored Flodden, “and never more impressively than in our own time, converting (as it were, by a beautiful alchemy) the memory of national disgrace and misfortunes into motives of national pride that tend to add vigour to the energies of patriotism” (65).

While pathos, and the song of the fallen, are powerful markers of national identity, as Benedict Anderson has shown in his example of the tomb of the unknown soldier, it is one that Andrew walks away from. The characteristics involved in Galt’s revised Scotland are not melancholic and the energies of patriotism Andrew possesses are related neither to disgrace nor misfortune. In their place, Galt amalgamates a number of characteristics in his hero, those of dialect, religion, a balance of rusticity with wisdom
and knowledge of human nature, a frank nature, an attachment to Scottish communities as well as British ones, and a vitalizing and infectious energy.

The strongest marker of Andrew’s culture is his dialect, which, though it tends to diminish during his time in England, is always accessible. We are told that when he returns to Scotland at the end of the novel, he had resolved to resume “the broad accent of his boyish dialect: not that the latter required any effort, for he had carefully and constantly preserved it, but he had unconsciously adopted a few terms and phrases purely English; and, in the necessity of speaking intelligibly to his clients and fashionable friends, had habitually acquired, without any of the southern tone, considerable purity of language” (375). He is also strongly attached to his Presbyterian religion. When the Sandyfords ask if he will be godfather to their son he answers that he cannot, and explains, “gude forgive me if I say, that sponsors are forbidden in the ten commands” (363). He has a strong commitment to his own nation. He consistently sends support to his grandmother, chooses to return to Scotland at the end of the novel to marry his Scottish childhood love, demonstrates charity towards an elderly Scottish beggar, and helps a worthy Scottish friend who approaches him in England by getting him an appointment overseas through his network of friends.

Ruth Aldrich suggests that this figure he has an “occasional resemblance to the poet Robert Burns,” a fellow Ayrshireman. A number of his characteristics intersect with those Burns promoted about himself. Leith Davis notes that Burns “presents himself as ‘but little indebted to scholastic education,’” as having “unrefined taste,” as “rustic,” but at the same time “worldly” and “knowledgeable” (83, 84). Andrew is described as having “earnest simplicity,” but is clearly “not the simpleton” that some initially take him for.
He reaches the pinnacle of success “[w]ithout hereditary connections, without the advantages of education, and without the possession of any of that splendour of talent which is deemed so essential to success in the path of honourable distinction” (363). The egalitarian sentiments expressed by Burns in such works as “A Man’s a Man for A’ That,” are expressed in Andrew in a willingness to interact with all ranks without significant differentiation in manner, a “familiarity” towards all classes of society (65, 66). This consistency in character, along with a willingness to be blunt comes across as a certain forthright integrity and authenticity of character. The narrator comments that even after the Earl treats him with complete respect Andrew’s “original and indestructible simplicity, like the purity of the invulnerable diamond, underwent no alteration” (262).

And finally, Andrew seems to possess a strong degree of common sense, a quality traceable to the common sense philosophy of the Enlightenment philosopher Thomas Reid, who had argued that while “social experience played an important part in shaping our manners...these were to be clearly distinguished from those intuitively based, fundamental beliefs of common sense which were impervious to time and experience” (Phillipson 37). Andrew seems to personify this intuitive pragmatism, as the earl recognizes when he remarks to his friend Mordaunt that he “had no conception that wisdom lurked in so strange a form as in that creature Wylie” (127). This semblance of culture, then, is different from that created by Walter Scott and others in the Blackwood’s Circle.26 It is neither strongly centered in Scottish history nor in nostalgic desire, but

26 John Wilson is an interesting member of the Blackwood’s Circle to contrast with Galt. He often deals with ‘common folk,’ as in his short story, Simon Gray, in which the tragic life of a country minister is sentimentally described. Or as in Helen Eyre, in which a young illegitimate English orphan is raised by a Scottish woman in the Lowlands. These sentimental stories are precursors to the kailyard school.
rather in a mode of being, a certain authenticity, which Andrew rapidly transforms into a viable commodity, able to be accessed in exchange for British authority.

One of the first connections Andrew makes in England is the Earl of Sandyford, an aristocrat who has become separated from his wife because he falsely believes she has been unfaithful. The Earl’s original attraction to Andrew derives from the Scotsman’s eccentricity, “the oddity of his appearance,” “the sly suspicion of his looks”, and the “simplicity of his manners” (84). The relationship he develops with him is initially hierarchical. Andrew delivers letters to him from Mr. Vellum, is ridiculed at a masquerade, and is invited to dinner to be a distraction. Andrew rapidly realizes, however, that he can transform this relationship, but that eliminating his Scotticisms is not the way to accomplish this. Arriving for dinner,

the idea suddenly flashed upon him that he owed the honour of the invitation to the simplicity of his Scottish manners and appearance....he seemed to the saucy valet to undergo a marvelous transmutation from an awkward vulgar boy into an easy and confident gentleman....Lord Sandyford, who possessed an acute perception of the latent powers of character, perceived, by the change...that he was not the entire simple oddity which he had first imagined, and immediately went towards him and shook him by the hand in a manner that raised him at once, as it were, into the equality and footing of a friend. (65)

Andrew is performing an act of mimicry, but one related to class position rather than national identity. He continues talking in heavy dialect during the dinner. It is the character of a gentleman that he assumes, and he is accepted as one, although the Earl
still speaks to him “with that wonted familiarity which proceeded from a sense of his own superiority” until he sees him successfully resolve a complex legal issue, at which time the Earl “addressed him with so much respect that the change in his manner was assurance to Wylie of the ascendancy which he might now assume over even this accomplished and highly endowed nobleman” (262).

Although Andrew’s accent does seem to diminish somewhat by the end of the novel, in a manner reminiscent of Bage’s Dr. Gordon, he deliberately chooses to retain his native peculiarities. When, at Lord Sandyford’s bidding, Andrew is offered a promotion in Mr. Vellum’s business, with an accompanying substantial raise in salary, Vellum suggests that he throw off his “ridiculous manners for the future” (110). Andrew counters, “That would be a doing indeed!...when you are just at this precious moment telling me that they have already brought me in seven hunder and fifty pounds a year” (110).

Andrew, unlike Helme’s virtuous Highlanders or Christian Johnson’s noble, genteel hero, is not the epitome of virtue and nature. He is particularly good at cutting through the social personas assumed by others, but he also embraces performance, reifying and performing his own brand of Scottishness to acquire agency. After Andrew repairs one relationship, the narrator tells us that his feelings were not entirely disinterested. “He could not but be sensible that in their happiness he had obtained a fulcrum for the engines that were to raise his own fortune, and that, in all probability, he had secured the patronage of the Marquis of Avonside as well as that of the earl” (301). In other words, Galt challenges the idea of the primitive Scot, whose recuperating powers are innocently and even inadvertently accomplished through his virtue. As they come to know Wylie,
his English friends come to realize that there is a degree of promotion in his self-presentation. The Earl comments to Mordaunt, "There is much virtue in that awkward simplicity of his; for it begets negligence towards his talents, and that negligence enables him to acquire advantages which the creature, by a curious instinct, somehow uses in a way that is positively commanding, but in any other individual would be downright and intolerable presumption and impudence" (127). And we are told that "[o]nce or twice it occurred to his lordship [the earl] that there was a degree of system in the simplicity of his manners strangely at variance with his vanity in cultivating the acquaintance of persons of rank and fashion" (361). Yet this sense of performance does not cause conflict between them because it is effective.

It is as an unapologetic 'authentic' Scot, then, that Andrew intervenes in English familial, legal and political problems. He begins by resolving two separate family disputes. He persuades the estranged Earl and Lady Sandyford to reconcile, one of the central threads of the narrative, and mediates in another family dispute in which a stubborn father is convinced to cancel prearranged marriage plans for his unwilling daughter so she can marry the man she loves, a school friend of the Earl (196-200). If we read the English family as Burkean invocations of the English nation, then Andrew's intercession, his refusal to be constrained by English middle-class conventions, is an act of national recuperation. The mediating power of shrewd Lowland middling-class manners, which use common sense and directness to deal with conflict, trumps the complex delicacy of English aristocratic etiquette. Exasperated by continued references by both the earl and his wife to the ways in which their refined sensibilities have been harmed, Wylie cries "was ever twa sic devil's buckies cleckit, to fash simple folk...as
this might madam and her flea-luggit lord....I'll no let them ding me, noo that my heart's set to mak them happy in spite o' their teeth” (281). Becoming impatient with the indirect, tentative negotiations between Sandyford and his wife’s brother, Wylie forces the couple to meet, an act that rapidly results in the restoration of their mutual affection. With their reunion, stability is restored to the private sphere of the nation. The earl, restored from his ennui by the reconciliation and invigorated by Andrew’s energy, takes his friend’s advice to settle “in the princely house of Chastington with...[his] leddy [and] begat sons and daughters” so that he may “serve [his] country better in fostering the comforts of the tenantry” than by making speeches in public life (347).

Andrew’s second intervention, one added after Blackwood’s criticism, is with the corrupt legal system, which is being abused by a judge who has actually perpetrated the murder being investigated. The blame has been deflected onto several gypsies who had been kind to Andrew. After talking to the gypsies and hearing their suspicions about the judge, Andrew hires a lawyer for the accused, and works closely with him to investigate the case (239, 240). He tracks biographical information on the deceased using other members of the gypsy troop as spies, persuades the earl to read the defense statement to give it more credibility and even contributes to the body of the defense argument. The result is that the truly guilty party commits suicide and the innocent parties are freed.28

Andrew’s penetration into the workings of the court inverts the sense that Scott promoted four years earlier in Heart of Midlothian (1818), a sense that the justice in Scotland is

27 Deevil’s buckies cleekit - perverse people born; Ding - overcome. All translations of dialect are taken from the glossary of the Edinburgh UP edition.
28 On the one hand, we could say that this episode has been unwillingly inserted into the plot. On the other hand, it was a popular part of the novel. Galt writes, that the work “is not...the work I had planned, in
inadequate and dependent on England. Here it is the English justice system that is
inadequate, and protection of the oppressed must come from a representative of the
Scottish nation, who demonstrates considerable agency both personally, in his
suggestions about the presentation of the case, and through a network of English
collaborators.

Andrew’s movement, as the narrative progresses, is from resolving the private – the
metaphorical private – which itself signifies the nation – to explicitly restoring the
public realm to its proper order, allowing those excluded for ideological reasons reentry
into the halls of power. Andrew’s final restorative act is to reintegrate a young Lord, the
brother of Lady Sandyford, into parliament.

To accomplish this goal, Andrew needs to reenergize Riversdale, who believes he is
of delicate health, but in fact just seems to be suffering from a blend of hypochondria and
ennui. Andrew refuses to listen to his pleas of fragility, telling him, “[o]dsake, my lord,
if ye’re long in my hands, I’ll put mair smeddum [mettle] in you” (281). Riversdale
responds well to his directness, and when Andrew explains the importance of immediate
action in the estrangement of his sister and her husband, he replies, “I feel the force of
your good sense constraining me to act, where delicacy, although it is my sister’s case,
almost makes me shrink from any further proceeding” (281). Andrew’s agency is clearly
on display here. It is Andrew that will “put” mettle into Riversdale and “constrain” the
young aristocrat to act. Riversdale fails in his attempt to restore his sister’s marriage. It is
ultimately Andrew who must force the reconciliation, but Andrew is not finished with
him. Riversdale’s “infirmity” has arisen from a series of circumstances. He had been

which there would have been no such episode as the gypsies introduced – an episode, however, which I
have heard frequently mentioned as the best contrived part of the narrative” (*Autobiography* 2:392).
inspired by the French Revolution in its early days. Despite his introduction to many in both houses who followed Burke, he assures his pro-revolutionary friends that exposure to such men and the exchange of courtesies between them would not change his principles. Several unfortunate events convince his friends otherwise. In the first parliamentary assembly after the election, the minister takes Riversdale’s arm as they walk to the entrance, leading his friends to believe they have some private understanding. Then, when Riversdale leaves temporarily because the heat is making him feel ill and misses an important political division, his friends believe he has betrayed them, and “sever themselves from all communion with him” (265). Their lack of belief in his virtue and principles mortifies him, leading him to travel on the Continent in a state of “low and querulous misanthropy,” refusing to accede to his father’s request to return regardless of his political principles, until he finally responds to a letter from his sister about her marital problems (266).

