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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Department of History

**Transatlantic Scotophobia: Nation, Empire and Anti-
Scottish Sentiment in England and America, 1760-1783**

by

Tim Worth

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 2016

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

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**TRANSATLANTIC SCOTOPHOBIA: NATION, EMPIRE AND
ANTI-SCOTTISH SENTIMENT IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA,
1760-1783**

Tim Worth

This thesis examines anti-Scottish sentiment or ‘Scotophobia’ in England and America from the accession of George III in 1760 to the end of the War of American Independence in 1783. It charts the development of popular Scotophobia from the radical political protest movement associated with John Wilkes in London to Sons of Liberty in America. I argue that anti-Scottish sentiment during these years was intrinsically connected to the imperial crisis which was to culminate in the American Revolution. American Patriots and their radical supporters in England blamed the increasingly coercive American policies of the British government on the secret influence of Scottish ministers such as the Earl of Bute and Lord Mansfield. They simultaneously attacked the Scottish people in general as the internal enemies of the British Empire, denouncing them as Jacobite rebels and the enemies of ‘Freeborn Englishmen’ in England and America. This imperial Scotophobia reached its peak at the outbreak of war in 1775, with both Americans and English radicals attacking the conflict as a ‘Scotch war’.

I argue that Scotophobia during the war was truly transatlantic, providing both a scapegoat for British policy and a common enemy against whom American Patriots and English radicals could unite. Through this transatlantic Scotophobia, therefore, we can gain important insights into both English and American visions of empire and national identity on the eve of the Revolution. The appeals to ‘English liberty’ and attacks on a Scottish enemy show that some contemporaries believed the British Empire to be defined by Englishness rather than Britishness, an idea strongly associated with notions of liberty. We also see strong evidence of an Anglo-American identity which many in both England and America sought to hold onto even in the midst of war.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Tim Worth.....

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Transatlantic Scotophobia: Nation, Empire and Anti-Scottish Sentiment in England and America, 1760-1783

.....

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signed:

Date:.....

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Definitions and Abbreviations

BM Satires - British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires reference number

As multiple versions of the *Virginia Gazette* under different editors were in distribution at the same point in time, I have identified which *Gazette* I am referring to by referencing the editor, e.g.

‘*Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney)’ = the *Virginia Gazette* edited by John Pinkney

Introduction

In 1791 the German minister, writer and cultural commentator Gebhard Friedrich August Wendeborn published the English language edition of *A view of England towards the close of the eighteenth century*. Wendeborn had been a regular visitor to England since the 1760s, and his book was based on his observations of English manners and customs during his travels. He wrote about the English constitution, English commerce and manufactures, and, crucially, the English national character. Wendeborn was particularly struck by English attitudes towards foreigners like himself. Although his English acquaintances admired his education and learning, they seemed to pity him for not being English. ‘Sir, you look and think like an Englishman’, an Oxford gentleman once told him; ‘it is a pity you were not born in our country’. But the English people’s treatment of foreigners was still warmer than their treatment of their northern neighbours. ‘It is . . . rather curious,’ remarked Wendeborn, ‘that the English, who pride themselves in the name of Britons, which they bear in common with the Scotch, are, notwithstanding, rather more averse to them, than even to a foreigner’.¹

Wendeborn had picked up on a current of anti-Scottish sentiment which pervaded English society for much of the latter half of the eighteenth century. For years Scots were lambasted in newspapers, lampooned in satirical prints and accused of everything from high treason and murder to Devil worship and plotting to assassinate Samuel Johnson for sneering at Scotland’s lack of trees. During the 1760s the radical journalist and later MP John Wilkes and his followers waged an unceasing newspaper war against the Scottish Prime Minister, the Earl of Bute, a man they painted as a Jacobite despot seeking to destroy English liberty. They berated Scots over new taxes and unsatisfactory peace treaties, for infringing the liberties of the press and overriding Habeas Corpus, and for violently suppressing popular demonstrations. In the 1770s rumours spread of a sinister ‘Scotch Junto’ dictating government policy and driving forwards war with America for their own inscrutable purposes. At the same time American newspapers furiously attacked Scots for attempting to enslave the colonists. And throughout all of this, English and American newspapers prophesied about hordes of Scots swarming to London or Boston or

¹ Gebhard Friedrich August Wendeborn, *A View of England Towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1791), pp.373-374.

any other outpost of the British Empire intent on lucrative jobs which would otherwise belong to Englishmen.

In this thesis I will examine the nature of Scotophobia, and show how it relates to the wider themes of empire and identity in the late eighteenth century. First and foremost, English Scotophobia during this era is just one chapter in the ongoing story of Anglo-Scottish social relations. The wars which dogged the two countries' histories did not entirely cease following the 1707 Act of Union, as the two major Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745 reveal. Although officially united together as 'Britons', many of those in England were still keen to view the Scots as the old enemy in the years following Bonnie Prince Charlie's unsuccessful attempt to reclaim the British throne for the House of Stuart. Old prejudices and stereotypes consequently remained alive and well, and English antipathy fed hungrily off these old animosities.

But English Scotophobia was reinforced (and in some ways transformed) by current events. One of the most influential of these was the American Revolution. Whilst we often speak of the American Revolution as a watershed in both the history of the British Empire and American and British identity, it is far less common for historians to examine all of these themes in relation to national or ethnic tensions within Britain and the British Empire. This is an omission in urgent need of redress. Scotophobia, I will argue, did not simply exist in conjunction with the transformation of the British Empire in the late eighteenth century; it both grew out of the imperial crisis and contributed towards it in turn. The need for a more detailed study of the intimate connection between Scotophobia, empire and identity therefore becomes apparent when we examine the historiography of Scotophobia in the late eighteenth century.

Historiography

The study of eighteenth-century English Scotophobia has passed through two broad phases over the past sixty years. The first of these phases sought to treat Scotophobia principally as a political phenomenon. This was largely due to the focus of the historians in question. Writing in the 1960s and the 1970s, George Rudé and John Brewer discussed English Scotophobia in relation to Wilkite radicalism in London during the 1760s. Both noted the political characteristics of English anti-Scottish sentiment, specifically how perceptions of the Earl of Bute coloured all Scots as Jacobites and agents of arbitrary power. English Scotophobia, they argue, was caused by Whigs and Wilkites perceiving Scots as enemies

to the English constitution and the abstract idea of liberty.² The grievances of Brewer's anti-Bute mobs were overtly 'political', as were Rudé's crowds. The work of Brewer and Rudé has informed a large number of subsequent works on the Wilkes/Bute affair, most of which touch on Scotophobia from a similarly political perspective.³

In the 1990s, however, historians began to challenge the primacy of politics in eighteenth-century English Scotophobia. Many identified other important factors and social developments underpinning anti-Scottish sentiment, without dismissing the role of politics. Linda Colley, for example, analysed Scotophobia in relation to a transforming national identity. For Colley, in addition to resentment towards Scots in positions of power and employment, Wilkite Scotophobia represented English insecurities and fears of a developing sense of Britishness erasing their English identities.⁴ Colley also identified the central role of gender in expressions of English anti-Scottish sentiment; rumours of Bute's affair with the Dowager Princess of Wales reflected wider fears of Scots 'penetrating' England. Ideas of Wilkite Scotophobia and sexuality have been examined in further detail by Kathleen Wilson and Anna Clark.⁵ Karl W. Schweizer, meanwhile, dismissed the 'Whig' interpretation of Bute's unpopularity stemming from his politics, arguing instead that English xenophobia created rather than stemmed from an image of Scots as political enemies to English liberty.⁶ Each of these historians argues that Scotophobia was deeply connected to the politics discussed by Brewer and Rudé, but this politics was also informed in turn by popular ideas of national identity, economics, sexuality and gender. Other recent works on the topic have hence been able to discuss Scotophobia primarily in relation to

² George Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty: a Social Study of 1763 to 1774* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); John Brewer, 'The Misfortunes of Lord Bute: A Case-study in Eighteenth-Century Political Argument and Public Opinion', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 16, No. 1 (1973), pp.3-43.

³ See for example Frank O'Gorman, 'The Myth of Lord Bute's Secret Influence' in Karl W. Schweizer, *Lord Bute: Essays in Re-interpretation* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1988), pp.57-81; Ian Gilmour, *Riot, Rising and Revolution: Governance and Violence in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Pimlico, 1993), pp.301-341.

⁴ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp.101-131.

⁵ Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp.212-28; Anna Clark, *Scandal: the Sexual Politics of the British Constitution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), pp.19-52.

⁶ Karl W. Schweizer, 'English Xenophobia in the 18th Century: the Case of Lord Bute', *Scottish Tradition*, vol.22 (1997), pp.6-26.

contemporary politics, whilst simultaneously framing it within these broader themes.⁷ Scotophobia, it must be concluded, cannot be understood simply in terms of politics without reference to a wider range of factors which contribute to the formation of identity.

A number of historians have challenged Colley's theories regarding Britishness.⁸ One of Colley's critics, Murray Pittock, has expanded our understanding of Scotophobia through a reanalysis of British identity in the eighteenth century. In *Inventing and Resisting Britain*, Pittock argues that Britishness was not as powerful a force as Colley suggests. Instead, British society remained largely divided between the Anglo-centric core and the marginalised Celtic peripheries. The relationship between the different peoples of Britain and Ireland for the majority of the eighteenth century remained primarily one of dominance and subservience rather than a partnership of equals.⁹ Pittock expanded on these arguments in his 1999 work *Celtic Identity and the British Image*. In this study Pittock argued that the idea of the Celt was created and projected onto the Scots, Welsh and Irish in order to reinforce English dominance within the Union. The invented 'Celt' therefore became a primary Other against which Englishness has continued to define itself for several centuries.¹⁰ Whilst this seems to clash heavily with the bonds of Britishness espoused by Colley, these two visions of Anglo-Scottish social relations are not mutually exclusive. This thesis will show that eighteenth-century Scotophobia depended heavily upon the particular context of the time. Whilst Scots were often attacked as enemies to England, at times greater enemies such as Catholics or the French emerged to unite the two together. These mutual enemies did not completely erase underlying tensions between the English and the Scots, but neither was this animosity so great that it could not be overcome when the need for unity arose.

The new approaches to Scotophobia opened by these recent works have undoubtedly transformed our understanding of eighteenth-century Scotophobia, yet a number of areas

⁷ See for example Adam Rounce, "'Stuarts without End': Wilkes, Churchill, and Anti-Scottishness', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Volume 29, Number 3 (2005), pp.20-43; Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.166-202.

⁸ See for example Gerald Newman, 'Review: Nationalism revisited', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.35, no.1 (Jan, 1996), pp.118-127.

⁹ Murray G. H. Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp.45, 172-175.

¹⁰ Murray G. H. Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp.2-3, 20-34, 45-60.

remain unexplored. In this thesis, I will argue that an imperial approach is also necessary. Scotophobia was not confined to the Wilkites in London, or even to England; vitriol against the Scots poured out of printing presses throughout the British Empire, and at times was at least as strong in America as it was in England. Anti-Scottish sentiment in these disparate locations was not isolated, but was instead influenced and informed by the views of people in the other corners of the British Empire. Attacks on Scots in London-based Wilkite newspapers were reprinted and circulated in America via the colonial press and vice versa. Historians, however, have yet to study Scotophobia from a transatlantic perspective, and have instead examined it within a local or national context. As well as providing us with a new Atlantic perspective of Scotophobia, an imperial approach is necessary because the nature of this Scotophobia was so deeply affected by events and developments within the British Empire. Bute's unpopular peace treaty ending the Seven Years' War in 1763 caused a fierce reaction against the Scots in England. Likewise opponents of the coercive acts against the Americans beginning in 1765 blamed the measures on a secret Scottish conspiracy. When the War of American Independence began in 1775 it soon became widely known on both sides of the Atlantic as 'the Scotch war'. Although historians have acknowledged the relationship between Empire and anti-Scottish sentiment, no detailed study of Scotophobia from an imperial perspective has yet appeared.¹¹

Yet an imperial approach to Scotophobia reveals far more than the impact of empire on Anglo-Scottish social relations. Scholars of the new imperial history argue that the history of the British Empire is far more than simply the history of the British colonies overseas. Instead, they argue, the history of the empire is intrinsically connected with the histories of the people within Britain itself. The rise and development of the British Empire impacted heavily upon the lives of ordinary Britons, transforming their society, their economy, their culture, and, crucially, their identity.¹² Scotophobic rhetoric concerning the

¹¹ See for example, Colley, *Britons*, p.116; Linda Colley, 'Radical Patriotism in Eighteenth-Century England' in Raphael Samuel (ed.), *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, Volume 1: History and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp.169-187; Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.132, 178-79.

¹² Wilson, *Sense of the People*, pp.22-25; Catherine Hall, *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.10-16, 20-24; Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp.1-5 ; Kathleen Wilson, *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.5-10; Richard Price, 'One Big Thing: Britain, its Empire, and their Imperial Culture', *Journal of British Studies*, vol.45, no.3 (July 2006), pp.602-627.

empire likewise provides valuable insights into contemporary visions of the British Empire, and shows how the empire deeply affected its citizens' own sense of self and nation. When English and American writers attacked the Scots for taking up positions in imperial management, for instance, they revealed their belief that the empire was rightfully the domain of the English or Anglo-Americans. When they spread rumours of a Scotch Junto threatening to establish popery and slavery in America, they revealed their vision of an 'Empire of Liberty', defined by Protestantism and Englishness, and markedly different from the empires of European Catholic powers. Imperial Scotophobia, therefore, is a window into the culture of imperialism itself.