Despite the efforts of various parties to tempt him into politics again, Riversdale effectively avoids all attempts, including that of his brother-in-law, to convince him to become involved in political matters. Andrew, however, predicts that he will enter the House of Peers, and works with the earl to reconcile Riversdale with the minister.29 Andrew gives advice to the prime minister about the presentation of his own political position to Riversdale, advising him to foreground connections between his politics and those of Riversdale: “[T]ry to show him that ye’re no continuing the war against the liberties of mankind,” he suggests (358). The minister follows his advice, using Andrew’s own arguments in favour of a peace with France after Napoleon has been
“cast down by his own folly” (356). The minister’s remarks convince Riversdale that “England, merely by remaining stationary in her principles, was evidently become the champion of whatever of liberty, of order, and of honour existed in the world” (360). He enters into parliament on the ministerial side of the house.

Although the discussion thus far might suggest that the homosocial tropes in Andrew Wylie are somewhat uneven, they are reciprocal – based on exchange rather than mere recuperation. Indeed the narrator occasionally slips into the language of the marketplace, at one point noting that Lord and Lady Sandyford felt themselves to be Wylie’s “debtors” (361). Authentic Lowland culture, in all its quaintness and frankness, is exchanged for socio-economic and political capital. In return for restoring the fundamental core of the nation – the family unit – to England, Sandyford, his wife and her influential father use their political and economic capital to reinvigorate the Scottish nation by placing Andrew in an economic and class position in which he can reinvigorate the Scottish governing classes. The work opens with a relatively strong Scottish gentry. The ancient Craigland family has a young heir, Wylie’s friend William Cunningham, who, after some years of education in the village school, is sent to an academy to be educated according to his station. William joins the army, however, and dies from an injury he receives in battle. Mary, Wylie’s beloved, remains unmarried, leaving the estate without an heir. The Sandyfords assist Andrew to acquire “a degree of personal consequence that placed him on a level with Mary Cunningham” (363), helping him to rise in his profession by persuading his employer to promote him, and putting him in

29 In actual fact the Earl of Sandyford is a Whig, but does not participate in politics; a position Andrew approves of, saying that his nature is not suited for public life. He encourages him focus on estate improvement (347).
touch with many illustrious contacts. These connections assist Andrew to later persuade Mr. Vellum to make him partner in his firm (309).

After Andrew reunites his daughter with her husband, the Marquis of Avonside determines to “take him under my own particular patronage,” and, after an interview with the young Scot he speaks of him “not only as a prodigy of prudence, but possessed of the most promising talents in his profession, at the same time declaring his own determination to patronize a young man who seemed destined to confer so much lustre on his country” (301, 303). After Andrew convinces his son to join the House of Peers, the marquis “regarded the conversion of his son as conferring a far greater obligation” (360). In exchange the marquis and his daughter manage to obtain a baronetcy for Wylie (370).³⁰

The assistance Andrew renders to the gypsies also results in a tangible material reward. When he competes to be a Member of Parliament, about half way through the narrative, the gypsies assist in his campaign. They create ribbons according to Andrew’s specified election colours, “[o]range and true blue…the Protestant ascendancy and the Hanoverian succession,” and distribute them throughout the town so that “the imagination of every one…was unconsciously tinctured with an affection for ideas of orange and blue” (327). This episode illustrates what his recuperation of the Earl’s family can only metaphorically signify, that Wylie’s influence is in fact national, enhancing the well-being of the entire nation, from the aristocracy to the common people, and even the marginalized. Scottish agency is welcomed by all sectors in England, for the “‘little man from the north’” is decidedly “the popular favorite” (328).

³⁰The reference to the baronetcy may also be meant to tease Walter Scott, who had been created a baronet in 1820.
Success is not available to all Scots in the novel. Ambivalence towards Scottish success and the unpredictable fluidity of the marketplace is expressed by the failure of one of Andrew’s boyhood friends to succeed in England. Charles Pierston, son of a Glasgow merchant, has been “deeply affected by some of those political convulsions which at that time deranged the commercial relations of the world,” (317). Andrew helps him obtain a position overseas (319, 320). His other boyhood friend, Willy Cunningham, son of the local laird and brother to Andrew’s beloved Mary, dies of wounds he receives in a battle. However, Scottish success is not confined to Andrew alone. We are told that the center of knowledge production, the newspapers, “at the time were chiefly in the hands of Scotchmen,” and through his contacts at the newspaper Andrew is able to participate in cultural production himself (93).

It is possible to read Galt’s narrative as pure wish fulfillment rather than recognition of any real Scottish access to power. Francis Hart notes that both the narrative structure and the protagonist have much to do with the fairy tale (35). However, the prominence of models of exchange in the reconfiguration of the nation – in the work of Brunton, Galt and ultimately Scott in St. Ronan’s Well – suggests that there was a growing sense that the British marketplace could be the source of Scottish success.31

This optimism may have been influenced by the continued economic success of Scotland in the nineteenth century. As Tom Devine notes, “Between 1785 and 1835 exports rose ninefold and Scotland became a key player in the Atlantic economy, the fastest growing market place in the world in this period….During the first few decades of the nineteenth century, new Scottish trade links were established with South America,  

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31 This does not mean that Scots did not suffer from economic problems. Scott lost money in a bubble and in The Letters of Malachi Malagrowther (1826) he wrote about economic problems specific to Scotland.
Asia and Australasia” (112). Moreover, Scottish access to professional and political positions throughout Britain had substantially increased. Henry Dundas had served successfully under Pitt the younger for many years, without the level of xenophobia that had been attached to Bute’s moment in power. As Linda Colley points out, although prejudice still existed in the peripheries and the center, “dual nationality became a highly profitable reality” to many peripheral patricians, who “could partake of London’s bounty to an unprecedented extent, while still retaining considerable autonomy in their own countries” (162). Colley refers to George Gordon, 4th earl of Aberdeen and Lord Seaforth as particular examples of this phenomenon.

Success stories were not limited to the nobility. Colley notes that the excellent universities in Scotland meant that a growing number of intellectuals and professionals both in England and Scotland were Scottish, a fact that is clear in the political novels of the 1790s. “In the century after 1750…Oxford and Cambridge produced only 500 medical doctors. Scotland, by contrast, educated 10,000. Many of these men naturally looked south of the border for employment. So did large numbers of Scottish engineers….And so did Scottish architects” (123). A Scottish education was marketable throughout Britain.

James Hogg – Three Perils of Woman

*Discipline* and *Andrew Wylie*, then, optimistically construct Scottish success within the British marketplace. However, commerce or associated models of exchange do not permeate all Scottish novels grappling to reconstruct British identity in the 1820s. Indeed tropes of union themselves were under attack. The final two writers I will consider – Susan Ferrier and James Hogg – choose not merely to reject tropologies of
family and friendship, but to aggressively deconstruct them, turning them over to expose the dissonance they attempt to elide. The act of deconstruction in the works of both writers suggests a desire to turn attention back towards Scotland, refusing to foreground the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish relations as a primary area of concern. The resulting visions are sharply different however. Whereas Hogg’s *Three Perils of Woman* deconstructs tropes of union within Scotland itself, and, as Ian Duncan points out, foregrounds the atrocities of history without resolution, Ferrier’s *Destiny* envisions a progressive nation, whose material and cultural position will be enhanced by the rejection of tropes of Romantic nationalism.\(^{32}\)

Hogg’s only attempt at a domestic tale, the *Three Perils of Woman*, openly works against the national tale, as the editors recognize in the latest edition. Because, like all Hogg’s novels, this work is unpredictable and works against contemporary conventions, I will give a brief summary of the work before examining his critique of the trope at the center of the national tale – the trope of courtship. Hogg’s novel is divided into three sections, each dealing with a particular “peril” (love, leasing/lying and jealousy). Although there are three sections, there are only two narratives.

The first ‘peril’ is set in Hogg’s time period and tells the story of a young border woman, Gatty, who feels it would be unseemly to verbalize her love for her brother’s friend, M’Ion, who also has not declared his love for her. The resulting misunderstanding leads to M’Ion’s proposal to Cherry, Gatty’s cousin. Once M’Ion’s mother explains the situation to Cherry, she voluntary renounces him, dying shortly afterwards, presumably

\(^{32}\) Duncan, “Shadows of the Potentate” (1993). I am defining Romantic nationalism as I did in chapter five, as a tendency to create a nostalgic feminized mythic Scotland of the past defined by its reified traditions and manners.
of a broken heart. Gatty then becomes ill and, just before falling into a coma, warns her father and husband not to pray for her recovery. They do so, however, and her body continues to live in a vegetative state, giving birth to a son. Finally, three years later, Gatty reawakes and, with some confusion, comes to the realization that she has a son. The story ends rather happily, with a reunion and familial confirmation.

The second narrative, divided into two perils, is set around Culloden. Sally, a Lowland servant who lives in the Highlands is courted by two Highland men. The first section ends with the breakdown of her relationship with Peter Gow, the smith, who falsely believes Sally has slept with her master, the local minister. The second relationship leads to marriage, a union that is abruptly interrupted by Culloden. Sally travels in disguise looking for her Jacobite husband. When she finally comes across him, she observes him embracing another women (who is actually a relative) and mistakenly believes he is unfaithful. Leaving the area, Sally accidentally comes across Peter, who is now married. Concerned about her well being, he cares for her, although their relationship remains platonic. However, Alexander Mackenzie, Sally’s husband, who is looking for her, believes Peter is her lover. The two men seriously injure each other in a fight, and seem slowly to be recovering when they are betrayed by Peter’s wife, who also erroneously suspects her spouse of infidelity. Both men are captured and executed by the “Duke of Cumberland’s men” (402). Sally, witnessing this, becomes insane, and begins nursing an imaginary baby. The story ends shortly thereafter, when Sally actually gives birth to a daughter, with the help of a widow, but wanders out with the baby into the snow. Both mother and child are found dead by a shepherd.
Anthony Hasler, in the introduction to the recent Edinburgh University Press edition of the *Perils*, points out Hogg's engagement with the national tale, and the familial union at its core, although in *Perils of Woman* the familial trope is clearly directed at Highland/Lowland relations, rather than Anglo-Scottish relations. At the center of each narrative are Lowland women and Highland men who desire unity, echoing the cross-border unity of the national tale. Hasler argues that by focusing on moments of dissonance, like Culloden, rather than avoiding them as Scott famously does in *Waverley*, Hogg throws into question whether history should be imagined "as continuity or rupture," challenging ideas of progress and enlightenment (xxv). Rupture, of course, is antithetical to unifying tropes, and this is manifest, in part, in the representation of the female body – the site of national reproduction – as material and grotesque. *Perils of Woman*, Hasler suggests, "refuses to ignore the body that suffers," its disordered symptoms making any "political and religious meanings... bewilderingly – and appallingly – illegible" (xxii).

Douglas Mack links the dissonance in the work to the tension that derives from George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822, a year before the publication of *Perils of Woman*. The visit, he reminds us, was stage-managed by Scott as "an exhibition of tartan-draped national unity, in which Highland and Lowland Scotland, no longer estranged, were seen to come together as they put the Jacobite/Hanoverian conflict (and the traumas of Culloden) finally behind them" (418). Yet there was anxiety behind the tartan curtain, Mack suggests, anxiety related to social change in the borders and the

33 John Barrell, in "Putting Down the Rising," also notes that these stories are "versions of the early nineteenth-century genre, the 'national tale', a genre that imagines the coming-together of opposed communities...and thus the constitution of a new national unity" (14).
34 Mack makes this link in the "Historical and Geographic Note" to the Edinburgh UP edition.
series of clearances taking place in the Highlands. Moreover, the painful memories of past tragedy, including Culloden, were not easily banished.