Alongside establishing a connection between American and English Scotophobia, my thesis also contributes to the much neglected topic of anti-Scottish sentiment in colonial America. So far the only historian to have examined American Scotophobia in relation to the Revolution is Andrew Hook. In his 1975 study *Scotland and America: A Study of Cultural Relations*, Hook described the 1770s as a 'time of discord' within a predominantly positive ongoing transatlantic cultural relationship. Popular opinion identified Scottishness with loyalism and Toryism, creating a clear divide between American Patriot colonists and Scottish settlers. American Scotophobia also built on resentment towards Scottish economic success in America, such as the dominance of the Chesapeake tobacco trade by Glaswegian merchants.¹³ Hook returned to this topic in 2005 in a chapter contributing to a study of transatlantic Scots. Touching on many of the same themes as his previous research, Hook examined popular Scottish stereotypes amongst American society during the war, such as the image of Scots as economic parasites.¹⁴ Whilst Hook's work remains the only overview of American Scotophobia in the eighteenth century, a number of other works have discussed anti-Scottish sentiment within particular colonies or locations, often as part of broader studies of these areas themselves.¹⁵

¹³ Andrew Hook, *Scotland and America: A Study of Cultural Relations* (Glasgow: Blackie & Sons, 1975), pp.47-72.

¹⁴ Andrew Hook, 'Troubling times in the Scottish-American relationship' in Celeste Ray and James Hunter (eds.), *Transatlantic Scots* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), pp.215-223.

¹⁵ Anti-Scottish sentiment in colonial Virginia, for example, has been documented by several historians. See Adele Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia: the Norfolk area and the Eastern Shore* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), pp.10-13; Bruce A. Ragsdale, *A Planter's Republic: The Search for Economic Independence in Revolutionary Virginia* (Madison: Madison House, 1996), pp.36-42.

Hook's work provides an excellent foundation for the study of American Scotophobia, but there is much left to explore. Hook, for example, made little or no reference to colonial newspapers, which, as I will demonstrate, were instrumental in expressing and reinforcing antipathy towards the Scots throughout the colonies. His 'time of discord' is also telling; for Hook, American Scotophobia was largely confined to the years of war. I will argue instead that popular American Scotophobia spread during the 1760s in response to the series of coercive acts beginning with the Stamp Act in 1765, at least ten years before the outbreak of the Revolution. Whilst Hook is right to connect American Scotophobia with the crisis of the American Revolution, my argument differs from Hook's in a significant way. Hook primarily sees American Scotophobia as a response to perceptions of Scottish politics during the Revolution; Scots were predominantly viewed as loyalists, and hence as America's enemies. I argue, however, that underlying ethnic tensions, established long before the war, fermented steadily during the 1760s before driving Scotophobia to a peak during the War of Independence. Rather than the politics of the Revolution causing Scotophobia, I argue that these ethnic tensions in part fuelled the outbreak of the Revolution itself.

Historians have long argued over what precisely caused the American Revolution. For a long time their interpretations could be broadly divided into two main camps. The first of these emphasized the political and constitutional grievances of the American colonists, placing ideology at the forefront of the factors leading to the outbreak of revolution. Traditionally viewed as the 'Whig' interpretation of the Revolution, the role of political ideology was reinforced in the 1960s through the work of Bernard Bailyn, and later by Pauline Maier, Jack P. Greene and Gordon S. Wood.¹⁶ The second interpretation, meanwhile, gave primacy to economic factors. Sometimes labelled the 'progressive account', this view cited both international and local socioeconomic factors, and emphasized the American colonists' opposition to the economic burden of taxation rather

¹⁶ Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967); Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain 1765-1776* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973); Jack P. Greene, *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and the United States, 1607-1788* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1987); Jack P. Greene, *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History* (London: University Press of Virginia, 1994); Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991); Jack P. Greene, *The Constitutional Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

than the legislative principles of taxation itself.¹⁷ As Sarah Kinkel has noted, however, these two accounts have faced increasing challenges from a number of new works which identify multiple factors contributing to the outbreak of revolution: emotions, the cruelty of the army, urban life and, in Kinkel's own study, the actions of the Royal Navy.¹⁸ This thesis argues that in addition to the factors cited above, national and ethnic tensions also contributed to the outbreak of the Revolution. Specifically, a growing atmosphere of anti-Scottish sentiment fuelled belief that the Revolution was not necessarily a 'civil war' between Britons on two sides of the Atlantic, but instead a struggle against a foreign Scottish enemy. Scotophobia grew gradually in America during the 1760s before breaking out into popular vitriol in the mid-1770s. It was largely informed by the Scotophobia of Wilkite radicalism in London, whose newspapers, pamphlets and other propaganda were all widely distributed in the American colonies.

American Scotophobia was often expressed in relation to the political grievances associated with the Whig interpretation of the Revolution. Scots, it was rumoured, were secretly plotting to establish a system of arbitrary government over America, depriving the colonists of the rights and liberties secured through the Glorious Revolution of 1688. But although Scotophobia was indeed political, it was also driven by xenophobia. Scottish politics was almost always discussed in relation to prevailing ideas of the Scots themselves. Ongoing stereotypes of Scottish Jacobitism, Catholicism, barbarism, bestiality, cunning, poverty and lack of hygiene all surface time and again in American diatribes against the mythical Scottish political Junto supposedly responsible for the Stamp Act, the Townshend Duties, and other coercive measures. It is not difficult to discern in the attitudes of American Patriots and Wilkite radicals in London a sense of Anglo-Saxon superiority; the idea that they, as English men and women, were a superior people to the 'Celt', and that their social situations should reflect this difference.

The English sense of superiority, however, was growing increasingly insecure. Scots were rising in the ranks of government and imperial administration, gaining lucrative offices and governorship of a large number of new territories won during the Seven Years'

¹⁷ See for example Merrill Jensen, *The American Revolution within America* (New York: New York University Press, 1974); Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: the Northern Seaports and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1986).

¹⁸ Sarah Kinkel, 'The King's Pirates? Naval Enforcement of Imperial Authority, 1740–76', *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol.71, no.1 (January, 2014), pp.3-34.

War.¹⁹ Resentment towards Scottish success was supplemented by their growing presence in English and American society. In the wake of Scotland's economic downturn following the 1745 Jacobite uprising, enterprising Scots sought employment in London, or else crossed the Atlantic to begin a new life in America. Bernard Bailyn estimates that approximately 40,000 Scots migrated to America between 1760 and 1775. This was roughly three percent of Scotland's entire population in 1760.²⁰ Scots thus became increasingly visible in towns and institutions which had previously been overwhelmingly dominated by the English or Anglo-Americans.

In America, I shall argue, the vitriol directed against Scots in government and imperial administration went beyond the political, just as localized Scotophobia directed against Scottish merchants in Virginia went beyond the economic. Anti-Scottish sentiment drew heavily from xenophobia – fear of outsiders, mistrust of difference, and a sense of Anglo-Saxon superiority. Certain colonists believed that their English ethnicity granted them a superior social status to Scots, so growing evidence of Scottish success in America upset them. These colonists reacted far more aggressively to reports of Scottish loyalism than to English loyalism (and spoke of Scottish loyalism specifically in relation to Scottish nationality) because of these underlying ethnic tensions. The perception of Scots as loyalists, as cunning politicians manipulating the war for their own ends, and as barbaric marauding soldiers reinforced rather than caused the wave of popular Scotophobia which swept across America during the Revolution.

Scotophobia can therefore in part help to explain the outbreak of war in 1775. Its bearing on the Revolution, however, also hints at its wider significance to the ideas of empire and identity during this era. Empire itself, as historians have long identified, significantly shaped British identity in a multifaceted manner. Its scope and dominance fuelled a sense of British superiority, amplifying national pride and patriotism, and reinforced by the prosperity brought by imperial trade and commerce.²¹ The British also took great pride in comparing their empire to those of other European powers, emphasizing British freedoms in their Protestant 'empire of liberty' compared to the perceived imperial

¹⁹ Colley, *Britons*, pp.118-134.

²⁰ Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: a Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), p.26.

²¹ Colley, *Britons*, pp.55-71; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.146-169.

Catholic despotism of France and Spain.²² Finally, empire provided contact with ‘the Other’, new peoples and societies very different to their own against which the British could define themselves through contrast.²³

In this thesis I will demonstrate that popular Scotophobia can shed further light on English and American ideas of ethnicity, nation and empire in the late eighteenth century. As the English and American colonists often attacked Scots with reference to their negative impact on the British Empire, their attacks reveal their values and visions of empire. Just how ‘British’, for instance, did they really feel the British Empire should be? As I explore in chapter one, the idea of liberty was a central component of *English* rather than British identity for much of the eighteenth century. By injecting the same vision of liberty into their empire, English commentators were attempting to establish English dominance within the British Empire, in much the same way as Pittock argues English power was asserted within Britain itself during the same period. The reality, of course, was that the British Empire truly was a ‘British’ Empire; Scots were participating eagerly in the imperial enterprise to a greater degree than ever before, which is precisely why so many English commentators produced anti-Scottish propaganda against their rising influence.²⁴

The real value of studying imperial English Scotophobia, however, is that it helps us understand English fears about their empire. If the French or Spanish were Britain’s primary external imperial rivals, then the Scots were certainly portrayed as the enemy within. When English newspapers attacked the ‘Scotch peace’ in 1763, when the Sons of Liberty burnt a tartan-clad effigy during the Stamp Act riots in 1765, and when voices everywhere damned the ‘Scotch war’ in 1775 they were turning Scots into a scapegoat for the mismanagement of their Empire. Above all else, the English feared the death of their ‘Empire of Liberty’; they feared that the coercive measures being forced onto the Americans were signs that their empire was becoming ever more like the despotic empires

²² Wilson, *Sense of the People*, pp.23-25; Eliga H. Gould, *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp.1-34; Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, pp.125-145, 170-198.

²³ Linda Colley, ‘Britishness and Otherness: an Argument’, *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Oct., 1992), pp. 309-329. As I discuss in chapter one, comparisons with ‘the Other’ did not always strengthen the bond of Britishness. Instead, the public image of Scots sometimes placed them closer to Native Americans than to the English. See Roxanne Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp.18, 35-36.

²⁴ Colley, *Britons*, pp.118-134.

of France and Spain. And so they attacked the internal enemy whom history had taught them was the most likely source of this threat at home, those notorious Jacobites and agents of arbitrary power: the Scots.

Methodology

Historical Approaches

My thesis employs a transatlantic approach. As discussed above, Scotophobia in England influenced and was influenced in turn by Scotophobia in the American colonies. As anti-Scottish sentiment in each of these respective locations has prior to now only been studied in isolation, historians have tended to emphasize its local or national dimensions rather than international ones. A transatlantic study of Scotophobia, however, allows us to determine the extent of these international influences. We can, for instance, trace the spread of Wilkite symbolism in Virginia to reveal the political ideology behind Virginian Scotophobia in addition to the economic factors cited by previous commentaries. A transatlantic approach also reveals the differences between English and American Scotophobia. Whilst they bore much in common politically, the motivations behind anti-Scottish sentiment in America and the form of its expression could at times differ considerably from Wilkite Scotophobia in London, especially as the War of Independence progressed. I therefore use a transatlantic approach to history in line with that advocated by David Armitage and other Atlantic historians.²⁵

My approach also draws from the new British history advocated by J. G. A. Pocock in 1975 and the many new directions this school of thought has taken over the past forty years. Primarily my thesis is concerned with the interconnecting histories of the different national groups which constitute Britain in the eighteenth century. This is British history which focuses on the interactions between the different nations and peoples within the Atlantic Archipelago rather than on their separate histories.²⁶ The Atlantic aspect of my

²⁵ David Armitage, 'Three concepts of Atlantic History', in David Armitage & Michael J. Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp.18-21. See also Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (London: Harvard University Press, 2005).

²⁶ J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: a Plea for a New Subject', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Dec., 1975), pp. 601-621; see also J. G. A. Pocock, 'The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown Subject', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 87, No. 2 (Apr., 1982), pp. 311-336; Alexander Grant and Keith Stringer, 'The Enigma of British history', in

work, however, draws on a divergent strand of the new British history which is concerned with the question of where exactly 'Britain' ends. In his original essay, Pocock argued that British history should allow for the inclusion of settlements and societies across the British Empire which together form 'Greater Britain'. As the British Empire grew, men and women from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland migrated across the globe to man the engines of the imperial machine. Throughout the eighteenth century and beyond, the new societies they founded remained intrinsically connected with the Atlantic Archipelago and with other British colonies around the world. To study British history, Pocock argued, was therefore also to study the history of those who settled and colonized the extended British Empire, the 'Greater Britons'.²⁷ Since the publication of Pocock's article this idea has been expanded on and critiqued by a number of other historians such as Eliga H. Gould and David Armitage.²⁸

The idea of Greater Britain is certainly not without its problems. Eliga H. Gould's main criticism of Greater Britain is that it was more a 'virtual' nation superimposed over a number of countries which remained in essence divided. In contrast, the links connecting those within Britain itself were firmer and more concrete than their abstract imperial counterparts.²⁹ The fragmentation of certain sections of the British Empire in the late eighteenth century suggests that Gould is quite correct in asserting the instability of Greater Britain as a united nation. However, the social and cultural bonds linking Britain and America were arguably stronger than the political and imperial ties dissolved by the American Revolution. A recent work by P. J. Marshall has shown that transatlantic trade and migration remained strong in the aftermath of the Revolution, a bond reinforced by shared values and religious practices.³⁰ For issues of identity in particular, a virtual nation,

Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (eds.), *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp.3-11.

²⁷ Pocock, 'British History: A plea for a new subject', pp.617-621.

²⁸ Eliga H. Gould, 'A Virtual Nation: Greater Britain and the Imperial Legacy of the American Revolution', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999), pp. 476-489; David Armitage, 'Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999), pp.427-445. See also J. G. A. Pocock, 'The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 2 (Apr., 1999), pp.490-500; Richard Bourke, 'Pocock and the Presuppositions of the New British History', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.53, No.3 (2010), pp.747-770.

²⁹ Gould, 'A Virtual Nation', p.478.

³⁰ P. J. Marshall, *Remaking the British Atlantic: the United States and the British Empire after American independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.313-14. For the bonds of

as with an imagined community, remains a viable framework for historical analysis.³¹ As I discuss in chapter six, Scotophobia's role as a bonding agent between certain sections of English and American society actually strengthens the case for Greater Britain as a unit of study in the eighteenth century. Transatlantic bonds based around abstract ideas of Englishness and liberty could at times outweigh the geographical bonds of Britishness.