I concur with the assertion of recent scholarship on *Perils of Woman* that Hogg is disrupting the impulse to resolution in the marital trope by exposing all that the trope has tried to conceal, a disturbance Ian Duncan refers to as “History as atrocity” (“Shadows of the Potentate” 19). The grotesquely broken family that ends the second narrative marks the pain of a nation scarred by Culloden, and the traces of this trauma are both foreshadowed and echoed by the corpse-like state of Gatty’s body as she gives birth to a son at the end of the first peril. Foreshadowed because within the narrative Gatty’s story comes first, and echoed because temporally Gatty’s story comes last. The child, the hope of a united Scotland, is a product of dissonance and conflict, whether represented within the comatose body of his mother or within the history of his fractured nation. Current critical thought, however, leaves two questions unanswered that are relevant to the concerns of this book. First, there is the question of why it is in moving the trope away from cross-border relations and towards Scotland that tropological failure occurs in *Perils of Woman*. Second, how does the disruption of a regional marital trope influence the relationship between Scottish agency and culture that we have seen in other works of the period?

Hogg is not averse to representing Anglo-Scottish marital unions. In the *Three Perils of Man*, a border tale published the same year as the *Three Perils of Woman*, the heroic, but lowly, Scottish Borderer Charlie Scott marries the beautiful English aristocrat, Lady Jane Howard. Likewise, in *Three Perils of Woman*, the eccentric Northumbrian Richard Rickleton’s marriage to a Scottish wife ends happily, and he even accepts her
illegitimate son as his own heir. These relations are peripheral, however, to far more troubled relations within Scotland. In his *Tales of the Wars of Montrose* (1835), which he was writing in the mid 1820s, Hogg’s tales almost exclusively deal with the tragic consequences of conflict within Scotland centered on religious disagreement or political allegiances. In the first tale, *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of an Edinburgh Baillie*, the Baillie’s social status and dedication to Covenanting principles prevents him from successfully wooing his aristocratic, Catholic love despite their mutual Scottishness. In *Sir Simon Brodie*, Col. William Sibbald, adherent of the royalist Marquis of Montrose, is convinced to reject his beloved leader by his lover, Mary Bewly, “a strenuous reformer. A being that lived and breathed but to laud the deeds and principles of the Covenanters and to execrate the policy and principles of the Royalists” (172). Haunted by his decision, Sibbald abandons Mary, returns to Montrose and is ultimately captured and executed.

English violence is certainly present in Hogg’s work. It makes an appearance in *Three Perils of Woman*, particularly in the final section in which soldiers from Lancashire kill Peter Gow and Alexander Mackenzie. Yet, while his narrative is obsessed by events surrounding Culloden, surely the ultimate space of Anglo-Scottish conflict, it foregrounds the part that Scots play in promoting violence against one another. Even the death of the two Highland heroes comes about because they are betrayed by Peter Gow’s Highland wife, who erroneously believes that her husband is having an affair with Sally. Hogg’s novel suggests that it is conflict and miscommunication within the nation – whether between Highlander and Lowlander or Jacobite and Hanoverian – that leads to much of the nation’s trauma, and that this turning of the nation upon itself cannot be contained
within a trope of desire. Desire for unity, whether familial or marital, has been trumped by desire for partisan or religious affirmation.

Desire for ‘rightness’ and for the vindication of the beliefs of small units within the nation lead to miscommunication, which continually thwarts the impulses of matrimonial and national unity in *Perils of Woman*. This desire takes several forms. In Peril One, it is the desire to adhere to the ‘right’ moral principles of the middle class that causes trauma. In Perils Two and Three, national dissonance forms the backdrop of the narrative. Hanoverians and Jacobites reject their familial connections to follow their political and religious convictions. This discord is reinforced by the “private” conflict between the Lowland Sally and her two Highland lovers, although all three are loyal to Charles Stuart. Again and again, the novel repeats the theme of miscommunication deriving from principle and pride.

It is Gatty’s desire to behave with decorum and middle-class respectability that leads to the series of misunderstandings between herself and M’lon. As Mack explains, the

Napoleonic Wars drove up the price of food in Britain, and as Hogg puts it, ‘the ruinous war prices made every farmer for the time a fine gentleman.’ In this situation, it was natural for newly rich Scottish farming families to try to adopt the speech patterns and the social codes of the gentry.....In Peril First, the comically unsophisticated Daniel Bell [Gatty’s father] is an unreconstructed Border farmer of the old school....Daniel’s wife and daughter aspire to the elegant and sophisticated new ways of the upwardly mobile people of Regency Scotland, people eager to adopt what
they believed to be English manners and customs in order to re-invent themselves as inhabitants of a highly civilized and highly refined 'North Britain.'” (421)

Michael McKeon, in a 1995 article on gender and class in the mid eighteenth century, contends that “sexual identity was becoming more rigidly defined at the same moment that socio-economic identity, freed of its traditional subservience to biological criteria of blood, became more variable” (304). As class fluidity became increasingly possible, then, women, particularly gentlewomen, were expected to behave in increasingly rigid ways. In fact, their “good behaviour” was often thought to reflect the moral worth of the nation. Women had to avoid not only inappropriate behaviour, but even the appearance of inappropriate behaviour. Such ideas continued to be promoted in the early nineteenth century. Dr. John Gregory, a Scottish professor of medicine at the Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, was a major proponent of such restrained behaviour. His conduct manual, which was reprinted by itself and in various compilations throughout the first few decades of the nineteenth century, particularly in England, warns his female readers that a woman must “guard her heart against” the first impressions of love, “till such time as she has received the most convincing proofs of the attachment of a man of such merit, as will justify a reciprocal regard” (42). Moreover, he suggests that even if a man does reveal his love for a woman, “never…discover to him the full extent of your love, no, not although you marry him (35).35

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35 For example, it was published with a compilation that included conduct advice by Hester Chapone and Lady Pennington in London in 1827 by J.F. Dove. An earlier compilation was published in 1820 by Suttaby, Evance and Fox. It was also published by itself by J. Sharpe in 1822.
Gatty’s “indifference” to M’Ion, then, is an attempt to hold to such middle-class ideals. She notes, “[i]t is from principle alone that I am acting; and from that I must act cost me what it will” (14). Meanwhile, M’Ion, who initially acting “from delicacy alone” delays declaring his own “love and honourable intentions,” ultimately comes to misread Gatty’s unresponsiveness as an indication of her aversion to him (19).  

It is while suffering under this misapprehension that he proposes to Cherry.

Cherry Elliot is excluded from pretensions to middle-class respectability. She calls herself “the poor widow’s daughter” (140), and Daniel notes at one point that her mother “was a crazy limmer [loose or disreputable woman]...[who] ran away frae me wi’ a red-wud Elliot” (151). This exclusion, however, allows her a certain freedom of behaviour. Indeed, she has warned her cousin Gatty against the duplicity of “modern manners” (32), noting that “concealing one’s true sentiments” can only cause “much misconception, and grief and jealousy” (33). Cherry has been quite open with M’Ion about her own feelings, telling a horrified Gatty that she had told the young man that she loved him (31). Accepting Gatty’s assurances that she is not interested in M’Ion, Cherry feels comfortable accepting his proposal, for her desire for harmony exceeds her desire to conform to social conventions.

The rupture and trauma that follow, and that ultimately end in Cherry’s death and Gatty’s grotesquely represented comotose state, result from the attempts of Gatty, her family, and M’Ion’s mother (who has just newly been reunited with her son), to correct

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36 At one point he seems just about to declare himself when she speaks derogatorily about the Highlands (22) “He once got the following length, but soon was damped. ‘Have you no wish nor desire to have a view of the North Highlands, Miss Bell?' ‘O, gracious me, no, no! What would I do seeing a country where all the people are Papists, rebels and thieves’ where I could not pronounce a word of the language, nor a local name of the country.... God keep me out of that savage country” (22). M’Ion knows this idea of the Highlands is affected, but thinks she is trying to protest against his further proposals.

37 red-wud - stark staring mad.
the miscommunication between the couple. But achieving tropological unity, which at one point in the narrative could have been a simple matter, can now be accomplished only by facing and experiencing the painful consequences of past mistakes.\textsuperscript{38} It ought not to be surprising, then, that Hogg then turns his readers - in Perils Two and Three - towards the national trauma of their own past.

Miscommunication and misinterpretation take place at both the national and individual levels of the second main narrative. Set against the backdrop of the events leading up to and following Culloden, Scotland is divided between Whigs and Jacobites. While the Chief of the presiding clan of the area, Clan-More, is a Hanoverian, his Catholic daughters – Sybil and Barbary – are Jacobite. Indeed, we are told that “all the females of that house were on the one side of politics, and the males on the other” (308).\textsuperscript{39} Peril Two begins with the results of this division, the burial of the body of an unknown female, who will later turn out to be Lady Sybil, who has been killed while trying to carry letters to Charles Stuart.\textsuperscript{40} The ultimate result of this national conflict is, even in the work of Hogg, unspeakable. As Duncan notes, Hogg does focus on “what the end of Waverley left out: Culloden and its aftermath,” and his violent journey through a

\textsuperscript{38} It is interesting that one of the most successful unions in Peril One, the union between the Northumbrian Richard Rickleton and his ‘fallen’ Scottish wife, succeeds because Rickleton ultimately desires unity over righteousness. Against the advice of Gatty’s brother Joseph, he insists, “I will take home my wife with me in a chaise and four... and acknowledge her as my wife to her dying day. And I will take home her hapless boy with me too, and give him the education of a gentleman” (255). This act of kindness causes even Richard’s sworn enemy, Mr. Dodd, to admire him, and to become the sponsor of the young child. It is also relevant that it is Daniel and M’lon’s desire to value individual over community that may have caused Gatty’s coma.

\textsuperscript{39} This gendered division of allegiances may, in part, be due to an attempt to remain true to historical sources. The note on page 454 states that Lady Mackintosh received Charles Stuart in defiance of her husband. The division may also reflect the ultimate weakness of Jacobitism. Pittock suggests Hogg is inconsistent towards Jacobitism, but that he tends to think of it as a thing of past glories. His Brownie of Bosdeck, of course, is very sympathetic towards earlier radicals of the other extreme from the Catholicism associated with the Jacobites - the Covenanters.

\textsuperscript{40} The circumstances of her death are more personal, although ultimately they are caused by the national conflict. Sybil, trying to reach the castle without being captured by Hanoverians, is disguised as a page boy
wild mix of literary registers as the narrative draws to a close demonstrates that the
violence of history “cannot be harmonized within an aesthetic structure without drastic
moral simplification” (“Shadows of the Potentate” 19). Yet even Hogg does not write
directly of Culloden, stating,

I am now compelled, both from want of room, and want of inclination to
the task, to desist from the description of some dreadful scenes that
followed the events above narrated. But, as they are the disgrace of the
British annals, it is perhaps as well that I am obliged to pass over them,
although it makes a breach in a tale that has always been one of the
deepest interest to me. – Peace to the ashes of the brave, and honoured be
their illustrious memories! (357)

Both the miscommunication behind the '45 and the unspoken violence of Culloden,
however, are explicitly manifested in the lives of the three individuals at the center of the
narrative: the Lowland Sally Niven and her Highland lovers, Peter Gow and Alexander
Mackenzie. Peter Gow misunderstands a conversation he overhears between Sally and
the minister, her employer, and, instead of clarifying the matter with Sally, he refuses to
listen to her explanation. She then leaves the village thinking he will follow, and Peter,
who only realizes she has left several days later, feels intense regret, and “his love
returned with double intensity” (354). He tries to follow her, but by this time she refuses
to receive him. Sally’s relationship with Alexander Mackenzie, likewise, is ruptured by
erroneous suspicions of infidelity, caused this time by misperception of what Sally sees.

for Hugh, one of her two lovers (her lovers are both Whigs). Her other lover is jealous and, trying to have
Hugh killed, accidentally has Sybil killed. “Forty traitorous letters” are discovered on her body (310).
Once again, Sally does not clarify her perception and the events that lead from her mistake ultimately end in the grotesque death of both of her lovers, herself and her child.