A transatlantic study of Scotophobia naturally provides a vast geographical arena to explore. In order to examine Scotophobia in sufficient detail I have therefore set some limitations on the geographical scope of my thesis. On the Eastern side of the Atlantic, the study is limited primarily to England rather than Britain and Ireland. As Martyn Powell has shown, Irish society could be extremely Scotophobic during the 1760s and 1770s.³² Ireland's unique political and religious circumstances, however, warrant a separate study which this thesis unfortunately does not have space to include.³³ On the other side of the Atlantic, meanwhile, the study focuses on the thirteen mainland North American colonies, and principally on New England, the Middle Colonies and the Chesapeake. Virginia is at times used as a case study due to some particular factors which set the colony apart from the others. Scots were heavily involved in Virginia's tobacco market during the eighteenth century, and became extremely powerful in the management of the colony's systems of Atlantic trade. The governor of Virginia at the outbreak of the Revolution was also a Scot, the Earl of Dunmore. These circumstances significantly affected the Virginian population's attitude towards Scots in general. Examining both New England and Virginian Scotophobia reveals the multifaceted nature of anti-Scottish sentiment in America, driven variously by political ideology, economic resentment, perceptions of ethnicity and plantation culture.

empire before the American Revolution see P. J. Marshall, 'A nation defined by Empire, 1755-1776', in Grant & Stringer, *Uniting the Kingdom*, pp.208-222.

³¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, second edition (London: Verso, 2006), pp.6-7.

³² Martyn Powell, 'Scotophobia versus Jacobitism: Political Radicalism and the Press in Late Eighteenth-Century Ireland', in John Kirk, Michael Brown & Andrew Noble (eds.), *Cultures of Radicalism in Britain and Ireland* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), pp.49-62.

³³ For a further brief discussion of Irish Scotophobia in relation to the American Revolution see Vincent Morley, *Irish Opinion and the American Revolution, 1760-1783* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.31-33.

Sources

The sources which this study employs are mainly those which reflect a broad scope of public opinion during this period. Newspapers are especially useful in this regard. Numerous articles and letters in the press offered opinions concerning the conduct and nature of Scots throughout the late eighteenth century, frequently casting them in a negative light. The relationship between newspapers and public opinion during this period has been the subject of much historical debate. Historians disagree over whether newspapers tend to reflect or influence public opinion, but most agree that there is at the very least a significant correlation between the two.³⁴ The extent of newspaper readership is notoriously difficult to establish, but again historians agree that the number of newspaper readers far exceeded the number of sales. The availability of newspapers in coffee houses, taverns and other social spaces gave a high proportion of urban residents access to newspapers, and the circulation of London newspapers in the rest of Britain was in turn bolstered by an ever-expanding provincial press.³⁵ Illiteracy was no barrier to newspaper access; even those who could not themselves read could listen as the paper was read aloud by one who could.³⁶ The colonial press too grew rapidly during the eighteenth century. As I discuss in chapter three, American newspapers tended to take a more balanced political stance before the Revolution than British newspapers in order to avoid alienating potential readers. Newspaper readership cultures and practises, however, were very similar to those in Britain.³⁷

³⁴ Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp.1-8; Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), pp.9-28; Hannah Barker & Simon Burrows (eds.), *Press & the Public Sphere in Europe & America: 1760-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.1-22. For the influence of print culture on the development of nationalism and national identity see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp.32-36.

³⁵ G. A. Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700-1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); Jeremy Black, 'The Development of the Provincial Newspaper Press in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Eighteenth Century Studies*, vol.14, issue 2 (1991), pp.150-170.

³⁶ Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion*, pp.27-32.

³⁷ David Copeland, *Debating the Issues in Colonial Newspapers: Primary Documents on Events of the Period* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), pp.viii-xiii; William Warner, 'Communicating Liberty: the Newspapers of the British Empire as a Matrix for the American Revolution', *ELH*, Vol. 72, No. 2 (2005), pp.339-361; Joseph M. Adelman, "'A Constitutional Conveyance of Intelligence, Public and Private": The Post Office, the Business of Printing, and the American Revolution', *Enterprise & Society*, 11, no. 4 (2010), 709-52; Uriel Heyd, *Reading Newspapers: Press and Public in Eighteenth-Century Britain and America* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012), pp.1-27;

That the outbreak of popular Scotophobia and anti-Bute rhetoric coincided with a sharp rise in journalistic output is certainly no coincidence. On both sides of the Atlantic, Scotophobia was driven forwards and popularized by the press. Benedict Anderson has written about the role of newspapers in shaping modern nationalism, and in much the same manner these newspapers helped to forge national prejudices.³⁸ Thriving newspaper cultures in both Britain and America allowed anti-Scottish prejudice to spread across the British Atlantic world, each new letter or article informed by those which had come before it. The national and transatlantic press publicized local grievances towards Scots to those who would not otherwise hear about them. The citizens of Boston, for instance, knew about the West Country's burning of Scottish effigies to protest the cider excise in 1763. This led to the steady convergence of a range of different stereotypes and prejudices towards Scots in the eighteenth century. Newspapers turned Scotophobia into something to be shared, and changed the popular image of Scots into one constructed from international perceptions rather than local or national experience alone.

Most previous studies of Scotophobia have taken newspapers as their principal mine of information. The majority, however, have focused primarily on London newspapers (particularly Wilkes' short-lived *North Briton*) during the 1760s. This has led to Scotophobia largely being studied as a metropolitan phenomenon, with little discussion of Scotophobia beyond the confines of London.³⁹ This study draws both from London newspapers and the provincial press over a wider time period than most previous works in order to explore the peripheries of anti-Scottish sentiment in the eighteenth century. Scotophobia in American newspapers, meanwhile, remains even more neglected. Hook's studies relied primarily on pamphlets, plays and journals, with little mention of the colonial press.⁴⁰ American newspapers therefore offer a substantial amount of previously unexamined evidence of colonial anti-Scottish sentiment. Until recently transatlantic studies of eighteenth-century newspapers have been largely avoided simply due to issues of practicality.⁴¹ The digitization of newspapers and the development of online databases

Carol Sue Humphrey, *The American Revolution and the Press: the Promise of Independence* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2013), pp.23-37.

³⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp.32-36.

³⁹ See for example Brewer, *Party Ideology*; Brewer, 'The Misfortunes of Lord Bute', pp.3-43; Rounce, "'Stuarts without End'", pp.20-43.

⁴⁰ Hook, *Scotland and America*, pp.47-72.

⁴¹ Paul Langford, 'British Correspondence in the Colonial Press, 1763-1775: a Study in Anglo-American Misunderstanding Before the Revolution', in Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench (eds.),

such as Readex, the Burney Collection and the British Newspaper Archive, however, has made comparative studies of the transatlantic press much more feasible.

Satirical prints were another extremely important source used to spread anti-Scottish propaganda in the eighteenth century. The Wilkites made far greater use of visual satire than previous movements, and some historians identify the 1760s as a watershed moment in the history of political caricature.⁴² As with newspapers, audiences for satirical prints stretched far beyond their purchasers. A thriving piracy trade circulated cheap copies to a wide and diverse market, and even those who could not afford to buy could still view prints in taverns, shop windows, and even on the walls of privies.⁴³ Many of these prints were transported across the Atlantic, and although they reached fewer Americans than Britons they were nevertheless instrumental in forging revolutionary symbolism in America.⁴⁴

Historians such as Gordon Pentland and Tamara L. Hunt have produced compelling studies of satirical prints and Anglo-Scottish social relations. Pentland's article surveyed changes in the depiction of Scots in satirical prints across the century, whilst Hunt briefly discussed anti-Scottish prints in relation to the British constitution.⁴⁵ The sheer abundance of prints attacking Bute and the Scots in the 1760s and the 1770s catalogued in the British Museum's collection, however, provide an additional wealth of evidence, explored in this thesis. Satirical prints are particularly useful for revealing some of the undercurrents of English attitudes towards Scots which are not communicated by written sources. Chapter one, for instance, uses satirical prints to chart the development of Scottish stereotypes during the century. But satirical prints are also used throughout this thesis to demonstrate a wide variety of themes within eighteenth-century Scotophobia.

The Press and the American Revolution (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1980), p.274-275.

⁴² Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp.50-60.

⁴³ Donald, *Age of Caricature*, pp.1-9; Timothy Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp.105-128.

⁴⁴ Amelia Rauser, 'Death or Liberty: British Political Prints and the Struggle for Symbols in the American Revolution', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (1998), pp.153-171.

⁴⁵ Gordon Pentland, "'We Speak for the Ready": Images of Scots in Political Prints 1707-1832', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Volume 90, 1: No. 229 (April 2011), pp.64-95; Tamara L. Hunt, *Defining John Bull: Political Caricature and National Identity in Late Georgian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp.25-29, 35-39. See also Brewer, *Party Ideology*, p.169; Colley, *Britons*, pp.121-122.

Whilst newspapers and satirical prints provide the main basis for this study, it also draws on other sources. Pamphlets remonstrated against the Scots, and whilst their readership may not have been as wide as that of newspapers, the press would still take an active interest in the most popular ones by printing extracts or publishing commentaries written by their many correspondents. Magazines and periodicals likewise published selections from a wide range of pamphlets and newspapers, circulating metropolitan publications across the country and the Atlantic. The arts, too, provided a steady source of jibes and vitriol against the Scots. Plays caricatured Scottish accents and sycophancy, whilst ballads and broadsides sung out insults and invective.⁴⁶ Other published works offered more studious observations on the Scots, especially works of history and accounts of tours. Journals and biographies such as those written by James Boswell, meanwhile, provide personal commentaries on English anti-Scottish sentiment.

Structure

As I am primarily concerned with Scotophobia's expansion and development, this thesis employs a chronological rather than a thematic structure. The extent and nature of popular expressions of Scotophobia varied significantly over time, and were often affected by current events such as elections, the introduction of a new tax, or the suppression of popular demonstrations. A chronological approach reveals the fluctuating nature of anti-Scottish sentiment, and shows the relationship between Scotophobia and particular events. A chronological approach also complements the transatlantic element of this study. Popular Scotophobia took longer to develop in America than in England, fermenting during the 1760s before erupting in the 1770s. England, meanwhile, experienced steady levels of Scotophobia throughout the 1760s and 1770s, sometimes fluctuating to much higher levels in response to current events. Examining these distinct timelines of anti-Scottish sentiment across the Atlantic highlights the role played by particular forces and events which affected the two areas at separate times or in separate ways.

The thesis begins by examining the foundations of anti-Scottish sentiment in the late eighteenth century. Scotophobia was intrinsically connected to certain aspects of identity and ideology in Britain and America. Chapter one explores these themes, including the legacy of the Glorious Revolution, the politics of Protestantism, the threat of Jacobitism. In particular it shows how these various forces gave strength to the idea of 'English liberty',

⁴⁶ Colley, *Britons*, p.122.

which became a central feature of national identity in both England and the American colonies. The final section of this chapter discusses the context of Anglo-Scottish social relations in the eighteenth century, especially the impact of the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite uprisings on English perceptions of Scotland. It also examines the development of certain Scottish stereotypes and discusses the extent to which Scots served as an ‘other’ against which the English found definition for themselves. These ideas laid the foundations for popular Scotophobia during the 1760s and the 1770s.

The specific study of Scotophobia begins in chapter two, with a discussion of Wilkite Scotophobia in the early 1760s. This is the aspect of Scotophobia which has hitherto received the most attention from historians, but the formative influence of Wilkes and his followers on English Scotophobia in the late eighteenth century makes it nevertheless necessary to revisit this period. After examining the English image of Scottish power exposed by the Wilkes/Bute affair, this chapter explores two largely neglected areas, namely the cider excise and the 1763 Treaty of Paris which ended the Seven Years’ War. These two unpopular measures were met with a tirade of anti-Scottish protests and press responses which painted the Scots as both the enemies of English liberty and an internal threat to the British Empire.

Chapters three and four also focus on the 1760s, exploring how Scotophobia developed in Britain and America after Bute’s fall from power in 1763. Chapter three concentrates on America, and shows how the debate over the extent of Britain’s power over the colonies led the American colonists to increasingly identify with Wilkite Scotophobia. Although initially providing a balanced and lukewarm response to the Wilkite cause, American newspapers began to adopt Wilkite language and symbolism in the mid-1760s, when measures such as the Stamp Act convinced many that Bute was indeed the mastermind of a sinister Scottish plot to deprive the American colonists of their liberties. Chapter four, meanwhile, shows how English Wilkites developed a similar identification with the Americans’ grievances. Wilkite newspapers in England attacked the Stamp Act as evidence of Bute’s continuing influence, a fear which gained strength following the St George’s Fields’ Massacre of 1768 where a regiment of Scottish soldiers opened fire at a London crowd. In both England and America, Scots came to be seen as the principal enemy to the aims and ideologies of each of the Wilkite movement in London and the Sons of Liberty in America.

Chapter five takes the study into the 1770s, exploring English and American Scotophobia in the years leading up to the Revolution. This chapter focuses particularly on

the Intolerable Acts, and how these reinforced English and American ideas of Scots as agents of arbitrary power. It also re-assesses the varying impact of Catholicism on Anglo-Scottish social relations through an examination of the Quebec Act. Sometimes fears of Catholicism could divide the English and the Scots, but sometimes this very same fear could unite the two together.

Chapters six, seven and eight then focus on the War of American Independence itself. Chapter six looks at the early years of the war, and shows how Scotophobia served as a unifying force between the American patriots and their sympathisers in England. As well as acting as a common enemy, Scots could be used as a scapegoat whom the Americans could attack without having to entirely sacrifice their ties to Britain itself. Chapter seven, meanwhile, examines two unique elements of American Scotophobia during the war. The first of these is the background of economic resentment towards Scots which had been steadily fermenting in Virginia and the Chesapeake during the mid-eighteenth century, and which culminated in an outpouring of Scotophobia at the outbreak of war. The second concerns the actions of John Murray, the Earl of Dunmore, who was governor of Virginia at the time of the Revolution. Dunmore's promise of freedom to the slaves of rebels who escaped their masters and joined the British army provoked fury amongst the American planters, who attacked Dunmore as a Scottish barbarian who planned to turn the Americans into slaves and thus turn plantation society on its head.

Chapter eight, the final chapter, focuses on England during the later years of the war. These years represent a turning point in both Anglo-American and Anglo-Scottish social relations. Following the Declaration of Independence and the alliance between America, France and Spain, the transatlantic bonds of unity so fiercely advocated by English radicals and American colonists began to wane. Scots were increasingly portrayed as imperial servants waging a war against Britain's traditional European rivals rather than the butchers of English men and women in America. The prominent role played by Scots in the campaigns against Catholic relief similarly helped to rehabilitate the Scots' image. Yet this chapter also shows how a great many aspects of the Scottish stereotype endured in the English imagination during these years. Despite a growing sense of British unity, English feelings of superiority within the union proved almost impossible to fully overcome.

The study of Scotophobia is principally a study of identity in Britain and America, and how these identities changed as the British Empire transformed. At various times different national and ethnic groups felt themselves bound to each other by a shared sense

of nation, religion, or politics. Each of these forces could change over time to include other ethnic groups or sever a group from the union. During the eighteenth century, one of the strongest forces acting on English national identity was the idea of a special 'English liberty' which set the English apart from other nations. This 'English liberty' could be shared by English people across the Empire, and for a long time was used to define where the boundaries of national fellowship began and ended. In order to understand English and American exclusion of Scots from the bonds of nationhood, it is the nature of this English liberty which we must examine first.

Chapter 1: Identity, ideology and prejudice in eighteenth-century Britain and America

At the heart of eighteenth-century English Scotophobia lies the issue of identity. When a particular group of people are singled out and marked as ‘different’, be it for ethnic, religious, sexual or other reasons, the perpetrators are simultaneously showing their own values and self-image. Scholars of imperialism have long recognized this process of ‘Othering’, by which one group provides another with a definition for itself through contrast. Edward Said, for example, argued in his landmark work *Orientalism* that Europeans found their own identity partly through contrast with ‘the Orient’, an image of Eastern nations and cultures.¹ Much the same can be said for Anglo-Scottish social relations in the eighteenth century. English prejudice exposes English values and fears, and by denouncing certain qualities, ideologies and beliefs these people reveal what they perceive themselves to be.

In this chapter I will provide an overview of English national identity in the eighteenth century. Ideas of English liberty, superiority and the Protestant succession inherent from the late seventeenth century onwards provided the framework of English identity, and these will be examined in particular detail. The first section will explore the relationship between English identity and liberty, an idea inherently tied to Protestantism and embodied in the legacy of the Glorious Revolution. A considerable proportion of English Scotophobia focused on the supposed threat to these values posed by Scotland. The second section examines these same ideas in relation to identity in colonial America. Until the era of the Revolution, many American colonists still laid claim to a British identity, and particularly the values and freedoms associated with it.

The final section, meanwhile, explores the specific relationship between English identity and Scotophobia through an examination of popular Scottish stereotypes. Characters such as ‘Sawney Scot’ and ‘Peg’, John Bull’s sister, embodied English ideas about Scotland in the mid to late eighteenth century. In particular these characters reflected a stereotype of Scots as wild, uncouth barbarians, against which the English could see themselves as civilized and cultivated. Other traits, such as Scottish canniness or cunning, also reflect an image of Scots as untrustworthy. These well-established identities and

¹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), pp.1-2.

stereotypes together provided a foundation for much of the English Scotophobia in the latter half of the century.

1.1 The Glorious Revolution and ‘English liberty’

In the autumn of 1788 a barrister named William Brown sent a poem to his fellow members of the Revolution Society in London. Dismayed that he could not attend the society’s celebrations marking the centenary of the Glorious Revolution, Brown still wished to make his feelings on the occasion known. The following words were duly read aloud when the society met at the London Tavern on November 4th:

Torn from the friends I love,
From those who celebrate the glorious day
When freedom’s friendly ray
On Britain’s shore appear’d more bright,
And shed a kindly light,
After pale slavery’s blackest night. . .
To celebrate great William’s natal day,
His landing on our shore,
Fair freedom to affirm,
And all the joys in liberty’s great store
On Britain to confirm.²

Brown’s ode is just one example of the outpouring of celebrations to mark the hundredth anniversary of William of Orange’s landing in Britain.³ A hundred years earlier in 1688, Protestants across the country hailed William’s accession to the throne as the Glorious Revolution, ousting the Catholic King James II along with his newly born son and heir.

Historians have long debated the immediate significance of the Revolution, some seeing it as little more than a slight monarchical reshuffle. However, most agree that the Revolution’s ideological legacy had a much greater impact on English society than the

² William Brown, *Ode for the Centenary Anniversary of the Glorious Revolution, MDCLXXXVIII* (1788), pp.3-4.

³ Kathleen Wilson, ‘Inventing Revolution: 1688 and Eighteenth-Century Popular Politics’, *Journal of British Studies*, vol.28, no.4 (October, 1989), pp.353-64.

actual events of the Revolution itself.⁴ Whatever the reality of 1688, however, its surrounding mythos certainly carried considerable weight in eighteenth-century public opinion and popular culture. In his recent reassessment of 1688, Steven Pincus argues that the Glorious Revolution created a new vision of England as a unique nation, set aside from the rest of the world by the freedom its subjects enjoyed.⁵ The reverence attached to the Glorious Revolution is demonstrated not only by the centenary celebrations and revolution societies but also in innumerable pamphlets, sermons and commemorations across the century. A sermon preached in 1714 described William's arrival as 'The Happy Revolution' delivered in 'so amazing a manner *that it's marvellous in our Eyes*'.⁶ Later commentators took this image of divine deliverance even further. 'The God of all nature. . . visited and redeemed his people,' exclaimed Edward Pickard in 1761. '[He] raised up for us a horn of salvation: a prince, our saviour and deliverer'.⁷ To understand this veneration we must look at some of the effects of the Glorious Revolution and what it meant to English society.

The Revolution, along with the legislation produced in its aftermath, enshrined a number of key measures in law: a Protestant monarchy, limitations on royal power, and an end to all plans for Catholic relief. Many people in eighteenth-century Britain viewed these measures not only as foundations of their society, but also as integral components of their national identity. Protestantism lay at the heart of English life in the eighteenth century. In the words of Linda Colley it was in fact so important that modern historians tend to ignore or even forget about it, believing that any acknowledgment of Protestantism's central role in society would be 'addressing the obvious'.⁸ For Colley in particular, Protestantism united Britons as a common people. It provided a bond strong enough to largely overcome any internal divisions between Anglicans and dissenters. It also gave them something to unite against: Catholicism.⁹ Protestants across the country regarded their monarch's Protestantism (or at least non-Catholicism) as particularly important. The constitutional

⁴ Wilson, 'Inventing Revolution', pp.349-50; Ronald Hutton, *Debates in Stuart History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp.171-193.

⁵ Steven Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), p.3.

⁶ T. Ely, *Israel's Guardian: a Thanksgiving-Sermon Preach'd November 5, 1714 in Commemoration of the Deliverance of this Nation from the Gun-Powder Plot; and the late Glorious Revolution in 1688* (London, 1714) p.16.

⁷ Edward Pickard, *National Praise to God for the Glorious Revolution, the Protestant Succession, and the Signal Successes and Blessings with which Providence has Crowned Us. A Sermon Preached the First of August, 1761* (London, 1761), p.16.

⁸ Colley, *Britons*, p.18.

⁹ *Ibid*, pp.53-54.

convention of 1689 unanimously agreed that ‘it hath been found by experience, to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince.’¹⁰ The monarch was, after all, the head of the established church in England as well as the head of state. A Catholic monarch carried the threat of Catholicising the Church of England.

Such zeal for established Protestantism came largely from insecurity. In the late seventeenth century European Protestantism was certainly far from stable. The Counter Reformation was still sweeping across the continent, displacing Protestant communities and re-establishing Catholic power.¹¹ The perceived threat posed by Catholicism did not fade away in the eighteenth century. In the 1730s around fifty thousand Protestant Huguenots expelled from France sought sanctuary in England, reminding English Protestants of the dangers facing them across the channel.¹² On days of public commemoration, such as the Fifth of November, Church of England ministers preached special sermons to their congregations on the importance of English Protestantism. Pamphlets and almanacs warning of the dangers of Popery also kept anti-Catholicism firmly embedded in public consciousness throughout the century, reminding the English people of the many ‘Bloody aspects, fatal oppositions and pernicious revolutions of the Papacy against the Lord and his Anointed’.¹³

But what exactly did the English fear from Catholicism in the eighteenth century? Firstly, we should not underestimate the simple importance of religious attachment during this period. Much of the English population was vehemently Protestant, and undoubtedly wanted England to remain a Protestant country as a reflection of their faith. However, most English Protestants also believed that Catholicism itself posed a very real threat to English society. On one level this threat was physical, endangering English lives with violence and warfare. ‘Blood-thirsty men, whose feet are swift to shed blood’, decried Thomas Knaggs

¹⁰ Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, ‘The trials of the chosen peoples: recent interpretations of Protestantism and national identity in Britain and Ireland’, in Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (eds.), *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland c.1650-c.1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.3.

¹¹ J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.67.

¹² Horton and Marie-Hélène Davies, *French Huguenots in English Speaking Lands* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000) p.39.

¹³ Colley, *Britons*, pp.19-22; see also Colin Haydon, “‘I love my King and my Country, but a Roman Catholic I hate’: anti-catholicism, xenophobia and national identity in eighteenth-century England’ in Claydon and McBride, *Protestantism and National Identity*, pp.33-52.

of Catholics in a sermon of 1719. ‘And *Popery* is at this Day what it always was, a *bloody* Religion, which teacheth the Persecution of *Protestants* with Fire and Sword, and other *inhumane Severities*.’¹⁴ The use of torture in England was abolished in the mid-seventeenth century, but Protestants feared its return in the hands of a Catholic inquisition. In William Hogarth’s print *The Invasion*, a Catholic priest stands over a cart laden with instruments of torture, testing the blade of an axe with his finger.¹⁵ Popular literature also warned English Protestants about the sufferings of their continental brethren who faced violence and imprisonment on account of their faith.¹⁶

The political and social implications of Catholic power, however, vastly overshadowed the threat of physical violence. Crucially, English Protestants viewed Catholicism as a threat to liberty. Throughout the eighteenth century, Catholicism went hand in hand with arbitrary power in the perception of the English people. Cries against ‘Popery and tyranny’ and ‘Popery and slavery’ echoed up and down the country, and became the most common political slogans of the era.¹⁷ Catholic states, it was believed, were absolutist states where the people had little control over their private affairs and no voice in government.¹⁸ A Catholic monarch ruled with absolute authority and demanded unquestioning obedience from their subjects, yet even these potentates bent the knee to the Pope in Rome, the embodiment of arbitrary power. Conversely, Protestantism was synonymous with liberty. Under a Protestant ruler, so it was proclaimed, Englishmen enjoyed political representation in Parliament and a limited rather than an absolute monarch. A print from 1757 commemorated this freedom by depicting *Protestantism & liberty or the Overthrow of Popery & Tyranny*. Justice, assisted by Faith, Hope, Charity and Liberty preside in righteous judgement over the Pope, Tyranny, Superstition and Inquisition.¹⁹

¹⁴ Thomas Knagg, *The Cruelty and Tyranny of Popery* (London, 1720), pp.11-12.

¹⁵ William Hogarth, *France Plate 1st / The Invasion* (London, 1756), BM Satires 3446.

¹⁶ See for example *Papal Tyranny Proved, or an account of the sufferings of Mr Serres, and several other French Gentlemen for professing the Protestant Religion* (London, 1745).

¹⁷ Haydon, ‘anti-catholicism, xenophobia and national identity’, p.34.

¹⁸ Clark, *English Society*, p.68.

¹⁹ *Protestantism & liberty or the Overthrow of Popery & Tyranny, dedicated to all true Protestants and Lovers of Liberty* (London, 1757), BM Satires 3612.



Figure 1.1 *Protestantism & Liberty or the Overthrow of Popery & Tyranny, Dedicated to all True Protestants and Lovers of Liberty* (London, 1757), BM Satires 3612, © The Trustees of the British Museum

To the English, liberty was more than merely a welcome accompaniment to their Protestant religion. By the eighteenth century, liberty was embedded into popular ideas of English national identity, and was indeed at the very core of Englishness itself. In the eyes of its people, liberty set England aside as a nation distinct from the rest of Europe, clinging to freedom in spite of the political turmoil of the seventeenth century.²⁰ Although English writers often spoke of liberty in rather general terms, they also had some very specific liberties in mind. English liberty, in the words of E. P. Thompson, was:

Freedom from absolutism (the constitutional monarchy), freedom from arbitrary arrest, trial by jury, equality before the law, the freedom of the home from arbitrary entrance and search, some limited liberty of thought, of speech, and of conscience, the vicarious participation in liberty (or in its semblance) afforded by the right of

²⁰ Jack P. Greene, 'Liberty, Slavery, and the Transformation of British Identity in the Eighteenth-Century West Indies', *Slavery and Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies*, vol.21, no.1 (2000), p.1.

parliamentary opposition and by elections and election tumults . . . as well as freedom to travel, trade, and sell one's own labour.²¹

Of these, the limitations of Royal or Ministerial power over the individual were particularly important. Habeas Corpus and trial by a jury of peers gave the English a sense that it was they themselves who ultimately controlled their fates, not a King or his ministers. As we shall see in chapter two, this issue bore direct relevance to English Scotophobia during the arrest and trial of John Wilkes for seditious libel in the 1760s.

Many people in England believed that this particular birthright had been acquired through centuries of conflict, predominantly a struggle for power between monarch and people. Its legacy, or rather mythology, reached back to the ancient tradition of the Anglo-Saxon Witenagamot which first diluted the power of the monarch. When the 'Norman Yoke' of royal power grew too strong English liberty arose once again in the form of Magna Carta, and later showed itself through the defeat of the Spanish Armada and the deposition and execution of Charles I. Englishmen and women clung to their freedoms. Any attempt by the monarch or one of their ministers to challenge or curb these rights could be (and indeed was) seen as an excessive use of royal power and a violation of their subjects' freedom.²²

The Glorious Revolution in particular came to embody the idea of English or British liberty. It is true that a number of eighteenth-century writers took great pains to emphasize the conservative nature of the 'bloodless Revolution'; Tories were especially unwilling to relinquish their ideas about the supreme authority of the monarch.²³ However, a great many people viewed 1688 as a victory for the rights and liberties of the people over arbitrary monarchical power. Those who held 'Revolution principles' believed that if a king overstepped his authority then the contract between the monarchy and the people supposedly contained in Magna Carta was null and void. The people then had every right to dethrone the monarch and replace them with a king or queen who would adhere to the

²¹ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin books, 1980), p.86.