This violence proceeds from refusal to confront painful experiences, and a determination to distance oneself from them. Once again, like Gatty, the quest for unity is subordinated to a separation of the individual from trauma. By forcing the attention of the reader to the grotesque material identity of the corpses of the three heroes of the tale, the reader is not allowed to repeat this avoidance. The reader is forced to look at “poor distracted Sally left, sitting raving and singing her lullaby, beside the bodies of her murdered husband and former lover” (404). Scotland’s violent past of national trauma, emerging from repeated acts of miscommunication and misinterpretation between various groups within the nation, must be part of the national culture. Moreover, in Hogg’s reading, culpability for the nation’s fractured state cannot simply be projected onto England. Peter and Alexander are ultimately killed by Englishmen, but they are captured because of a series of mistakes that they themselves, along with Sally, have made. They are weak, and unable to evade capture because they have wounded each other, and they are located because of another Highlander, Peter’s wife.

Hogg was not alone in turning towards Scotland. Walter Scott’s *Bride of Lammermoor* deals with Scotland’s inability to reconcile its own inner divisions, and he, preempts Hogg’s use of the courtship trope to record this failure. However, whereas Scott’s later moves towards a different solution in *St. Ronan’s Well*, directing his hero’s movement outside Scotland, towards potential economic and social success, Hogg’s novels resist such a shift, preferring to remain within Scotland itself. Moreover, moments of historical rupture in Scotland are not erased by harmonically reified cultural artifacts,
but rather are revealed, without blurring repulsive or traumatic details. For it is only by lingering over the trauma of the nation and its sources and by integrating it into the cultural representation of Scotland that the possibility of agency can be achieved.

At around the same time as Hogg was writing the *Perils of Woman*, he was working on an epic poem, *Queen Hynde*, which was published at the end of 1824. The bard, in Hogg’s epic, plays a central role, frequently battling with his readers about their false sensibilities and pretensions. The role of culture, as Hogg’s bard conceives it in *Queen Hynde*, is not to unify or to function as a stable and exclusive voice for cultural cohesion, but to embody the fluidity, multiplicity and even contradictory nature of the nation, and in doing so, to break down socially constructed barriers that interfere with communication between different parts of the nation. At one point the bard scolds his readers, whom he refers to throughout as Maid(s) of Dunedin. He admonishes them because, like Gatty, they adhere to restrictive markers of middle-class respectability. He writes,

No book, however pure each thought,
Though by divine or matron wrote,
Dar’st thou essay aloud to read,
Till every page is duly weighed;
And each equivocation eyed,
And con’d, and all constructions tried,
And then thou skip’st whole pages o’er
Of Galt, of Byron, and of Moore.

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41 Hogg dedicates *Queen Hynde* to the “daughters of Caledonia.” As the editor of the recent Edinburgh University Press notes, “Edinburgh is ‘Dunedin’ (fortress of Edinburgh)” (251).
This have I seen, and grieved anew
And thy constructions so untrue. (67)

The bard rejects cultural censorship, whether Scottish or British. In opposition to exclusionary aesthetics, he positions his own art as natural, calling himself “[n]ature’s own untutored child” (31), and as “wild,” “querulous” and “random” (1119, 1066, 1113).

The connotations surrounding ‘nature’ in Queen Hynde, suggest that it is not limited by the rules of “art” or by impulses towards harmony, but rather is free to represent all elements of humanity. Unpredictability and wildness, however, do not necessarily banish the Scottish agency that Brunton and Galt tried to instill in work that was more closely linked to generic convention and middle-class social conventions.

Unlike Brunton and Galt, Hogg’s agency is not as closely linked to commerce, although it does not elide the marketplace altogether.

Gatty’s father, Daniel Bell, as a successful sheep farmer, is linked to commerce to a degree. As the narrative begins, he has many “grievances with regard to the great depression in the prices of sheep and wool” (6). Mack notes that as the union between Gatty and M’Ion draws near, Daniel offers to share his commercial success with his future son-in-law, claiming that he’ll “gar a breed o’ toops [rams] double, if no triple, the value of ony Highland property that’s farmed in the old way” (127). However, as Mack makes clear, “this projected marriage-gift can be seen to be deeply problematic....[t]his mention of the introduction of Border-style sheep-farming into the Highlands would immediately call to mind the appalling series of events now known as the Highland Clearances” (437). Such a reading is strengthened by the nature of the only commercial
man in the second narrative—"daft" Davie Duff. If Sally and her dead daughter interact dynamically with Gatty and her son, Davie Duff plays a similar role in relation to Daniel. A simple serving man at the beginning of Peril One, Davie becomes a commercially enterprising man, making a living by burying corpses for the Duke of Cumberland. In exchange for payment, he provides tokens to prove he has handled the corpses— their amputated ears. Hogg lingers over a number of moments in which corpses are transformed into commodities. Travelling with Sally and a guide, Davie comes to a "large hamlet that had lately been reduced to ashes" (365). He starts digging and soon uncovers "the bodies of a woman and two boys, half roasted. She seemed to have been their mother, and to have been endeavouring to cover them with her own body to preserve them from the flames.... Davie cut the laps of the ears from the three victims, rolled each pair up by themselves, and proceeded to bury them" (365-366).

Critics have commented on the particularly unsettling appearance of Davie in a moment of tragedy at the end of Peril Three. Davie comes across the slaughtered bodies of Peter and Alexander, with Sally lying alongside. Believing all three to be dead, he appears to have a moment of pure grief and regret, crying "Cot tamn my mhaister, te Tuke of Cohumperland....Here's to your cood sleep, khind mustress Sally, and a cood lhon eferlhasting to you. The same to you, Peader Gobadh. As for the tis yhoung sparker, herself shall nhot say so fery mhooch" (405). A moment in which humanity and grief seems to overcome commercial impulse is quickly shattered when Davy remembers the "cood rhed ghold" that Sally carried in her bosom when she traveled. He "began a-loosing her bodice and fumbling about her breast" (406). Tragedy is rapidly transformed

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42 For example, see Hasler in Mack and Hasler (xxviii).
into farce as Sally wakes and struggles to protect herself from this invasion. Greed – the central principle of the Hogg’s marketplace – transforms calamity into profit. This extreme act of commercial misconduct overshadows Daniel’s offer to bring sheep to the Highlands, reminding readers that business has no respect for human suffering, and indeed may even cause human suffering. At one point in the narrative a Dr. Fraser, a physician who is trying to save both Peter and Alexander, speculates that some of the “small ears have been cut from living objects....Some of these are cut from living children” (394).\(^{43}\)

Scottish agency, then, does not come from commerce in *Perils of Woman*. Instead, agency appears to be linked to the integration of culture and trauma. An insistence that opportunity for agency can only come through acceptance of trauma – by facing the ugliness beneath the trope – permeates a substantial number of Hogg’s works. In *Queen Hynde*, as the epic draws to a close, the heroic peasant M’Houston, who has been revealed to be the true heir to the throne of the Scottish kingdom of Beregon, has overcome the invading Norwegian forces, killing their leader. The poem appears to be headed directly for a purely optimistic ending. The marital trope of union seems about to be introduced, with M’Houston marrying Hynde, the daughter of the man who had usurped his father. Yet before the moment of restoration can take place there is an apocalyptic moment of horror, when the surviving Norsemen, led by a fanatic religious leader, rape the women in the city of Beregon (Hynde is not in the city at the time) and

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\(^{43}\) Hogg had felt discomfort with Galt’s representation of the Scottish character, perhaps because of its emphasis on the commercial. In *Memoirs of an Author’s Life*, Hogg notes “I like Galt’s writing exceedingly, and have always regretted that he has depicted so much that is selfish and cunning in the Scottish character, and so little that is truly amiable, when he could have done it so well” (Gillian Hughes, Introduction, *Tales of the Wars of Montrose* xxv).
sacrifice nine virgins to Odin. Columba, who has been helping Hynde throughout the epic, prays for revenge, and as a result the city collapses,

Walls, towers, and sinners, in one sweep,

Were soldered to a formless heap (215).

As Ian Duncan says in a review of the book, "[i]t seems rather hard on the women that they should be burnt up along with their captors....This spectacular but distressing catastrophe closes the poem, far outweighing a perfunctory reference to the 'long and holy reign' of Hynde and Eiden" (140). While Hogg does have a tendency to dwell on moments of horrific trauma, giving them far more narrative attention than any progress that follows, references to trauma frequently lead to action and unity. An acceptance of trauma appears to open the possibility of progress. *Hynde* is only one such example. In the tale "Julie M, Kenzie" in *Wars of Montrose*, when it appears that the wife of a clan chief cannot get pregnant, certain members of the clan plan to murder her without the knowledge of her husband so that the chief can remarry.\(^{44}\) Thrown into a raging river, she is believed to have died. Her husband is deceived into believing that she committed suicide in a moment of fear. Yet as long as he holds to this belief, allowing himself to be deceived, the clan will not regenerate, for his grief prevents him from remarrying. Julie, however, is not dead, and ultimately returns alive to the clan. Upon her return the clan deception is exposed, leading to the death of the attempted murderers. Having uncovered the ugly complicity of his own people in the traumatic experience of his wife, regeneration can finally occur. The narrator explains that he is uncertain

\(^{44}\) Similarly "Wat Pringle o’ the Yair" in the same collection of stories, portrays Scottish national unity and progress coming out of the destruction of Montrose’s final battle. The aristocratic child of a royalist couple who die after the battle is raised not only by a peasant with reformer sympathies, but by the very peasant who betrayed the army of Montrose. The peasant’s granddaughter ultimately marries the young aristocrat.
[w]hether it was the sleeping for a fortnight on a hard heather bed or the subsisting for that on milk-brose and butter or whether the ducking and correspondent fright which wrought a happy change on Lady Julia’s constitution. I cannot say which of the causes it was or if all of them conjoined together I know not but of this I am certain that within a twelvemonth from the date of her return to the castle she gave birth to a comely daughter and subsequently to two sons. (153)

*Perils of Woman* offers the same juxtapositioning of a dissonant past and present trauma alongside the potential agency. A glimpse of this potentiality appears in Peril Three, when Alexander and Peter, having critically wounded each other, “instead of any abusive or bitter relections…were employed in stemming each other’s wounds,” and in revealing to each other the truth behind layers of misunderstanding. Renewal and agency might have been possible at this point, had Peter’s wife also participated in this moment of traumatic revelation (388).

While the narrative surrounding Culloden does not seem to lead to Scottish agency, the narrative of the First Peril does. The refusal of Daniel and M’Ion to face the tragedy of Gatty’s death had caused a greater tragedy, the living death to which Gatty is consigned for three years. Yet even then Gatty’s husband and family are not able to face the results of their resistance. Gatty is “conveyed to a private asylum….This was…managed with all manner of secrecy, so that the country might never know the real circumstances of the case” (203). It is not until they are truly ready to face Gatty’s death that she is restored to them. When M’Ion asks that God prepare her “for whatever is his will…for life, for death, for judgement, or for eternity,” she falls into a profound and
recuperative sleep, from which she wakes fully recovered. But Gatty’s trauma is not just the trauma of the present. The corpse of Sally and her daughter, the suffering of Culloden and its victims, are part of Gatty’s pain, as the mother of a revived Scotland. Placing this pain within the domestic novel, a work of cultural and national representation, Hogg provides the opportunity for his readers to progress with a sense of national identity which sought not to provide an “imaginary domain” in which to redress English “compromises of modern social life,” but a space in which recognizing dissonance and conflict within Scotland are central instigators of Scottish agency (Buzard Translation and Tourism 33).