²² For ideas of English liberty see Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character 1650-1850*, pp.267-275.

²³ Conservative interpretations of the Glorious Revolution in the eighteenth century are most notably shown in Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (London, 1790), pp.29-31. See also H. T. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1979) pp.27-42.

contract.²⁴ This, eighteenth-century writers argued, is exactly what occurred in 1688; James II had attempted to pack parliament with his supporters in order to pass certain unpopular laws, such as repealing the Test Act and establishing Roman Catholicism as the state church.²⁵ The banishment of James and his replacement with William of Orange was a visible example of England's legacy of liberty put into practice. It affirmed that English liberty was not simply an 'idea' with no tangible form, but something which was capable of bringing about very real changes at the highest levels of government. The Glorious Revolution provided libertarians and radical campaigners of the eighteenth century with a solid precedent for their political campaigns against overbearing governments. In the 1730s, for example, opponents of Robert Walpole appealed strongly to the liberty principles of the Glorious Revolution in an attempt to counter the Prime Minister's ever-increasing power.²⁶

The 1707 Act of Union broadened the geography of English liberty. In the eighteenth century it became increasingly common for writers and preachers to refer to British liberty instead of or in addition to English liberty. In a 1735 poem by the Scottish writer James Thomson, Liberty exalts Britain as 'the Land where, *King* and *People* equal bound by guardian Laws, my fullest Blessings flow'.²⁷ In popular discourse the idea of British liberty itself remained more or less identical to the idea of English liberty. The embodiments and relics of freedom such as Magna Carta, the bill of rights and trial by jury were simply transposed onto Britain as a whole rather than England alone. A pamphlet written by Earl Camden in 1758, for example, described habeas corpus as 'the great Bulwark of *British* liberty', and quoted extensively from Magna Carta on the rights and liberties of the common people.²⁸ Camden, however, referred to both 'British' and 'English' liberty interchangeably in his pamphlet, as did many of his contemporaries.²⁹ The liberal employment of these terms is somewhat problematic for any analysis of national identity

²⁴ See for example *A Dialogue on the Revolution; Between a Gentleman and a Farmer* (Manchester, 1788), pp.5-6.

²⁵ Steven Pincus, 'To Protect English Liberties: the English Nationalist Revolution of 1688-1689', in Claydon and McBride, *Protestantism and National Identity*, p.83; Gilmour, *Riot, Rising and Revolution*, p.30.

²⁶ Wilson, 'Inventing Revolution', pp.364-74.

²⁷ James Thomson, *Antient and Modern Italy Compared: Being the First Part of Liberty, a Poem* (Edinburgh, 1735), p.20.

²⁸ Charles Pratt, Earl Camden, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Effect of the Writ of Habeas Corpus* (London, 1758), pp.1, 4.

²⁹ See for example John Burton, *British liberty endanger'd; demonstrated by the following narrative: wherein is proved from facts, that J. R has hitherto been a better friend to the English constitution, in church and state, than his persecutors* (London, 1746).

and ideology, yet the use of both names suggests that some form of transformation from ‘English’ to ‘British’ liberty occurred during the early eighteenth century. As we shall examine in chapter two, Wilkite radicals in the 1760s sought to reclaim ‘English’ liberty as their own particular heritage which they believed Scots had no right to share. Nevertheless, whether English or British the idea of an inherited legacy of liberty remained a powerful force in eighteenth-century England.

Whether the people truly held the freedoms of which they were so proud is highly contentious, but it is certainly true that many believed that liberty was the special property of Englishmen or Britons. It was not uncommon for writers to claim that English liberty was a divine gift from God himself. ‘As the sea is round our Island, so the Lord has been round about his people to guard and bless them’, wrote Edward Pickard,

[we have] a security from arbitrary encroachments. . . The constitution of our government is the envy and desire of others: happily tempered between despotism and popularity: and approaches nearest to that, which in theory has been described as the most perfect form. Here liberty not only glances, but dwells: not partially, but in full splendour. Liberty, civil, and religious: as respecting person, and property; and the still more sacred and valuable rights of conscience. Liberty! The native right of every man!³⁰

George Benson assured his congregation that they, as Britons, had been ‘*called unto liberty*; and do enjoy it, in a more ample manner, than any other nation upon earth’.³¹

Commentators on liberty frequently portrayed Britain as the new Israel, God’s elected people chosen to shine out as a beacon of freedom in a world darkened by arbitrary power.³² ‘What the pious Psalmist says. . . with regard to the *Israelites* settling in the land of *Canaan*’ wrote Benson, ‘is, in a remarkable manner, applicable to the settling the crown of these kingdoms’. He proceeded to adapt Psalm 44 in praise of God’s special blessing upon the British people:

Thou didest drive out the *popish* princes with thine hand, and plantedest our fathers, thereby, in peace and liberty . . . For the *Protestants* got not the land in possession, merely, by their own sword . . . but thy right hand, O God, and thine arm; and the

³⁰ Pickard, *National praise to God for the Glorious Revolution*, pp.9-10.

³¹ George Benson, *The Glorious First of August; or, the Blessing of the Revolution Completed, by the Protestant Succession, in the Amiable and Illustrious House of Hanover* (London, 1758), p.29.

³² Colley, *Britons*, pp.30-35.

light of thy countenance: because thou hadest a favour unto them . . . whenever it stands in need, do thou command deliverance for *Great Britain*.³³

By viewing themselves as a new Israel, British commentators were fully acknowledging how insecure their liberty was. Just as the people of Israel had faced the threat of persecution and slavery from foreign powers, so too would new enemies attempt to destroy the glorious work of God's new elected people. It was also perfectly obvious who these enemies were.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century pamphlets, sermons and almanacs taught English Protestants that Catholics were plotting to overthrow their freedom. In 1605 the Catholic Guy Fawkes attempted to blow up Parliament, the embodiment of English political representation. Henrietta Maria, a Catholic queen assisted by Catholic priests, had supposedly poisoned the mind of Charles I with ideas of the divine right of kings, whilst the Catholic King James II had attempted to reclaim absolute authority over the nation.³⁴ 'As the Moabites hated the Israelites and their worship, so do the Papists hate us and our religion' wrote Griffith Williams, 'and if they had it in their power, would leave neither liberty nor property, nor life to any Protestant'.³⁵ Many Protestants in Britain believed that they were engaged in an ongoing holy war with Catholicism, but that God was on their side and would eventually lead them to victory.³⁶

Often the fear of Catholic absolutism led to the persecution of British Catholics. When Britain pondered Catholic relief in the late 1770s opponents to the measures responded with riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1778 and 1779, followed by extensive rioting in London a year later.³⁷ However, Britons generally acknowledged that the real threat came from European Catholic powers. France, Britain's imperial arch-enemy, came to embody the twin menace of Catholicism and arbitrary power. In the years following the Glorious Revolution, Britons feared the ever-increasing power of the French King Louis XIV, the 'universal monarch' who ruled with absolute authority. Many believed that true security for the Revolution settlement could only be gained through war with Louis, otherwise France would continue to support the exiled Stuart dynasty and their campaign

³³ Benson, *The Glorious First of August*, p.4.

³⁴ Colley, *Britons*, p.20.

³⁵ Griffith Williams, *The Triumph of Israelites over Moabites, or Protestants over Papists* (London, 1763), p.27.

³⁶ Colley, *Britons*, pp.29-30.

³⁷ Haydon, 'Anti-Catholicism, xenophobia and national identity', pp.47-51.

to establish a similar universal monarchy in Britain.³⁸ The image of France as Britain's despotic Catholic nemesis remained strong throughout the eighteenth century, and there is much to be said in support of Linda Colley's argument for the forging of a British identity against a French Catholic 'Other' during this era.³⁹

The idea of liberty was therefore a central component of English (and later British) national identity in the eighteenth century. Accurately or not, Britons believed that they had a particular right to freedom from arbitrary power gained through centuries of struggle against despotic rulers. This struggle reached its peak in the 1688 Glorious Revolution, an event which came to embody the national myth of English liberty. It was because this idea of English liberty was so embedded in the national conscience that Scotophobia was so prevalent in the late eighteenth century. Scots, so it was believed, did not share in the idea of liberty because they had attempted to undo the Revolution settlement and the freedom which came with it. This is a prominent and continuing feature of eighteenth-century Scotophobia, and a theme which will be explored throughout this thesis.

1.2 America

British colonists who migrated overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not abandon their British identities or values. Instead they carried ideas of Englishness or Britishness with them. This is particularly true of the mainland North American colonies. Settlers in seventeenth-century New England modelled their new societies on those they had left behind, importing both the physical landscapes of English towns and the cultural practices of English society – its language, economy, systems of law and government.⁴⁰ Of course the settlements of North America were not identical replicas of English communities. The prevalence and power of religious dissent compared to the established church in colonial America provides one notable contrast with England, yet the colonists still sought to use a conspicuously English framework for the construction of their new society.⁴¹

³⁸ Pincus, 'To Protect English liberties', pp.95-96.

³⁹ Colley, *Britons*, p.17.

⁴⁰ Jack P. Greene, 'Empire and Identity from the Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution' in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume II: the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.220-21.

⁴¹ Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: the Social Development of the Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p.200.

Although displaced from their country of origin and separated by thousands of miles of ocean, many American colonists clung to their European roots. They did not view their societies (as many of those in England did) as mere outposts of the British Empire but instead as extensions of Britain itself, core participants in the imagined community living lives parallel to those on the other side of the Atlantic.⁴² As historians have noted, contemporary descriptions of the one people could often easily apply to the other.⁴³ Alongside mirroring British culture the colonists also claimed the rights of British citizens, especially when it came to their liberty. Just as English cultural practices could be transported to the new world, so too could ideologies, identities and legacies. American colonists believed that they, as fellow Britons, shared a ‘unique inheritance of liberty’ with their brethren across the sea.⁴⁴ The British Empire, they argued, was founded on the principles of English liberty. Just as Britain was a beacon of liberty shining out through the despotic darkness of Europe, so too was its empire a beacon of liberty amongst European empires in the New World.⁴⁵

Those in America who identified as free-born Britons believed that they shared in the inheritance of English liberty, and consequently in its history and mythology. Like many of those in Britain they venerated their liberty-loving Saxon ancestors, despised the ‘Norman Yoke’, exalted Magna Carta, and prized their unwritten constitution for the ‘preservation of liberty and the production of happiness’.⁴⁶ Writing to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* long before the outbreak of the Revolutionary crisis, the pseudonymous colonist ‘Philo Patriae’ invoked this national legacy in an argument to limit the power of colonial governors:

It is the Boast and Glory of every honest *Briton* that his Liberty and Property are not subject to the unstable Will of a single Person, nor left to the arbitrary Edicts of his Sovereign; and that he cannot be deprived of them but by the *salutary* Laws made *with his Assent*, by his Delegates in Parliament. This Principle is the great Foundation upon which the most sacred Rights of *Englishmen* are superstructed. It is the Spirit of *Magna Charta*, the great Fountain of all our Freedom.⁴⁷

⁴² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p.188.

⁴³ Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*, p.13.

⁴⁴ Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*, p.66.

⁴⁵ Greene, ‘Empire and identity’, pp.212-213, 222-23.

⁴⁶ Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*, p.67, 80-81.

⁴⁷ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 24th 1757, issue 1509.

The tone with which 'Philo Patriae' describes the legacy of English liberty is overtly inclusive. Magna Carta, parliamentary democracy and the protection of property are described as 'ours', the inheritance of Britons abroad as well as at home.

As in Britain, anti-Catholicism was an extremely powerful force in early American society. Many of the Puritans who left Britain to establish the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies in the seventeenth century did so out of fear of Catholicism. They objected strongly to the increasingly Arminian tendencies of the Anglican Church, seeing in Arminianism's anti-predestination doctrine the threat of Catholicism's return to England.⁴⁸ By the middle of the century several thousand Puritans had settled in New England, engraining their staunchly Calvinist anti-Catholic outlook into the foundations of important settlements such as Boston and Salem.⁴⁹ Anti-Catholicism formed an integral component of colonial identity, providing a common enemy to unite all New England Protestants otherwise divided by social, political or ideological differences.⁵⁰ Colonial aversion to Catholicism sprang as much from the social and political implications of Catholic power as it did from the Puritans' firm Protestantism. Like their fellow Protestants in Britain, American colonists feared the connotations of arbitrary power and the violence of the Counter Reformation should Catholicism take hold of America. As in Britain, the colonists expressed anti-Catholicism through public ceremonies, such as the annual commemorations of the Gunpowder Plot on the Fifth of November. Known as 'Pope's Day' in America, colonists marked the occasion by burning effigies of Guy Fawkes and the Pope. The annual custom ensured that colonial society remained ever aware of Catholicism's lingering threat.⁵¹

As joint inheritors of British Protestant liberty, the colonists also viewed themselves as fellow participants in the ongoing struggle for its security. The ousting of James II and his replacement by William of Orange was primarily a European affair, yet the Glorious Revolution can be said to have taken place across the British Empire. On the eve of the Revolution there was widespread discontent in America towards the centralisation of

⁴⁸ Virginia DeJohn Anderson, 'New England in the seventeenth century' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume 1: the Origins of Empire: British Overseas Expansion to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.195.

⁴⁹ John Butler, *New World Faiths: Religion in Colonial America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.47-48.

⁵⁰ Francis D. Cogliano, 'Deliverances from Luxury: Pope's Day, Conflict and Consensus in Colonial Boston', *Studies in Popular Culture*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1993), p.15.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.15.

colonial power and extension of monarchical control. When word of the Revolution arrived in early 1689, many colonists rose up against regional governors appointed by James II, often replacing them with those who had been in power prior to James' accession in 1685. Historians have long disagreed over the extent of the colonists' participation in the Glorious Revolution and the effectiveness of their reforms, with some arguing that William and Mary continued James' policy of reigning in American autonomy. However, Richard S. Dunn argues that the Glorious Revolution was a truly transatlantic event which strongly affected both the development of American society and British policy in North America over the proceeding century.⁵² Moreover, the series of uprisings strengthened the colonists' idea that they were fellow-participants in the struggle for liberty and entitled to the same rights as those in Britain itself. These values strongly permeated popular ideas of colonial identity and political ideology throughout the eighteenth century.⁵³

During the eighteenth century the American colonies experienced the ongoing struggle for liberty somewhat differently to those in Britain. Unlike Britain, the colonists did not witness a series of Jacobite uprisings within their own shores, and consequently the physical threat of Jacobitism appeared less apparent in the colonies than in Britain. Nevertheless, the colonies were not entirely removed from these events. The return of the Stuart monarchy in Britain would mean the repeal of the Glorious Revolution's reforms in America, and with it the loss of liberty as the colonies once more became merely outposts of a despotic empire rather than extensions of Britain itself. The colonists, therefore, had good reason to fear the fall of the Hanoverian monarchy. Reports of the uprisings reached America in the autumn of 1745, spreading throughout the colonies via newspapers. The colonial press keenly followed the progress of the young Pretender's campaign, printing accounts of engagements either copied directly from British newspapers or taken from the stories of correspondents caught up in the rebellion. Letters from Scotland reported the proclamation of Charles' kingship in Glasgow, that the rebels had made their camp near Edinburgh, and 'are pillaging every one in the Country many Miles round that City'.⁵⁴ American colonists could thus share with Britons in the fear of 'the Slavery and Tyranny we may expect, if it should please God to deliver us into the Hands of such Wretches'.⁵⁵

⁵² Richard S. Dunn, 'The Glorious Revolution and America', in Canny, *The Origins of Empire*, p.446.

⁵³ Greene, 'Empire and identity', pp.220-223.

⁵⁴ *Boston Post Boy*, November 4th 1745, issue 571; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 21st 1746, issue 893.

⁵⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 21st 1746, issue 893.

Colonial newspapers, like their English counterparts, also firmly associated the Jacobite rebellion with Scotland. A correspondent of the *Boston Weekly News-letter* presented the rebellion as a Highland affair, writing that ‘the whole Highland Clans, to a Man, if not join [the Pretender], they would not rise up against him’.⁵⁶ Other reports simply referred to the Jacobite forces (rather erroneously) as ‘the Highlanders’ or ‘the Highland army’, and made much of Bonnie Prince Charlie dressing in the ‘Highland Habit’.⁵⁷ A declaration from ‘the Freeholders of Great Britain’ reprinted in the *New York Evening Post* mocked the Prince for his ‘second sight’ (a mystical ability commonly attributed to Highland Scots), and lambasted his ‘Cabinet of Highlanders’ and plans to establish a ‘Scots Parliament’ in opposition to Westminster.⁵⁸ Sermons preached in Protestant churches the length and breadth of the colonies (and often subsequently published) denounced the Jacobite uprising as the ‘unnatural Rebellion in Scotland. . . with a Design to bring in *Popery* and *Slavery*, and an arbitrary cruel Government into our Nation which . . . will extend its baneful Influences to the remotest Provinces, and even to us in this Land.’⁵⁹ The large number of sermons preaching similar themes ensured the firm identification of Scotland with the Jacobite threat.⁶⁰ As in Britain, the Jacobite uprisings consequently created an image of Scots as the enemies of liberty throughout the British Empire. In the 1740s and 1750s this image of Scottish Jacobitism did not result in an outpouring of anti-Scottish sentiment amongst the colonists. It was not until the series of imperial crises in the 1760s and 1770s, as we shall later examine, that waves of Scotophobia swept over America. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the Jacobite uprisings established a foundation upon which later Scotophobia could build.

Differences in the social and ethnic composition of the two societies also affected the popular image of Scotland in the colonies compared to that in England. In the decades following the 1745 rebellion a substantial number of Scots migrated south into England in search of careers and opportunities to participate in the enterprise of Britishness. This migration had reached significant enough levels by the end of the 1750s to provoke

⁵⁶ *Boston Weekly News-letter*, October 31st 1745, issue 2271.

⁵⁷ *Boston Weekly News-letter*, November 14th 1745, issue 2273; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 7th 1746, issue 891; *New York Evening Post*, November 11th 1745, issue 51.

⁵⁸ *New York Evening Post*, December 16th 1745, issue 56.

⁵⁹ Hull Abbot, *The Duty of God's People to Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem: and Especially for the Preservation and Continuance of their own Privileges both Civil and Religious, when in Danger at Home or from Abroad. A Sermon on Occasion of the Rebellion in Scotland Rais'd in Favour of a Popish Pretender* (Boston, 1746), p.17.

⁶⁰ Hook, *Scotland and America*, p.54.

English hostility, contributing strongly to the Wilkite agitation of the early 1760s.⁶¹ America too experienced a wave of Scottish migration during the eighteenth century, yet on a slightly different timescale to England. The best estimates of migration figures suggest that around eighty thousand Scots travelled to America between 1701 and 1780, roughly the same as the number from England.⁶² However, the largest phase of this migration began with a strong upsurge in the late 1760s, reaching its peak during 1774-75 on the eve of the Revolution.⁶³ American society, therefore, did not in general contain a similar proportion of Scots as England (and in particular London) during the early 1760s, the years in which our examination of Scotophobia begins.

This is not to say that Scottish settlement in early eighteenth-century America was entirely insignificant. Indeed, certain regions contained a high proportion of Scottish settlers prior to the 1760s. Whilst New England experienced a 'continuous trickle' of Scottish immigrants throughout the first half of the century, a large number of Scots found a new home in the Chesapeake and southern colonies.⁶⁴ These migrants included a large number of Jacobite rebels exiled in the aftermath of the 1715 and 1745 rebellions, their presence further securing the association of Scotland with the Jacobite threat.⁶⁵ The nature of Scottish settlement in America also varied widely according to location. In the New England colonies Scots remained a peripheral group lacking any significant representation in established social institutions, such as the dominant Congregationalist church or local government, and very few attained high positions in public office.⁶⁶ Scottish settlement in the south was rather different. Here Scots often took a more active role in local affairs and certain areas of the economy, which could sometimes lead to tension. In Virginia, for example, Scots controlled a substantial proportion of the tobacco trade, forging such strong and influential connections with merchants in Glasgow to dominate the Virginian

⁶¹ Colley, *Britons*, p.125.

⁶² T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire: the Origins of the Global Diaspora* (London: Penguin, 2004), p.97.

⁶³ William R. Brock, *Scotus Americanus: a Survey of the Sources for Links between Scotland and America in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982), p.68.

⁶⁴ David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp.81-122.

⁶⁵ Anthony W. Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia: the Recruitment, Emigration and Settlement at Darien, 1735-1748* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997), pp.36-37, 101-105; Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, pp.92-96.

⁶⁶ Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, p.84.

export/import market by the time of the Revolution.⁶⁷ The consequent antipathy amongst Virginians towards Scottish traders is further discussed in chapter seven. In North Carolina, meanwhile, a Scottish governor, Gabriel Johnson, proved extremely unpopular with the colonists during his tenure from 1734 to 1752. Many accused him of bestowing favours on his fellow Scots, of exercising arbitrary power ‘whereby the greatest injustice to many Families and their utter ruin hath been perpetrated’, and of appointing former Jacobite rebels to positions of power.⁶⁸ Incidences such as these created a certain level of localised disaffection and hostility towards Scots, yet did not in themselves provoke outbreaks of popular Scotophobia akin to those examined later in this thesis. They nevertheless fermented an undercurrent of anti-Scottish sentiment in certain regions upon which the Scotophobia of the American Revolution could later feed.

1.3 Scottish stereotypes

As we have seen, the legacy of the Glorious Revolution contributed significantly to ideas of national identity in England and the American colonies. Both peoples held liberty and Protestantism in high esteem, and looked upon them as the attributes which set them apart from other nations. The ideas and beliefs these people held concerning the Scots often conflicted with these values. Most notably the Jacobite uprisings in the first half of the century created an image of Scots as Catholic agents of arbitrary power, enemies of both Protestantism and liberty. These ideas continued to influence Anglo-Scottish social relations throughout the years of popular Wilkite radicalism in the 1760s, and remained commonplace during the American War of Independence as well. Political ideology, however, was not the only factor influencing perceptions of Scots and Scotland in the eighteenth century. The remainder of this chapter will explore popular images of Scots in the English and American imagination by examining some of the notable Scottish stereotypes of the era. Although Wilkite radicals and American patriots expressed specific grievances towards Scots in the 1760s and 1770s, they often framed these around existing beliefs and prejudices. An analysis of Scottish stereotypes will therefore provide a foundation for the discussion of more specific types of Scotophobia in later chapters.

⁶⁷ Ragsdale, *A Planters' Republic*, pp.36-39.

⁶⁸ Letters of complaint to the Duke of Bedford (Secretary of State for the southern colonies) concerning Johnston can be found in William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 4 (Raleigh NC, 1886), pp.925-936.

Eighteenth-century popular culture created or extended stereotypes for almost all aspects of their imagined Scot. They covered physical features, clothing, accent, personality, intelligence, religion, values, political ideology, wealth, and social station. Stereotypical ideas of Scottish physical features are best displayed in the character ‘Sawney Scot’, a figure often used to represent Scotland or Scots in satirical prints. As a character, Sawney has a long history dating back to at least the early eighteenth century. He appears in the 1730s in the tale of ‘Sawney Bean’, a mythical Highland chief who murdered and ate travellers passing by his cave.⁶⁹ The most common depictions of Sawney, however, are found in contemporary satirical prints. *Sawney Wetherbeaten*, a print published by William Holland in 1792, provides a perfect example of Sawney’s stereotypical appearance.⁷⁰ He is tall and scrawny, with long hair, a long nose, bulging eyes and a scowling face. He is clothed mainly in tartan plaid, but his legs and feet are left bare, implying a sense of poverty. These physical attributes of Sawney reoccur in numerous eighteenth-century satirical prints.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Sandy Hobbs and David Cornwell, ‘Sawney Bean, the Scottish Cannibal’, *Folklore*, vol.108, issue 1-2 (1997), p.50.

⁷⁰ *Sawney Weatherbeaten or Judas Iscariot* (London: William Holland, 1792-1793), BM Satires 4100.

⁷¹ See for example Charles Mosley, *Sawney in the Bog-house* (1745) BM Satires 2678; *The Glasgow and Aberdeen Professors of Poetry* (1763), BM Satires 3869; Loraine Smith, *The Muckle Sawney riding Post* (1772), BM Satires 4734; *Sawney Scot and John Bull* (London: Hannah Humphrey, 1792), BM Satires 8188; Richard Newton, *Poor Sawney in Sweetbriars* (London: William Holland, 1797), BM Satires undescribed.



Figure 1.2 *Sawney Weatherbeaten or Judas Iscariot* (London: William Holland, 1792-1793), BM Satires 4100, © The Trustees of the British Museum

As a character, Sawney Scot provides a useful insight into English ideas about Scots in the eighteenth century. Firstly, his clothing associates him with the Highlands of Scotland rather than the lowlands. Tartan plaid, the kilt and the bonnet were all traditionally cultural artefacts of the Highlands, whilst fashion and culture in the lowlands

was more similar to that in England.⁷² However, these Highland clothes carried with them important symbolism which lends further meaning to their popular use in satirical prints. From the middle of the century onwards, Highland clothing and culture was strongly associated with Jacobitism, particularly in the immediate aftermath of the 1745 uprising. Charles Edward Stuart drew great swathes of his recruits from the Highland clans, and he himself had been appearing at public events dressed in Highland clothing since 1741.⁷³ The influx of loyalist prints which appeared in the wake of the rebellion consequently used tartan plaid and other Highland clothing to symbolise and identify Jacobite rebels.⁷⁴ The association of Highland dress and other regalia with Jacobitism and rebellion was further cemented in 1747, when a government ban was placed on tartan plaid, the kilt and a number of other items associated with the Highlands.⁷⁵ It was not only loyalist prints, however, that used Highland symbolism as representative of the Stuart cause. Gordon Pentland has shown that pro-Jacobite prints also adopted the same symbolism as their loyalist counterparts, albeit in a positive rather than negative manner.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the net results of both sides' efforts were largely similar: in the eyes of most Britons, the Highlander and Jacobite had become one and the same person.

Although Sawney Scot is based around the popular image of the Highlands, he is not necessarily a Highlander himself. Instead, the image of the Highlander was used to represent all Scots, both Highland and Lowland. *Sawney Wetherbeaten*, for example, is primarily a caricature of Alexander Wedderburn, Lord Chancellor at the time of the print's production. Wedderburn was born in Edinburgh and had no obvious connection with the Highlands. His depiction in tartan plaid and other Highland clothing is simply used to identify him as a Scot, as it was for numerous other Scots in caricatures, whether well-known political figures or generic Scottish caricatures. *The Caledonian's Arrival in Money-land* for example presented all Scots in the manner of Sawney, from cringing

⁷² Robert Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero: the Image of the Highlander 1745-1830* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1995), p.112.

⁷³ Murray G. H. Pittock, 'Charles Edward (1720–1788)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5145>, accessed 27 Aug 2013].

⁷⁴ See for example *The Plagues of England or the Jacobites Folly* (1745), BM Satires 2659; *The Chevaliers Market, or Highland Fair* (1745), BM Satires 2660; *Briton's Association against the Pope's Bulls* (1745), BM Satires 2661; *The Rebellion Displayed. Most humbly Inscribed to his Sacred Majesty King George* (1745), BM Satires 2662; *A Hint to the Wise or The Surest way with the Pretender* (1745), BM Satires 2675.

⁷⁵ Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, p.112.

⁷⁶ Pentland, "We speak for the ready", p.75.