**Susan Ferrier (1782-1854)**

While Susan Ferrier’s work is far less controversial than that of Hogg, her narratives share a concern with the tendency of the tropology of marital unity to elide national trauma and a resistance to positioning Scotland in a complementary position to a powerful England. Ferrier’s background was far more privileged than that of Hogg. She was born and raised in Edinburgh. Her father, a lawyer, moved in aristocratic circles, giving his daughter access to fashionable Edinburgh society. Her first novel, *Marriage* (1818), was written in epistolary collaboration with a Highland friend, Charlotte Clavering, niece to the Duke of Argyle. Ferrier wrote two additional novels, *The Inheritance* in 1824 and *Destiny* in 1831. She is frequently associated with the Blackwood’s Circle.\(^{45}\)

Rather than reconstruct the national tale, Ferrier’s work attacks some of the central tropes that define it, in particular the Anglo-Scottish marital union and the textual
components of which the trope is composed. As I will discuss in this section, not only is there a series of bad cross-border marriages in the narrative, but the image of the brave Highlander that Roche’s Oscar had represented and that even Walter Scott had retained by making the portrait of Fergus an important part of the closing scene of *Waverley* is decimated. The iconographic representation of Scottish women as carriers of culture and virtue to England is questioned, and *Andrew Wylie’s* concept of a Scottishness as a marketable commodity is rejected. *Destiny* does combine culture and agency, connecting the successful returning Scot, Ronald, to the hero of Ossianic poetry. But Scottish cultural agency is directed at Scotland and Scottish issues rather than the negotiation of Anglo-Scottish relations.

Ferrier had exposed the dissonance inherent in the Anglo-Scottish marital union trope in her first novel, *Marriage* (1818), in which the spoiled English heiress, Lady Juliana, defies her father and elopes with the passionate but impoverished Henry Douglas. Juliana’s idealistic visions of their future life in the Highlands are shattered when she experiences the simplicity and isolation of Highland life – not to mention Douglas’s eccentric family. Yet when they move to London later in the narrative, this is equally unsuccessful when Juliana’s spendthrift ways soon land them in debt. This same marital trope ‘gone bad’ appears in Ferrier’s final novel, *Destiny* (1831). It is *Destiny* I will consider in this chapter, because of all Ferrier’s novels, it is the one which rejects the trope of cross-border marriage most decisively.  

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45 Mary Cullinan notes, “Literary historians...include her in the Blackwood group, those Scottish writers who were published by William Blackwood and who wrote for his Tory review, Blackwood’s Magazine” (118).

46 *Destiny* is dedicated to Scott who liked the work and helped Ferrier to negotiate a good price for it (Cullinan 94). *Destiny*, which is about a heroine who gains romantic happiness later in life after much personal trauma, has often been compared to Jane Austen’s *Persuasion*. Hart does so in The Scottish Novel, as does Loraine Fletcher in “Great Expectations: Rank and Inheritance in the Novels of Susan Ferrier.”
married that results in separation, but which also has three hybrid offspring – two daughters and a son. Two of the children appear to marry happily: Mary marries an Anglo-Scottish soldier and Edward marries Lady Emily, his English cousin. Anglo-Scottish unions, then, are not rejected altogether as means to convey socio-political relations. The successful marriages of the second generation seem to suggest that over time the traumatic effects of an uncomfortable union will disappear, bringing Scottish and English values closer together and making up for the disastrous marriages of the first generation.

*Destiny*, written thirteen years after *Marriage* and a number of years after both Hogg and Scott place the tropes of courtship and marriage into question, is unequivocal in its rejection of the trope. There are three Anglo-Scottish marriages in the text, two of which are absolute failures. The third, based in commerce, does not end in divorce but does not seem to resemble in any way a loving marriage. The Scottish heroine ultimately marries a Scottish hero, a childhood friend, and returns to Scotland.

The initial failed Anglo-Scottish marriage is that of the Chief of Glenroy and his second wife, Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, who is English. Each marital partner brings offspring from his or her first marriages to the union. Lady Elizabeth has a daughter, Florinda, and Glenroy has a son and daughter, Norman and Edith. The marriage is calamitous, for “[n]o two human beings born and bred in a civilized country could be more different than the chief and his lady; and as both were independent, and both had arrived at years of discretion, it seemed but natural that they should remain as fate seemed to place them – perfect antipodes” (8,9). The Scottish climate, Lady Elizabeth

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47 Kathryn Kirkpatrick notes that “the novelist had as little time for cultural assimilation as she had for romantic nationalism of the sort Walter Scott endorsed” (xiii).
suggests, gives her rheumatism, while Glenroy hates London and claims it has made him “subject to attacks of the gout” (9). This mutual hostility ultimately leads to separation. Elizabeth returns to London with her daughter, while Glenroy and his children, along with Reginald, a nephew who has come to reside with him, remain in the Highlands.

The second Anglo-Scottish marriage takes place among the next generation. Reginald Malcolm, the son of Glenroy’s brother-in-law, is pledged to marry the mild, gentle Edith. However, during an educational visit to the continent he falls in love with the vivacious English Florinda. Although he returns and half-heartedly attempts to live up to his promise, Florinda follows him and manipulates him into declaring himself, plunging Edith into a state of grief. Reginald and Florinda marry and leave Scotland. When, after a number of years, a rejuvenated Edith visits London, it becomes clear that the marriage is an absolute failure. Reginald tells Edith that he wishes he had married her instead of Florinda (769) and complains of his wife’s “caprice and extravagance,” not to mention her determination to erase his Scottish heritage from the results of their union – their son (768).

Florinda resists Reginald’s attempts to let their son celebrate his Scottishness. When Reginald says he must send him “to Scotland to make a Highland Laird” of him, the boy refuses, saying his mother says he is to be a British Peer, “which is much better” (721). The child, Dudley, is attended and spoiled by “a French Bonne, his Italian nurse, and German Footman,” effectively distancing him from both his Scottish and English identity (665). Florinda and her husband separate as the narrative closes, after Reginald is injured in a duel instigated by his wife’s inappropriate behaviour. The second generation of Anglo-Scottish union fails. This time the collapse is not due to the different
nature of each member of the marriage, but to their equal participation in a narcissistic Anglicized materialism and decaying aristocratic principles.

The third problematic Anglo-Scottish union is that of Edith’s maternal kinswoman, Katherine Ribley, and her husband (568). Katherine is herself an Anglo-Scot, the daughter, by a second marriage, of Edith’s maternal grandmother and a “citizen of credit” in London (569). Katherine is married to a successful, well-established and agreeable London businessman, whom the narrator describes at one point as a “gourmand of the true John Bull breed,” whose house was pervaded by a “thorough English stamp of solid comfort and consistency” (603). Of the three Anglo-Scottish marriages, this is the most successful. We are told the couple is a “very respectable, comfortable pair,” but also that there was “little to love and admire in either. Mr Ribley was a…mere gossiping, good-natured body, with a silly admiration of, and respect for, his own wife, and a constant habit of referring to her opinion of every and no occasion. [Mrs. Ribley] was a woman of dull proprieties and minute observances” (591). They are obsessed with commercial success. Indeed, we might conclude that the Ribleys are a parodic version of the idea of commercial union celebrated by Brunton. They are obsessed with the potential marriage of their nephew and Miss Mogg, the wealthy “muffin maker’s daughter,” with her fortune of three hundred thousand pounds (602) and amuse themselves by watching tradesmen deliver provisions to their neighbours and commenting on the quality of their diet (620). Despite Mr. Ribley’s superficial respect for his wife, there seems to be little affection present that could be said to resemble love. At one point, after Mrs. Ribley recovers from a serious illness, her husband remarks that it would have been sad if he had lost her. Mrs. Ribley suggests that if she had died he could have paid addresses to their
“tried and excellent friend, Mrs. Rose Popkin.” Her husband agrees, noting that he had thought “the very same thing” (818).

Destiny’s repeated exposure of three failed Anglo-Scottish marriages reinforces the inadequacy of the marital trope to elide elements of dissonance ranging from vanity and stubbornness to unregulated desire and commercial avarice. Assimilation is painful and not progressive, as the younger generation fare no better than their predecessors.

Edith, as the representative of a virtuous Scotland, declines to marry a polite and intelligent English suitor, Mr. Charles Penhurst, nephew of Mr. Ribley. Despite his uncle’s eccentricity, Charles is surprisingly genteel and kind and embarrassed by his uncle’s peculiarities and obsession with wealth. He rejects the muffin heiress, and pays court to Ellen, whose rejection results from her lack of love for him. In Ferrier’s model, Scottish desire for England is moderate, tempered, and unrelated to hierarchical relations. Ultimately, Edith marries a Scotsman and returns to Scotland, suggesting that the narrative subordinates Anglo-Scottish relations to issues within Scotland itself.

Ferrier attacks not only the overarching marital trope itself (in a way that is reminiscent of Heptarchus and Fergusia), but also the components that comprise it. Her central male Highlander is not represented as a model of nostalgia and culture as in the work of Roche, Helme and even Brunton. Whereas Henry Douglas in Marriage had been merely weak and foolish, unable to control his self-centered wife, the destructive nature of Destiny’s chief of Glenroy is equal to that of his wife, breaking down ideas about the ‘mythic Highlander.’ Loraine Fletcher, in an article on Ferrier’s novels, suggests that Glenroy “represents a ruling class degenerated into complete uselessness” (63). Stubborn and selfish as the narrative begins, the chief declines into a senile and ineffective old man.
who must be nursed by his daughter, whom he has left in poverty. The part of the Highlands over which he presides, unlike Brunton’s representation of the Highlands, is unequivocally masculine. Katheryn Kirkpatrick, in a discussion of *Marriage*, suggests that “nostalgic returns to indigenous culture rarely produced satisfactory roles for women” (ix). This is certainly true of Edith, who holds only a marginal role in her father’s household and who, after her father’s death, must redefine her identity.

In addition to deconstructing the Romantic nationalist vision of the chief, Ferrier openly rejects the concept of the peripheral woman as cultural icon. In a number of proto-national tales of the 1790s, musical ability is presented as a measure of female worth in which the natural Scottish woman can outperform her English counterpart. Regina Maria Roche’s Amanda horrifies her competitors when her musical talents far surpass theirs. Roche notes that Amanda’s style was “so masterly and elegant as to excite universal admiration except in the bosoms of those who had hoped to place her in a ludicrous situation” (227-228). When Elizabeth Helme’s Peggy, in her novel *Duncan and Peggy* (1794), is coerced into playing the harpsichord by her English rivals, they are appalled to find her talent surpasses theirs. In *Destiny*, however, Scottish women are not carriers of peripheral ‘culture.’ While Edith does possess “from nature a melodious voice, a fine ear, and an intuitive refinement of taste,” she is not able to perform a Scottish air in a public forum. Edith’s failure the narrator notes “was only rendered more conspicuous by Florinda’s display. She was in brilliant voice, and with perfect self-possession, played and sang several beautiful Italian and French airs, in the manner of a perfectly well-taught and highly finished musician” (407).
Ferrier, then, resists the impulses to follow Scott's transformation of Scotland into British culture. At the same time, she rejects the commercial alternative that Brunton and Galt express in different ways. After Edith is rejected by Reginald, she seeks to find a cultural space for Scottish women, and does so first by refusing to follow Andrew Wylie's ability to transform culture into a marketable commodity, and second, by resisting Anglo-Scottish relations that define her as recuperative—responsible for restoring British virtue. When she visits England, Lady Elizabeth immediately perceives the marketable qualities of her stepdaughter. She encourages her to enter the marriage marketplace, telling her that, "Scotland and Scotch people, and Scotch books and scenery, and so forth, happen to be in fashion at present" (613). Elizabeth hopes that her own marginalization from society would be improved through presenting a new "product" to society, having recently seen the "wonderful success which had attended a declining dowager's introduction of a handsome niece" and hopes that Edith, who is not only young and beautiful, but also "a novelty" would do the same for her own reputation (613). Edith avoids commodification by insisting on staying with the Ribleys, noting that it would be ill mannered to change residences merely because of their social class.48

In addition, Florinda, Elizabeth and Reginald try to place Edith in the role of recuperative Scot, resolving problems caused by English lack. Florinda, whose tense relationship with her mother seems to originate in mutual selfishness, asks Edith to find a furnished house for Lady Elizabeth as she does not want her mother staying at her home. Edith writes her stepsister "briefly and coldly, declining to execute the ungracious office" (669). English mother and daughter unsuccessfully attempt to use Edith as mediator

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48 The Ribleys, ironically, despite their commercial leanings, do not try to commodify Edith.
between them regarding financial matters. Florinda tries to persuade her stepsister to help save her marriage and Reginald pleads with her to reform his wife, tasks that she also refuses (768). As Edith begins to define her own position, she does not do so in relation to her Southern relatives. Scotland’s role in *Destiny* is not to be defined through its relation to English dominance.