Gillray himself produced a new, grotesque version of the original.⁷⁹ The continuing popularity of *Sawney in the Bog-house* ensured that the stereotype of Scots as Highland Jacobites remained strong.



Figure 1.4 Charles Mosley, *Sawney in the Bog-house* (1745) BM Satires 2678

⁷⁹ *Sauney's Mistake*, porcelain punchbowl made in Jingdezhen, China (c.1783-1785), BM registration number Franks.744.+; James Gillray, *Sawney in the Bog-House* (London: Mrs Holt, 1779), BM Satires 5539.

Whilst Jacobitism was an important feature of Scottish stereotypes in the eighteenth century, it does not truly define the roots of English prejudice against Scots. To find these we must look beyond the principles attached to Sawney Scot, and instead examine what English writers and artists saw in the Scots' deepest nature: their appearance, their physical characteristics, their manners and way of life. Taken together, these attributes of the Sawney Scot stereotype are all portrayed in a manner which emphasizes his incivility. Scots, the image proclaims, are not refined, cultivated or polite; they do not conform to the ideals of a modern age of enlightenment and reason. Instead they are backwards, savage and barbarian. It is interesting to note the stark contrast between this projected image of Scotland and the reality of social, cultural and intellectual life in the country itself. This was the era of the Scottish Enlightenment seen in the works of Adam Smith, David Hume, James Watt, Hugh Blair, and a myriad of others. It was also a time of urban development, characterised especially by the development of Edinburgh's New Town district in the mid-eighteenth century.⁸⁰ The strong resurgence of the Sawney stereotype in eighteenth-century English popular culture can be seen as an attempt to reassert an inferior, savage identity upon a people who were beginning to seem ever-more England's equals (or indeed superiors) in terms of intellectual life, trade and culture.

Contemporary satirical prints emphasized Scottish barbarity in a multitude of different ways. Firstly, it was displayed in Sawney's appearance. His gaunt, wild-eyed face makes him appear savage, and fearsome, and he is very often presented as physically unclean and dirty. Excrement and urine are prominently displayed in the foreground of the *Sawney in the bog-house* prints, whilst *The Flowers of Edinburgh* mocked the citizens of the Scottish capital for emptying chamber-pots from high windows into the street.⁸¹ Scottish uncleanliness was commonly mocked in terms of 'the itch', a widely-held view of Scots as diseased or flea-ridden. Numerous caricatures portrayed Scots at designated scratching-posts attempting to alleviate themselves of the dreaded itch, or else made references to Scottish itching, scratching and scrubbing.⁸² A print from 1760 entitled *North*

⁸⁰ Bruce Lenman, *Integration, Enlightenment, and Industrialization: Scotland 1746-1832* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), pp.29-55; David Daiches, *A Hotbed of Genius: the Scottish Enlightenment, 1730-1790* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986); Paul Wood (ed.), *The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000).

⁸¹ *The Flowers of Edinburgh* (1781), BM Satires 5941.

⁸² See for example *Jaco-Independo-Rebello-Plaido* (London, 1747), BM Satires 2856; *An Antidote by Carr, for C-l-d-n Impurities / Experantia Docet* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3845; *Gisbal's Preferment; or the Importation of the Hebronites* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3849; *Gisbal and*

and South of Great Britain presented Scottish scratching as a definitive factor in the difference between English civility and Scottish coarseness. Whilst a well-dressed Englishman leans against a wall with St Paul's Cathedral in the background, a ragged Scotsman rubs his back against a signpost.⁸³ Underlying the itching-Scot image was an English belief that Scots remained savage at heart in spite of all evidence of social advancement; they gave in to base urges, sought primitive pleasures, and were not suited to the refined culture of modern England. As the inscription for one such print proclaimed, 'To Scrubb one self where 'ere it itches is better far than Cloths and Riches'.⁸⁴



Figure 1.5 Paul Sandby, *North & South of Great Britain* (London, 1781), BM Satires 3799, © The Trustees of the British Museum

Bathsheba in the Hyperborean Tale (London, 1762), BM Satires 3850; Richard Newton, *Progress of a Scotsman* (London, 1794), BM Satires 8550.

⁸³ Paul Sandby, *North & South of Great Britain* (London, 1781), BM Satires 3799.

⁸⁴ David Jones, *The Posts* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3944. See also Pittock, *Celtic Identity*, pp.31-34.

Caricatures of the Scottish itch also emphasized the bestial nature of their subjects. As *Sawney Wetherbeaten* rubs himself against a scratching post he is joined by a fat pig which scratches itself against the bottom of the post. Another print, *Defending National Hono'r*, uses similar imagery. The print tells the story of 'Sir Andrew McIre', a Highland soldier visiting London. As he approaches Hyde Park, the soldier sees an old sow rubbing her 'scabby sides' against a post, an act which throws Sir Andrew into a fit of rage:

It so enraged the valiant knight [sic] that old Bess should partake, or cast reflections on his country's pleasures; with great wrath he drew his Andrewfararara [sic] to avenge that Affront; but the happy incident of Tom the hackney Coachman's Whip prevented the tremendous blow – so saved poor Bess.⁸⁵



Figure 1.6 *Defending National Hono'r* (London, 1781), BM Satires 5940, © The Trustees of the British Museum

The message of these prints is clear; Scots were primitive animals, more similar to scabby pigs than human beings. The extreme lengths to which this attitude was carried is

⁸⁵ *Defending National Hono'r* (London, 1781), BM Satires 5940.

shown in the frontispiece to *The British Antidote to Caledonian Poison*, a collection of anti-Scottish satirical prints published in 1764. The print shows a Scottish family in their home, a run-down old barn caked in mud and filled with animals. The bestial figures are vulgar in the extreme, with skeletal faces, bare limbs and exposed breasts and genitals. The scene itself is remarkably similar to James Gillray's famous depiction of the French in *Petit souper a la Parisienne* thirty years later. There is intentionally very little difference between the appearance of the human figures and the animals; doubtless they too are included in this Scottish 'family':

O Scotland here behold your muckle Pride,
A Laird with aw his Family beside,
Scratching and Scrubbing, each delighted view,
And say what Picture ever was more true.⁸⁶

These grotesque, gruesome figures fed into English views of Scots as monsters to be feared. Sawney Bean, the notorious mythical cannibal, appeared to be just an ordinary Scot to passing travellers lured into his cave, yet behind this facade lay a monstrous beast lurking just out of sight. The tale was at heart a warning to the English not to trust this Scottish monster in disguise.

⁸⁶ Frontispiece to *The British Antidote to Caledonian Poison*, seventh edition, vol.1 (London, 1764).



Figure 1.7 Frontispiece to *The British Antidote to Caledonian Poison*, seventh edition, vol.1 (London, 1764)

These violently bestial images undoubtedly represent an extreme viewpoint, and are not necessarily representative of truly popular perceptions of Scots in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, even more moderate images and descriptions of Scots in this period focus on their incivility. During a visit to Scotland in the early 1770s, Mary Ann Hanway took an immediate dislike to Edinburgh, which was in her opinion immensely uncouth:

On entering Edinburgh, the metropolis of Scotland, the very capital in which once resided her kings; an Englishwoman in rather struck with disgust, than pleasure. . . what, in my opinion, most shocks English delicacy, is to see all the streets filled with the lower class of women, that wear neither shoes nor stockings; nor can it fail to strike any female, with an air of poverty, to whom such sights are unusual.⁸⁷

Hanway's description of Scottish women echoes an earlier female embodiment of Scotland: Peg, the sister of John Bull. Peg was not as enduring a character as Sawney Scot, appearing in far fewer satires from the mid to late eighteenth century; as we shall see in chapter two, satirists preferred to use particularly masculine symbolism for Scotland in the 1760s.

⁸⁷ Mary Ann Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* (London, 1776), pp.8-9.

However, Peg still exemplifies a number of English images of Scotland. Her physical appearance is similar to Sawney, with emphasis placed on her scrawniness and general primitive nature in great contrast to John Bull:

John had a sister, a poor girl that had been starved at nurse; anybody would have guessed miss to have been bred up under the influence of a cruel-step dame, and John to be the fondling of a tender mother. John looked ruddy and plump, with a pair of cheeks like a trumpeter; miss looked pale and wan, as if she had the green-sickness. . . Miss lodged in a garret, exposed to the north wind, which shrivelled her countenance.⁸⁸

Peg is portrayed visually in a satirical print from 1762 as an ugly ragged woman riding on John Bull's back, her heavy weight and supposed dependence crippling England.⁸⁹

Satirists often used food to portray Scottish savagery. Descriptions of Peg, for instance, referred to her diet to contrast England with Scotland and explain her uncouth character:

John was the darling, he had all the good bits, was crammed with good pullet, chicken, pig, goose and capon, while miss had only a little oatmeal and water, or a dry crust with butter. John had his golden pippins, peaches and nectarines: poor miss a crab-apple, sloe, or a blackberry . . . now and then she would seize upon John's commons, snatch a leg of a pullet, or a bit of good beef.⁹⁰

Many prints also mocked the vulgarity of Scottish food. *Saint Andrew for Scotland* (part of a series of prints displaying the characteristics of various nationalities) shows the Scottish saint with a sheep's head impaled on the end of his broadsword. The inscription below speaks of 'his oatmeal pouch, snuff, mull & Ling fish dry'd, his roast sheep's head, Haggoss [sic] & Scotch Cale'.⁹¹ *Saint George for England* meanwhile feasts on 'Noble Sirloin, Rich Pudding and strong Beer'.⁹² The contrast between meagre Scottish food and hearty English food affected not only English views of Scots as a people, but also their views of Scotland as a country. *Famine*, a piece of Wilkite propaganda from the early

⁸⁸ *Law is a Bottomless Pit: or, the History of John Bull* (London, 1776), pp.80-81.

⁸⁹ *A Poor Man Loaded with Mischief. Or John Bull and his Sister Peg* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3904.

⁹⁰ *Law is a bottomless pit*, p.81.

⁹¹ *Saint Andrew for Scotland* (1781), BM Satires 5944.

⁹² *Saint George for England* (1781), BM Satires 5942.

1760s shows Scotland as a starving, ghoulish figure in a desolate landscape complete with skeletal sheep.⁹³ Charles Churchill, Wilkes' friend and writing partner, echoes this description of Scottish landscapes in *The Prophecy of Famine*:

Far as the eye could reach, no tree was seen
 Earth, clad in russet, scorn'd the lively green. . .
 No living thing, whate'er its food, feasts there,
 But the Cameleon [sic], who can feast on air.⁹⁴

These prints and poems created an image of Scotland as a barren wasteland, an uncultivated wilderness in contrast to civilized England.



Figure 1.8 *Saint Andrew for Scotland* (1781), BM Satires 5944, © The Trustees of the British Museum

⁹³ *Famine* (London, early 1760s), Lewis Walpole Library call number 763.00.00.15.

⁹⁴ Charles Churchill, *The Prophecy of Famine: A Scots Pastoral* (London, 1763), p.15.

Another important feature of the Scottish barbarian stereotype is violence. A number of the prints previously discussed depicted Sawney as a warrior, in particular the recurring print *Sawney in the bog-house*. In part this was due to the influence of the Jacobite uprisings, but an abundance of sources from this era show a common belief that violence was inherent to the nature of Scots. Violence itself was not necessarily viewed in a negative manner in the eighteenth century, and indeed warfare was often celebrated by the English in popular outbursts of jingoistic patriotism. The Duke of Cumberland, for instance, was venerated in the aftermath of Culloden for ‘the Rout and Slaughter of that savage band’.⁹⁵ One poem carried a frontispiece image of the Battle of Culloden glorifying the slaughter of Scots who are retreating or else kneeling and begging for mercy. English soldiers are even depicted attacking Scottish women, clearly displaying English veneration for bloody, violent warfare:

Witness [Cumberland’s] late *Atchieves* [sic] at *Culloden*;
Where like a *Lion* bold he led them on,
Or as an *Angel* by divine Command;
Commission’d to destroy a *Rebel* Band.⁹⁶

The violence attached to the Scottish stereotype, however, differed considerably to that which the English saw in themselves. Prints and artwork from the era show two contrasting images of violence for the English and the Scots. The former is organised, disciplined and purposeful, the latter unruly, bestial and anarchic. David Morier’s painting of the 1745 uprising exemplifies these two distinct visions of violence and national character. A rabble of sword-wielding Scottish Jacobites charge towards a line of English soldiers standing firm in their ranks, bayonets held solidly out against the oncoming Highland hoard.⁹⁷ The violence of the Scots is portrayed as bloodthirsty, savage and inhuman, a wild beast which must be stopped by a civilized, modern English army:

Like a fierce Torrent, deluging it’s Way,
Like Bears, Wolves, Tygers, raging loud for Prey,
Defeating all Obstructions to their Course,

⁹⁵ George Masters, *A Poem Humbly Inscribed to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, on his Defeat of the Rebels at Culloden, April 16, 1746* (London, 1747), p.3.

⁹⁶ *A Poem on the late Victory: Addrest to his Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland, by a Gentleman of the Inner-Temple* (London, 1746), frontispiece and p.6.

⁹⁷ David Morier, *An Incident in the Rebellion of 1745*, oil on canvas (c.1745-85).

Rush'd the Barbarians on, with impious force.⁹⁸

Prints such as *The Highland Visitors* also depicted the fearsome violence of Scottish soldiers looting and pillaging English towns, whilst even positive depictions of Highland soldiers focused on the brutality of their warfare. In the background of J. S. Copely's portrait of the Earl of Eglinton, for example, Highland soldiers slaughter Cherokee Indians during the Seven Years' War.⁹⁹



Figure 1.9 *The Highland Visitors* (1745-46), BM Satires 2671, © The Trustees of the British Museum

Popular national stereotypes of Scotland emphasized this image of savage Scottish violence. One description of Peg noted how ‘even when her master had got her down, she would scratch and bite like a tyger’. Despite John Bull’s dominance over her Peg refuses to submit, stabbing him with penknives and knitting needles even when shackled in chains to the bedpost.¹⁰⁰ Sawney Scot, meanwhile, was also commonly depicted as aggressive and hot-blooded. The multiple incarnations of *Sawney in the bog-house* invariably portray him with a broadsword, which is similarly an integral aspect of the print *Saint Andrew for*

⁹⁸ Masters, *A Poem*, p.4.