The formulation of Edith’s identity, then, does not, like that of Brunton’s Ellen, require the tropological blending of two distinct regions. Edith, like Ellen, blends elements of culture with elements of agency in her configuration of identity, yet this is not primarily a cross-border negotiation, but rather the assimilation of elements that are already part of Edith’s own Highland environment. Distancing herself from corrupting forces in England, Ellen reestablishes her own cultural values, grounded in two earlier relationships with Scottish representatives of the forces of culture and the forces of progress.

One of the most consistently positive forces in the book is Mrs. Macauley, “a sort of half-and-half gentlewoman, the widow of one of Glenroy’s factors,” who helps Glenroy educate Edith and her brother Norman (26). Mary Macauley blends practical skills, such as needlework, with quaint cultural habits. She speaks in dialect, has “a good ear, a tolerable voice, and a great collection of old Scottish songs, which she sang to herself in very blitheness of heart” (28). She holds some of the superstitions associated with Scottish tradition. “[H]er religion was a compound of the simplest articles of belief, and certain superstitious notions of second-sight, visions, dreams, and so forth” (27).

49 Norman dies as a young man.
“[M]erry-hearted” and supportive, Mrs. Macauley journeys to England with Edith, residing with her own nephew in London, while Edith resides with the Ridleys.

Complementing Mrs. Macauley as the repository of Scottish culture and tradition is the virtuous, pragmatic Malcolm family, kinsfolk and neighbours to her father’s family in Scotland. The Malcolms, as the narrative begins, are impoverished. Captain Malcolm is a “half-pay officer in delicate health, the possessor of a paternal farm, and the father of eight children. In early life he had made a great love-marriage with a lady of good family and a great beauty, but no fortune” (39). The Laird of Inch Orran, another relative of Glenroy, shocks the chief when, instead of leaving his estate to Glenroy, he leaves it to Ronald Malcolm, one of Captain Malcolm’s sons. When Ronald, a seaman, is presumed dead after his ship is wrecked, the Malcolm family inherits the estate. Rather than run it according to the old feudal methods used by Glenroy, they introduce improvements to benefit the inhabitants of the surrounding neighborhood (240). Their dedication to the community also turns out to be strikingly dissimilar to the way in which Reginald, who inherits Glenroy’s estate, abuses the land, cutting down timber to fund his London lifestyle (577). After Edith is discarded by Reginald, she turns to the Malcolms for comfort. Having lost their own son, they teach her to moderate her sentiments through active charity within the community. Their active morality leads Edith to recognize the quality and community-centered nature of their progressive improvements.

During her time in England, as Edith begins to isolate herself from the influences of English materialism and corruption, she increasingly relies on Mrs. Macauley and a decent, genteel English couple, who share the values of the Malcolms. Admiral and Arabella Conway, like Anne Elliott and Wentworth of Austens’ *Persuasion*, embody the
robust future of England – blending aristocratic blood with invigorating middling class values. Mrs. Conway, like Anne, is from an aristocratic family. Unlike Anne, she does not initially reject marriage but “chose to make a love match” with the “Honourable Captain” who later earned promotion and, according to Lady Elizabeth, “got a handsome fortune somehow” (678). The couple’s strong moral values connect them to the Malcolms. In fact, the narrator explicitly notes that “Lady Arabella reminded her much of her dear Mrs. Malcolm” (680). The English couple is concerned about their community, continuing to see Lady Elizabeth, despite her many shortcomings, and protecting Edith from malicious comments by a jealous Reginald (759). The friendship is mutually appreciative. The couple is open to learn Scottish culture and in exchange give Edith some intellectual relief from her self-absorbed relatives.

The intersection of these influences ensures Edith has both access to cultural knowledge and agency, although her agency is not grounded in commerce but in solid intellectual and moral values – present in Scotland and reinforced in England – which protect her from nefarious influences. The equal importance of both culture and agency is reinforced by the participation of both the Conways and Mrs. Macauley in the reintroduction of Edith to the man who will be her husband, the son of the Malcolm family, Ronald Malcolm. Ronald had loved Edith since childhood, but had been lost at sea and believed to be dead. Years later, in England, a suspicious Edith is told by Mrs. Macauley that she has met a Mr. Melcombe under rather mysterious circumstances. Hearing of the meeting, Edith fears that a trickster is trying to defraud or fool her beloved

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50 Ferrier promotes class merging in her second novel, The Inheritance, in which the heroine, who discovers herself to be the daughter of a working-class woman, marries Mr. Lyndsey, a gentleman with connections to the aristocracy, who, after the fortunate death of an unpleasant aristocrat, inherits the very estate the heroine had been falsely led to believe was her inheritance.
friend. Yet although she does not recognize him, Mrs. Macauley instinctively trusts him and speaks well of him to Edith. The Conways make the actual introduction. Their confidence in him is not based on instinct, but on practical experience. Arabella Conway tells Edith that he had saved the life of her son at sea “at the risk of his own” (687). This introduction suggests that cultural imagination and memory and moral pragmatism unite in the reformulation of a distinctly Scottish identity.

Although commerce was not a positive factor in the configuration of her heroine, Ferrier allows her hero to achieve agency through commerce, suggesting that in Ferrier’s Scotland, the marketplace can be a more appropriate means of agency for the masculine world. Yet the same ambivalence towards commerce displayed by the Ribley’s excess is situated in Ronald’s experience as both a victim and a beneficiary of empire. Shipwrecked on the coast of Africa, he had become a slave to “wild and lawless natives” from whom he finally escaped (232). Later, serving on a merchant ship, he saves it from pirates, “boarding and finally capturing the pirate, laden with rich booty, of which a considerable share was allotted to him” (688).

Ronald’s social position, then, is in part due to a commercial success which is not accessible to Edith. However, situating herself closer to Hogg than Brunton, Scott or Galt, she is concerned about the potentially destructive elements of commerce to the nation. The Highland Clearances would have certainly raised such concerns in contemporary discourse. The narrative prefers to linger on Ronald’s blend of strong active morality and cultural appreciation. During a literary discussion, Ronald, along with Edith, argues for reading the *Life of Howard the Philanthropist* rather than the *Memoirs of Pepys* (742). Praising Howard as a “ministering spirit to all who required his sympathy
and aid,” and arguing that all should be so in “their own sphere of action,” he positions himself in the same sphere of progressive but benevolent, community-centered action that his parents inhabit (747). Moral concern for the community along with careful social development does not seem too far from Brunton’s vision of a society slowly embracing progress and folding it into cultural practices.

Ronald is also strongly attached to his Scottish heritage. Although at one point he notes “I was not aware it was more fortunate to have been born an English than a Scotsman, since both alike are British,” this is a qualified statement. As Kathryn Kirkpatrick points out, this comment “comes from a Scotsman in enforced disguise who longs to reclaim family and property in his native land” (xiii). 51 Ronald’s continued emotional references to his native country make clear his love for Scotland. Moreover, the moment of recognition is centered on Scottish culture. During a discussion, Edith’s eyes fall on a picture of Inch Orran, her home, which had been painted for her by Ronald’s sister. The words under the painting are taken from Ossian.

My soul is full of other times;
The joy of my youth returns. (793)

That moment brings to Edith “visions of the past” and a realization of Ronald’s identity. Culture, then, is not contained within a painting and placed in the distant past, but is part of modern Scottish identity. The self-made progressive Ronald is the Ossianic warrior of the present, and rather than an icon of melancholy and nostalgia, he has agency to participate in the transformation of Scotland. Moving back to Scotland along with Edith, he joins his family in moving the Highlands into a progressive yet culturally aware state.

51 Ronald resists returning home till the end of the novel because to identify himself as alive would cause some inheritance problems for his family.
Conclusion

This movement towards Scotland echoes Hogg’s desire to foreground Scottish issues rather than cross-border relations. Indeed in all four writers we have discussed, Scottish agency is directed primarily at improving and benefiting Scotland, not at negotiating Britishness. Walter Scott’s rejection of metaphors of unity in *St. Ronan’s Well*, it seems, was part of a larger movement in Scotland to find different ways to engage with national identity. Moving towards the Victorian period, dwelling on Anglo-Scottish metaphoric union – most certainly of marriage, and perhaps even of friendship – seemed to be increasingly irrelevant to Scottish writers. As William Donaldson has noted in his work *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland* (1986), regional and local issues became important.

Tropologies of union, whether directed at negotiating political, national or religious unity, are not eternal. They appear to be used most frequently where there is a perceived need to overcome differences. As Scots became more self-sufficient producers of literature, as they became adept at reproducing dialect which excluded outside readers, as empire held out increasing numbers of opportunities, as they became more thoroughly enmeshed in British commerce and politics, and as other areas of conflict – class dissension, defining empire and gender relations – moved to the forefront of British consciousness, Scots writers simply seemed to become less interested in negotiating Anglo-Scottish relations and more interested in defining themselves as a nation. Like a number of English writers, they became involved in realist fiction, which centered on the specific material problems of a community, such as class relations and industrialization. Surprisingly, however, outside Scotland, writers had not finished with tropologies of
Anglo-Scottish union, as I will briefly explore in my Conclusion. Using Scottishness in various metaphorical ways, English and Irish writers such as Dinah Craik, Charlotte Bronte, Elizabeth Gaskell and Thomas Hardy continued to work with tropes of union to display a sense of English lack, to police the boundaries of empire and occasionally, to signify subversive impulses.
Conclusion

This book has brought together two interrelated ideas, one relating to the ever-changing state of Anglo-Scottish relations between 1707 and 1830, and the second, relating to the ways in which complex tropes are used to construct and reconstruct national relations as they undergo change. To develop this into a fully comprehensive British tropology, extensive work is needed to establish how Ireland, Wales and growing ideas about empire further complicated tropes of union and nation. My next project will begin this process by analyzing tropes of empire in the same period.

This conclusion will briefly outline some of the areas in which this book has added to scholarship, beginning with a discussion of the implications of my study for our understanding of Anglo-Scottish relations between 1707 and 1830. Second, I will briefly assess what this book has uncovered about the nature of tropes as mediating tools for literary cross border negotiations. Some of my conclusions may be useful to those analyzing cross-border relations in different nations and regions and in different time periods. Finally, I will briefly map out some directions for beginning to grapple with Anglo-Scottish tropes in the Victorian period, because while many Scottish writers tended to turn towards ‘home,’ as William Donaldson points out in his seminal discussion of Victorian popular literature in Scotland, tropes of union continued to be prominent in English and Irish writing.

I. Anglo-Scottish Relations 1707-1830

What insights into the intricate relationship between England and Scotland can this analysis provide? The constant mutations of the cross-border tropes I have considered support Leith Davis’s assertions about the continual re-imagining of
Britishness and the deliberate participation of authors in the process. My work also supports – at a literary level – Linda Colley’s contentions about the increasing participations of Scots both within Britain and its emerging empire. As far as literary representations go, this book has suggested that the Scottish components of complex tropes were given increasing agency. I would strongly resist calling these changes ‘progress,’ however, because while the shift from tenor to vehicle suggests that dissension between the two nations was certainly submerged for a time, the work of Hugh MacDiarmid and historical fiction, such as Neil Gunn’s *Butcher’s Broom*, demonstrates it was not erased. Indeed, many modern and post-modern Scottish works can be seen as reviving old tropes and displaying their fractures in order to reactivate submerged national and regional differences and revive painful histories and mythologies. There is an Anglo-Scottish marriage at the center of *Butcher’s Broom* (1934) which brings only destruction to the Highlands. Hugh MacDiarmid’s *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (1926) can be read as a reassessment of Scottish masculinity in relation to English and European identity. And Liz Lochhead’s *Mary Queen of Scots got her Head Chopped off* (1987) might be seen as a feminist revisioning of Anglo-Scottish relations based on female relations between the two queens.\(^1\) After all, the ambiguous

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\(^1\) Remarkably, although there are a number of caricatures and artistic renditions of female icons of England and Scotland, I did not come across, in literary works, many which tried to represent Anglo-Scottish relations through a solely female iconography. *Angelicus and Fergusia*, which I briefly refer to in chapter three, starts off by doing so. Two sisters – Fergusia (the Scots) and Ambrosia (the Britons) rule Britain at the beginning of the pamphlet. But Ambrosia is ravished and banished by the very masculine Angelicus early on, and the remainder of the pamphlet deals with the often hostile ‘courtship’ between Angelicus and Fergusia. It might also be possible to read the accounts of the relationship between Mary, Queen of Scots, and Elizabeth in the histories of David Hume and William Robertson as sort of Anglo-Scottish negotiations, but the rather sordid sexual connotations associated with Mary, not to mention her Catholicism, would have made it difficult for Scottish writers to portray her as a representation of Scotland in the period.
narrator La Corbie opens the play by setting up a remarkably complex dichotomy between

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\text{twa kingdoms.... no equal kingdoms....For the northern kingdom was cauld and sma.' And the people were low-statured and ignorant and feart o’ their lords and poor! They were starvin’ And their queen was beautiful and tall and fair and...Frenchified. The other kingdom was large, and prosperous, with wheat and barley and fat kye in the fields o’ her yeoman fermers, and wool in her looms...and, at the mouth of her greatest river, a great port, a glistening city that sucked all wealth to its center which was a palace and a court of a queen. She was a cousin, a clever cousin a wee bit aulder, and mibbe no sae braw as the other queen, but a queen nevertheless...Twa queens. Wan green island. (12)}
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In much literature of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, however, the fractures that have been reactivated in the last century, had been minimized or positioned in the distant past. There are certainly exceptions to this tendency. Hogg’s insistence that the reader look at the trauma of Culloden is one of the clear exceptions, as is the emphasis on the painful marginalization of the Highlanders in Christian Johnstone’s *Clan Albin* (1815). Yet if we compare the British response to Henry Dundas’s political power at the end of the century to national reaction to Bute’s mid-century ascension to authority, it is clear that Scottish authority was no longer seen as inherently divisive. Dundas was certainly not immune from criticism on both sides of the Tweed, nor from caricatures which clad him in full Highland dress.\(^2\) However, no

\(^2\) This is not to say that there was not some anxiety about Scottish penetration of England and Empire remaining. As Michael Fry points out in *The Dundas Despotism*, there was still some whispered anxiety,
tropology was designed to disrupt or overturn his authority based on his Scottish origins. Sharing mutual interests, England and Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century were focused on resolving instability in other areas, and British tropology reflects this emphasis.

In addition to illustrating the diminishing need to reiterate metaphoric unity, this analysis also suggests that, for the most part, Scottish authors throughout the eighteenth century chose quite a different path from the one that would be selected by Irish writers in the years surrounding the Anglo-Irish union. From the beginning, marital, courtship and familial tropologies were seen to imply hierarchy and were used to reject the union or represent discord. Although Smollett chooses to use such a trope in *Roderick Random* in the 1740s, he thoroughly destabilizes it throughout the text and places the Scot in the masculine position, refusing to naturalize a hierarchy that might imply Scottish subordination.

There may be a number of reasons for this different approach to union. It might be suggested that it is simply a matter of genre. Early in the century, the domestic romance, which Anglo-Irish writers adapted and transformed into the national tale, had not yet been validated by the work of Samuel Richardson, Frances Sheridan, a reformed Eliza Haywood and others. While this may be partially true, this study has demonstrated that tropes of courtship, marriage and family can exist and flourish outside the domestic romance genre.

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primarily coming from the Whigs, that “under him 'the Board of Admiralty and everything connected with it would be filled by Scotchmen'” (257). They key word, however, is 'whispered.' There was not the sort of public outcry associated with Bute. For some examples of caricatured images of Dundas in Highland dress, particularly surrounding his impeachment for mishandling navy funds, see Cyril Matheson’s *Life of Henry Dundas*, pages 351 and 357.
A second possibility is that the concept of culture—a reified set of traditions and manners that can be validated and appreciated despite or because of its distinction from political power—began to develop later in the century, initially in travel narratives, and later entering the national tale. In the work of Sydney Owenson, this culture, as an alternative sort of power source, can be adapted and feminized without losing its ability to arouse English desire. It could be argued that it is the emergence of a powerful feminized idea of peripheral culture which enabled Walter Scott to feminize a nostalgic version of Scotland which retained, even strengthened, Scotland's attractiveness south of the border.

Genre, the elevation of culture and other external factors specific to the historical moment of production were likely contributors to disparities between Irish and Scottish concepts of union. However, the desire of Scottish writers to depict Scottish agency also likely contributed to the overdetermination of these differences. For the most part, as the union became increasingly perceived as inevitable, Scottish writers used tropes that did not contain the potential to naturalize a hierarchy in which Scotland was in an inferior position. Despite Scotland's limited political authority, these authors found ways to give their Scottish characters access to British authority. Roderick's uncle gives him access to patriotic glory and commercial power. Lismahago, despite his eccentricity, is a trained professional and a military man. Ossian is a scholar-poet and Fingal a warrior. As the century came to an end, and Scottish masculinity seemed less threatening, tropes could comfortably capture Scottish masculinity with direct access to parliamentary power without disturbing readers. Robert Bisset's Douglas, Mary Brunton's Mr. Maitland and John Galt's Andrew Wylie are all able to influence British political affairs. Irish writers
may well have found that these fictional representations of accessibility to power did not reflect their own position, a position far more comparable to that of a colonized nation.

It is also worth noting that English writers became increasingly comfortable with Scottish masculinity in their own tropes of union. Anti-union propagandists, as we have seen, represent pre-union tropes of gentlemanly exchange between England and Scotland as manufactured to elide hierarchy. Yet tropes of union treating Scottish masculinity in relatively respectful ways begin to reappear increasingly frequently in the works of English writers, such as Kimber, Bage, Godwin and others, particularly following Culloden, suggesting that regardless of the original intentions of pro-union writers, concepts of egalitarian friendship between the nations were beginning to take hold in England. The prevalence of this formulation of Britishness suggests that if Scotland was ever perceived in quasi-colonial terms, it was only for a very short period of time.

Despite this sense of equal participation in building the nation, many English writers seem completely insensitive to Scottish cultural difference until the writings of Scott and Victoria’s obsession with Balmoral begin to attribute value to Scottish culture. The characteristics attributed to the personifications which made up complex cross-border tropes were beginning to have little difference – often only an accent marked them as anything other than English. Scott’s manufacturing and dissemination of culture, then, despite two hundred years of accusations of tartanry that followed, was a vital element in retaining a distinctive difference in English fiction, for as we shall shortly discuss, English literature did make use of Scottish culture in the Victorian period.
II. Tropes and their Transformations

There are some preliminary conclusions about the relationship between tropes and nations which can be drawn from this study of Anglo-Scottish relations which may be useful in analyzing tropes which try to negotiate relations across other borders. First, I have traced the way in which tropes of union develop from a crude figure in explicitly propagandistic pamphlets and poetry, immersed in specific historical facts and given clumsy allegorical names, into various literary forms, where political meaning is less directly implied and political and historical referents are vague or replaced by mythologies, domestic narratives or robust utopia-building concepts.

Moments of change frequently occur when a trope enters a different literary genre. Wright’s didactic pamphlet, Home’s medieval tragedy and Smollett’s comic novels clearly immerse their tropes in different literary environments and adapt them to different generic conventions. At the same time, the selection of genre is itself a choice influenced by the sociopolitical position of the author, so that tropological change as a result of genre requirements might be seen as a strategic choice. In other words, a genre may be useful because it allows tropes of union to be presented in certain ways. The tragic form of John Home’s *Douglas* allows him to create a sympathetic bond between English audience and Scottish characters by facilitating a trope in which Scottish suffering can be strategically sentimentalized. This study has also suggested that since tropes immersed in literary conventions which would seem to distance them from national identity are no less political than those which directly deal with politics, we can make useful connections between tropes across genre categories. Such an analysis allows us to study productively the changes in the way the union is imagined.
Second, considering gendered complex tropes in particular has suggested that using one set of power relations (gender) to signify another (nation) is extraordinarily complex, because it is not just changes in the tenor, in this case Anglo-Scottish relations, which can lead to tropological change. Changes in the vehicle — gender relations — can also impel change. Mid-century changes in the relationship between women and nation, as Nancy Armstrong has argued in *Desire and Domestic Fiction*, enabled mid-century Scottish writers who wanted to recuperate Scottish masculinity just over a decade after Culloden, when a host of literature and prints were being circulated representing Scottish men as bestial, treasonous or effeminate, to use a female figure to mediate masculine unity. Or, after Sydney Owenson had constructed an Anglo-Irish tropology which represented Ireland as feminine (perhaps with more political reason, given the subordinate position of Ireland, as Mary Jean Corbett has argued), a tropology that became popular and which finds a way to make the feminine acquire a degree of power through her association with an attractive composite of Irish traditions, Walter Scott decides to construct a similar courtship trope.

Third, we have seen that tropes of unity seem to lose their relevance during periods when other socio-political and national fractures become prominent, rendering the particular cross-border relationship the figures have been used to mediate as solid in relation to other fluctuating relations. Indeed, I have identified an inversion taking place in some tropes of union following the American War and the French Revolution. The stronger Anglo-Scottish relationship that emerged from these external conflicts meant that the tenor of tropes of unity was now so stable itself that it could be used as a vehicle in metaphoric attempts to negotiate other power relations involving class and empire.
Thus Robert Bage could, through an Anglo-Scottish alliance, work to facilitate cross-class marriage and to instill value in industry and mercantilism. This is a significant shift, because, as I shall shortly suggest, Anglo-Scottish relations as a metaphoric concept continues to operate in the works of English and Irish writers throughout the Victorian period.

Moreover, tropes of union can disintegrate altogether when there is little perceived need for them. While they did continue to circulate south of the Tweed, a number of Scottish writers, as we have seen, started to turn away from them, finding that union no longer must be reiterated in order to develop a Scottish sense of identity. At the very moment in which distinct ideas of Scottish culture were making such tropes useful to English writers, who did not have access to such a reified concept of English culture, Scottish writers, more concerned with material development and what has been called banal nationalism, national identity of the everyday, were turning towards Scotland.

Fourth, I have suggested that propagandists and authors were increasingly aware of the importance of tropes as a means to persuade, to 'clarify' Britishness for their readers. As a result, we have come across clashing tropologies, moments in which those constructing different concepts of Britishness try to out-trope each other. Wright’s courtship trope counters the pro-union model of gentlemanly friendship. Wilkes’s sexually aggressive Scot trumps Smollett’s representation of fellow Britons. Wilkes’s accusation of mimicry uses a different approach. Prying apart Smollett’s vehicle and tenor, he tries to expose the excess material within, tries to reveal an ambitious Scot beneath the egalitarian British citizen.
Fifth, complex tropes of union are particularly prone to rupture because there are two levels of potential dissonance which authorial emphasis can elide or highlight. The first is the relationship between the two components of the trope itself – the vehicle and the tenor. In Charlotte Smith's *Young Philosopher*, we noted slippage between her use of the alliance between English and Scottish characters to promote her philosophical and political position on class and her concern over women's position in society. At times, then, the vehicle and tenor shift positions reflecting the competing concerns of the author. The second level of possible rupture becomes apparent when tropes which develop towards marital or friendly synthesis linger over moments of conflict and obstacles that can represent memories of past conflict. Thus Smollett, in displaying ten representations of unsuccessful Anglo-Scottish courtships before the concluding marriages of *Roderick Random*, destabilizes his unified ending. On the other hand, John Galt, lingering over Andrew Wylie's many successes through Anglo-Scottish exchange, gives substantially less narrative attention to Scottish marginalization, projecting it away from his central character into several minor figures who appear only momentarily. Authorial emphasis, then, frequently determines whether the divisive or unifying impulses of the trope will be foregrounded, whether the marital trope will focus on natural desire or uncomfortable hierarchy or both or whether the trope of friendship will suppress or allow for cultural difference.

III. Victorian Beginnings

I have suggested, in Chapter Five, that after the American War and French revolution, Anglo-Scottish relations were represented as benign by many English writers, and that solidly united tropes of union – in the works of Bage, for example – were put to
work negotiating other problems related to class and empire. Complex tropes involving personifications of Scotland continue to be used to mediate British problems throughout the nineteenth century. They are used to regenerate Britain, to supply qualities which England appears to have lost. They are used to mediate between empire and nation. And finally, they are occasionally used to denote impulses of rupture. As I invite further study in this area, I would not suggest that there is a static typology of complex tropes involving Scottish characters, but would suggest that future research explore the ways in which they intersect and interact.

Certain works by English authors interpret Scottishness as whatever the writer believes that the English lack. This lack can widely vary. The most famous (or some would say infamous) of these works is Matthew Arnold's *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1866), in which Arnold speculates that English poetry possibly got much of its style from a Celtic source; more certainly got its tendency to melancholy from a Celtic source; and absolutely got its natural magic from a Celtic source. Pragmatic Anglo-Saxons, Arnold suggests, lack a certain magical melancholy that Celticism provides (and here he is talking about the Irish and the Scots). Past and present union, then, involves instilling England with peripheral qualities relating to culture which they previously lacked. Arnold's work can clearly be seen as celebrating the quaint, powerless tartanry Scott is often accused of initiating, but at the same time, there is a degree of recognition of Scottish difference absent from the works of eighteenth-century English writers, who focus merely on the willingness of Scots to contribute to the project on hand. Charlotte Bronte, like Arnold, seems to view Scotland through tartan-coloured glasses, but in slightly different terms. In a letter to a friend, she writes that "Edinburgh, compared to
London, is like a vivid page of history compared to a large dull treatise on political economy" (331).

The lack that Thomas Hardy’s Scottish man of sense, Donald Farfrae, manages to fill, in contrast, embraces both vigour and culture. In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886), it is, in part, Farfrae’s retention and appreciation of his cultural heritage that enables him to displace the novel’s central Englishman (Henchard). After all, he sings Scottish airs and dances Scotch reels, much to the delight of his English peers (83, 139). But it is also his superior scientific and agricultural skills, perhaps connecting him to the Scottish Enlightenment and to the Scots in the robust nation-building novels, which ensure his success in English business. While tropes of Anglo-Scottish business partnership and marital union fail early in the novel, this failure is due to English resistance and jealously (Henchard’s), and English corruption (Lucetta’s deceit about her lack of virtue). The ultimate self-destruction of both characters makes way for fully harmonic tropes of unity: Farfrae, has already achieved the business success in England that characters like Roderick Random had yearned for. Moreover, he is an accepted part of the town, fully accepted by the residents. Finally, through marriage to Elizabeth, he participates in a trope of mutual desire. The multiple tropes of union firmly connect both nations, displaying Scottish success, and suggesting that English identity can be revitalized through *both* peripheral culture and innovative energies.

A second use of tropes of union in the Victorian period is the negotiation (and sometimes policing) of national boundaries. Early practitioners might include Dinah Craik, Charlotte Bronte and William Thackeray. As yet, each example I have located of this form of metaphorical mediation has engaged with boundaries in distinctly different
ways. In Craik’s *Olive* (1850), the solid, gentle virtue of the Anglo-Scottish heroine is contrasted with the passion and hysteria of her illegitimate half sister Christal, the child of her Scottish father and, his West-Indian mistress. After her father’s death, it is Olive who is left to inform her sister of her illegitimacy, deal with the resulting violence and, with the help of her Welsh admirer, Harold Gwynne, save her from suicide. Harold and Olive, ironically, given that Craik’s father was Irish, tropologically representing every part of the British nation except Ireland, seem to ensure national borders are established and patrolled and that hierarchies are maintained, as benevolently as possible of course. Christal ultimately is safely enclosed within a Scottish nunnery.

In William Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair* (1847), Miss Swartz, the mulatto heiress rejected by George Osborne, ultimately marries a “young sprig of Scotch nobility” (579). While Miss Swartz cannot fully access British identity through the English Osborne, she can do so through tropological connection with a Scot, who occupies a mediating position between England and empire. I have come across a number of instances where access to British identity for colonial characters operates in this fashion. In Anna Thomson’s *Fatal Follies*, Beauchamp’s rich English uncle has fathered a legitimate ‘hybrid’ child overseas with his Indian wife. But it is through their daughter’s marriage to the Scottish Mr. Graham that Elmira is taken out of her solitary rural existence and integrated into British society. Rather than guarding or policing boundaries, these tropes negotiate Brito-empire relations through their Scottish component.

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3 It would be unfair to Craik to suggest that she rejected all possibility of a legitimate union between England and its empire. Clearly this was a complex matter that needed revisiting. In the “Half-Caste,” a short story about an English governess who secretly loves an English Indian merchant, Craik has the merchant ultimately choose to marry Zillah, daughter of an Englishman and an Indian princess.
In Bronte’s *Villette* (1853), an entirely different sort of Anglo-Scottish trope is presented. Lucy Snowe’s marginality is emphasized, in part, by her exclusion from a union that is represented – rather strangely – as British – that of the Anglo-Scot John Graham and the French-Scottish Polly Home. Lucy, however, desires to escape this mundane Britishness, and although she seems attracted to Graham for a short while, ultimately yearns for the distinctly ‘Other’ Paul Emmanuel, who has Spanish Blood and is Catholic. Bronte seems to represent the tropology of Anglo-Scottish identity as suffocating, practical rather than passionate, to be escaped rather than negotiated.

Anglo-Scottish tropes were not always metaphoric, disconnected from history. Writing from an Irish perspective, Anthony Trollope, in his ‘national tale’ *Phineas Finn* (1867), introduces the nasty Scottish MP, Robert Kennedy, as the manipulative, repressive – and successful – suitor of the vulnerable English Lady Laura who lives to regret that she did not marry the vastly superior Irish Phineas. Trollope suggests, as Swift had suggested in *Injured Lady* about 150 years earlier, that England privileges Scotland over Ireland to its own peril. Scotland, here, is not an eager participant in a trope of union, but in fact disrupts the Anglo-Irish trope of courtship, leading to unhappiness on all sides. In certain circumstances, despite minimal fictional emphasis on Anglo-Scottish dissension, the history of the Scots-Irish conflict comes to the fore. Perhaps this ought not to be surprising, given the immense suffering that Ireland had experienced in during the great potato famine, which had only ended about a decade before Trollope’s novel. Irish suffering was not only materially devastating but also

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4 The fictitious town of Villette is Brussels, where Charlotte had worked and lived.
5 Another rather suspicious Scot appears in the final section of Sarah Grand’s *Heavenly Twins* (1893). Dr. George Galbraith analyzes and diagnoses his English wife - Evadne - in rather troubling and subtly
involved appalling British Anti-Irish propaganda. Ongoing Fenianism and conflict regarding land issues did little to help Anglo-Irish relations. Trollope’s trope of union, then, may reflect Ireland’s feelings of rejection as a united North and South Britain do little to address Irish concerns.

Scottishness, I am suggesting, perhaps reflecting its complex position in the idea of Britishness – neither central nor entirely peripheral – and its growing association in England with benign culture or helpful nation building rather than any sort of disruptive politics, takes on a number of different roles, from threatening to recuperative, in English writing. This malleability is certainly worthy of more substantial analysis by Victorianists. Victorian Scottish writers are another matter altogether. Many of them, as mentioned earlier, seem to avoid tropes of union altogether. Many of those writing outside Scotland, such as Margaret Oliphant and Robert Louis Stevenson, certainly write Scottish novels (as well as English ones), but they tend to deal with Scottish conflicts. While the troubles in Stevenson’s Master of Ballantrae, for example, certainly begin with an Anglo-Scottish conflict – the ‘45 – the remainder of the novel is the effect of the long-term effects within Scotland, and, in particular, the story of two ill-fated brothers foregrounds the aggressive impulses Scotland directs against itself. Margaret Oliphant’s first novel, Passages in the Life of Mrs Margaret Maitland (1849), is engaged with the Scottish Free Church movement. Those writing within Scotland, writers like David Pae and William Alexander, as William Donaldson has suggested, are primarily interested in regional issues, often writing in a dialect that is impenetrable to readers south of the repressive ways. Grand does not seem to be concerned with Scottishness in a material, historical sense - but uses it as a sort of metaphor for a threateningly instability that is uncomfortably close to home.
border. This shift away from union throughout the nineteenth century also needs to be fully explored and theorized.

IV. A Final Word

Anthony Smith has recently argued, in regards to European unification, that what is needed is “a series of case-studies over time of changes in collective perceptions and values, as recorded in literature and the arts, in political traditions and symbolism, in national mythologies and historical memories” (Myths and Memories 227). While he notes that such studies usually look at shifts in national symbolism rather than broader multi-national ones, he suggests that they “form a useful point of departure for investigations into the complex relationships between national identities and the process of European unification in the sphere of culture and values” (227). This book has offered one such series of case studies, useful for evaluating the place of tropologies in reflecting and promoting cross-border international unions. Clearly Europe, which must negotiate relations between a multitude of nations of different sizes and with differing access to power, is more complex than cross-border relationship I have explored in this book. However, as further research folds the tropologies that join England, its peripheries and its colonies into this analysis (spaces with differing access to power within nations), it may be possible for researchers to gain a greater understanding of how to interpret – or create - tropologies of European relations.

At the same time, at a far more specific level, this book offers a point of departure to consider models of disunion or reconfigured union as Scotland, along with its new parliament, seeks to reconceptualize its position within the United Kingdom and Europe. This book has argued that Scottish and English writers alike created tropes which
represent Scotland engaging in a series of complex transactions with England. These tropes suggest not merely that Scots participated in the formation of Britishness both as creators of and elements of literature, but also that their contribution to Britishness was represented as more than mere tartanry and nebulous mythology, more than the reification of imagined manners and traditions. Scottish characters in tropes of union possessed increasing agency as the century progressed. Indeed, even the turning away from tropes of union by such writers as Hogg and Ferrier suggests that Scottish writers felt there was no need to define the identity of Scotland through its relations with England. Analyzing the gendered complex tropes used to define Scotland in a British context can complicate, and perhaps even reduce, the gap that has appeared to exist between the material Scottish success that Linda Colley has identified in eighteenth-century Britain and the themes of tartanry and fatherlessness that have haunted much of Scottish literature.
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