⁹⁹ *The Highland Visitors* (1745-46), BM Satires 2671; John Singleton Copley, *Hugh Montgomerie, 12th Earl of Eglinton*, oil on canvas (c.1780).

¹⁰⁰ *Law is a bottomless pit*, pp.81-82.

Scotland. Satirical prints of Scots kept this violent image alive beyond the years of Culloden by continuing to portray Scots with weapons. *Scotch Collops an Antidote for an English Stomach* showed a renewed violent exchange between the Duke of Cumberland and a number of Scots. The inscription, meanwhile, warned its readers of the Scots inherent propensity towards armed rebellion, yet also mocks their lack of military discipline when doing so:

The Genius of the S[cote]h is Mutiny:
They scarcely want a guide to move their madness:
Prompt to rebel on every weak Pretence,
Blustering when courted, crouching when oppres'd.¹⁰¹

The idea of Scottish violence, therefore, formed an integral component of English Scotophobia, yet it was the nature of this violence which was important rather than the violence itself. Whilst it is tempting to dismiss English demonization of Scottish violence and glorification of their own as mere hypocrisy, it is in truth the subtle differences in the nature of these two separate strands of violence which defines English identity against the Scottish stereotype. Whilst English violence was celebrated as organised, disciplined, modern and even noble and glorious in its brutality, Scottish violence was attacked for its primal nature; it was undisciplined, wild and savage, directed not by strategy and tactics but by an inherent lust for warfare. It was a type of violence which, in short, characterised the Scots as backwards and barbaric, and it was this aspect of their nature which the English so opposed rather than the violence and brutality itself. The importance of this distinction will become apparent in later chapters which examine the positive depictions of Scottish violence in useful service towards Britain's needs.

Alongside violence, sexuality was an extremely important element of the Scottish barbarian stereotype. Scottish sexuality was usually portrayed as particularly rampant, their appetites insatiable and all-consuming. A late seventeenth-century print satirising Scottish Presbyterianism anticipates Hogarth's depiction of eighteenth-century Methodists. Lewd sexual activity abounds amongst the congregation who meet in a barn, a further reference to the perceived animalistic nature of Scots.¹⁰² These themes continue in the eighteenth century. Satirical prints and ballads spoke of Scottish sexual appetites and prowess:

The Widow is neither so young nor so old,

¹⁰¹ *Scotch Collops an Antidote for an English Stomach* (1761), BM Satires 3811.

¹⁰² *The Presbyterian Conventicle* (c.1694-1700), BM Satires 1408.

But still loves a Scotchman that's active & bold,
For all other men are but lifeless & cold,
Compar'd to the vigorous Sawney.¹⁰³

Attacks on Bute in the 1760s frequently focused on his sexuality and his supposed affair with the Dowager Princess of Wales. Numerous prints and pamphlets mocked 'Gisbal', a wild barbarian chieftain who descended from the North and amazed the women of the Southern court with his magnificent staff, 'equal in bigness to a weaver's beam'.¹⁰⁴ Songs and pictures of Gisbal reveal a peculiar fascination with Scottish phallic endowment amongst English commentators:

When this notable Chief of the Hebronites Land
Before Bathsheba stood with his Staff in his Hand,
The Damsels around her cry'd out one and all,
"What a *Wonderful* Staff is the Staff of Gisbal!"¹⁰⁵

Attacking Scots for their sexual prowess of course served a particular purpose for these propagandists. Rampant sexuality in the eighteenth century was a mark of incivility and barbarity, certainly not a feature of civilized *English* society (at least in social ideals). *The Staff of Gisbal* was an attempt to categorise Scots alongside other 'savages', such as oriental despots or Native Americans:

From the Days of Old Adam there has not been found,
Thro' the World's ample Circuit, a Staff so renown'd:
Not the Cherokee King, or Nabob of Bengal,
Can boast such a Staff as the Staff of Gisbal.¹⁰⁶

Stereotypes of Scots as barbaric savages helped patriotic or xenophobic English men and women keep Scots at a distance. This was, after all, a time of convergence

¹⁰³ *The Wanton Widow* (1762), BM Satires 3851.

¹⁰⁴ *Gisbal, an Hyperborean Tale: translated from the fragments of Ossian the son of Fingal* (London, 1762), p.3. See also *Gisbal's Preferment; or the Importation of the Hebronites* (1762), BM Satires 3849; *Gisbal and Bathsheba, in the Hyperborean Tale* (1762), BM Satires 3850; *Gisbal, Triumphant* (1763), BM Satires 4011.

¹⁰⁵ *The Staff of Gisbal: An Hyperborean Song* (1762), BM Satires 3848.

¹⁰⁶ *The Staff of Gisbal*. See also Clark, *Scandal*, pp.24-25. For the association of Scots with Native Americans see Roxanne Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp.18-19.

between the various British nations; despite strong national tensions it is difficult to deny that the citizens of England, Scotland and Wales were at the very least migrating and intermingling with one another to an unprecedented extent.¹⁰⁷ At a time of immense change, stereotyping Scots as savage barbarians helped those who feared this change maintain a myth of stability. Scotland itself was becoming a country of immense wealth and power, with cities such as Glasgow fully embracing the economic opportunities provided by Union and Empire. Edinburgh, meanwhile, threatened to supersede London as a cultural hub and centre of intellectual life. How could English people afraid of this change assure themselves of their continued superiority? By denigrating Scotland as a wild, uncultivated backcountry and its people as vulgar barbarians; by mocking Scottish pretensions to modernity and dismissing its intellectual elite and literati as uncouth savages.¹⁰⁸ Sawney and Peg helped the image of Scots as a barbaric Other to endure, reassuring English society of its continuing superiority at the head of the civilized world in spite of the ever-increasing evidence to the contrary.

Amongst these numerous depictions of Scots, two particular ongoing themes stand out: Scottish barbarity and Scottish cunning. Each of these is exemplified in the stock characters of Sawney and Peg, and together with Scottish Jacobitism form the foundations of almost all attacks directed against Scots during this era. Throughout the remainder of this thesis, specific outbursts of popular Scotophobia will be discussed in relation to these themes. As the first and second sections of this chapter have shown, liberty formed an inherent component of English and colonial-American identity in the eighteenth century. This thesis will show that Scots faced such opposition in the 1760s and 1770s because they presented such a great threat to English liberty in popular perception. These attacks were usually constructed around firmly embedded Scottish stereotypes of savagery and cunning, and the remaining chapters will show how these stereotypes developed, changed and survived throughout the late eighteenth century.

¹⁰⁷ Colley, *Britons*, pp.123-124.

¹⁰⁸ See for example *The Glasgow and Aberdeen Professors of Poetry* (1763), BM Satires 3869.

Chapter 2: English Scotophobia in the 1760s

As we have seen in chapter one, the idea of liberty strongly shaped English national identity in the eighteenth century. Support for the Protestant succession and the legacy of the Glorious Revolution had embedded ideas of natural rights firmly into the English consciousness. The extent to which these political ideas were inherently tied to ideas of nationhood and ethnicity, specifically Englishness, becomes apparent when we look at popular Scotophobia during the 1760s. Although Anglo-Scottish social relations in the eighteenth century were often strained, this particular decade stands out as a period of intense hostility. Scholars such as Linda Colley and Adam Rounce have consequently focused on this period in their studies of anti-Scottish sentiment in eighteenth-century England.¹ Whilst one of the principal aims of this study is to examine Scotophobia over a wider chronological period, a thorough re-examination of the 1760s is essential in order to understand English animosity towards Scots in the late eighteenth century.

Previous studies of Scotophobia in the early 1760s have approached the subject from a variety of angles – as a component of Wilkite popular politics for John Brewer and George Rudé, as an English reaction against British integration for Linda Colley, and a rediscovery of traditional English radicalism for Kathleen Wilson.² This chapter builds on these previous studies in order to show how this era firmly established Scots as the antithetical enemies to a great many supposedly English attributes and values, in particular liberty, civilized masculinity, imperial prosperity and fair play. The first section examines two angles of Wilkite attacks on Scottish power: Scots as latent Jacobites in disguise, and Scots as Royal favourites exercising undue power over the Royal family. By associating Bute and Scottish politics with apparent attacks on the traditional rights of Englishmen, Wilkite agitation laid the foundations for a potent and transatlantic manifestation of Scotophobia in the years surrounding the War of American Independence.

Alongside examining the nature of Scottish power Wilkite radicals perceived in Bute, this chapter examines two policies which contributed significantly to the development of Scotophobia, namely the 1763 Treaty of Paris which brought an end to the Seven Years' War and the excise tax on cider. Both of these measures were met with

¹ Colley, *Britons*, pp.101-131; Rounce, “‘Stuarts without End’”, pp.20-43.

² Brewer, *Party Ideology*, passim.; Brewer, ‘The Misfortunes of Lord Bute’, pp.3-43; Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty*, pp.14, 21; Colley, *Britons*, pp.101-131; Wilson, *Sense of the People*, pp.206-207, pp.213-14.

widespread condemnation. The cider excise provoked a fierce response from the West Country, yet this regional form of Scotophobia has yet to be examined by historians. The anti-Bute parades and prints of the West Country should certainly not be overlooked; as chapter three demonstrates, their imagery went on to influence the protests of American colonists over the Stamp Act in 1765, whilst their participants represent a section of society far removed from the ‘bourgeois’ Wilkite radicals of London.³ Attacks on the Peace of Paris, meanwhile, established Bute and the Scots as an internal threat to the British Empire.

The final section of this chapter explores how Bute’s tenure and the migration of Scots to England in the second half of the eighteenth century affected the idea of the Scottish stereotype in England. In particular it argues that a new Sawney Scot emerged whose principal characteristic was his cunning. Whilst maintaining all the savagery of *Sawney in the Boghouse* underneath, this new Scot schemed and flattered his way into public office, rising through the ranks of society and gaining ever-more power over the English.

2.1 Bute and Scottish power

Although Scotophobia was not confined to Wilkites in London, this movement is nonetheless the most appropriate place to begin a study of anti-Scottish sentiment in the 1760s. ‘Of all those who have contributed to increase the ferment of the nation,’ wrote one commentator on Wilkite Scotophobia in 1763, ‘the city of London hath certainly held the principal part.’⁴ The narrative of events surrounding the career of John Wilkes and the rise of the movement which bears his name has been well documented in biographies of Wilkes himself and in studies of eighteenth-century popular politics.⁵ The political issues associated with the Wilkite movement (summarised by Kathleen Wilson as ‘freedom of election, freedom of the press, trial by jury and the law of libel’) certainly did not in themselves carry any inherent link to Scots or Scotland.⁶ Nevertheless, anti-Scottish rhetoric and imagery played a prominent role in Wilkite literature, satirical prints and

³ For the bourgeois nature of Wilkite radicalism see Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.206.

⁴ *Newport Mercury*, July 25th 1763, issue 255.

⁵ For biographies of Wilkes see Peter D. G. Thomas, *John Wilkes: a Friend to Liberty* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) and Arthur H. Cash, *John Wilkes: the Scandalous Father of Civil Liberty* (London: Yale University Press, 2006). For studies of the Wilkite movement see Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty* and Brewer, *Party Ideology*.

⁶ Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, p.216.

popular demonstrations. As we have seen in chapter one, Wilkite ideology built heavily on the legacy of the Glorious Revolution, whilst the firm association of Scotland with Jacobitism placed Scots as enemies to English liberty. It is therefore unsurprising that Wilkes and his followers, who revered the Revolution and liberty so highly, should be predisposed to look unkindly upon Scots. The course of events during the 1760s, however, enflamed English mistrust into outright antipathy.

Much of this anti-Scottish sentiment was directed at the Earl of Bute, the Scottish Prime Minister of Britain from May 1762 to September 1763. As the ‘Arch-Scot’ in the popular Wilkite imagination, contemporary attitudes towards Bute are extremely important in understanding the nature of English Scotophobia in this period. When examining popular attitudes towards Bute, it is important to distinguish between comments on Bute as a politician and comments which centre on his Scottishness. As this chapter will demonstrate however, many of Bute’s supposed characteristics and policies were also applied to other Scots. To numerous Wilkites Bute was not simply a political opponent, but instead the embodiment of all that they despised about Scots and Scotland, particularly the changing nature of Scottish power within Britain.

Bute and Scottish power 1: Jacobites in disguise

Underlying the Wilkite attacks on Bute’s accession to power were continuing English fears of Scottish Jacobitism. The extent to which English society still viewed Jacobitism as a threat in the early 1760s is somewhat unclear. The failure of the forty-five uprising and disintegrating French military support for the Stuart line has led most historians to emphasize the stability of the Hanoverian monarchy.⁷ Yet although Bonnie Prince Charlie’s army had been crushed, the military threat posed by Jacobitism had not been entirely extinguished. Jacobite forces in alliance with France continued to threaten invasion throughout the 1740s and 1750s, the last attempt occurring as late as 1759.⁸ Jacobite culture and sympathy in Britain also long outlived the failed rebellion. It was often too dangerous to voice outright written support for the Stuart cause, but British Jacobites (in England, Wales and Ireland as well as Scotland) expressed their sympathies in other inventive ways.

⁷ Brewer, *Party Ideology*, p.53; Colley, *Britons*, p.104.

⁸ Doron Zimmermann, *The Jacobite Movement in Scotland and in Exile, 1746-1759* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.120-158.

Material culture offered a host of opportunities for subversive protest. In a recent study of material Jacobitism, Murray Pittock has shown how a vast network of Jacobite sympathisers showed continued support for the Stuarts by using everything from flowers to thistles, anchors to insects. Jacobite medals, ribbons and garters remained popular throughout Scotland throughout the 1740s and 1750s, a period which saw a fashionable surge in blue and white, two strong Jacobite colours.⁹ Tartan dress was banned in Scotland in 1746 due to its association with Jacobitism, but no similar act was ever applied to England. In 1748 Jacobite sympathisers in England threw a ‘Scots dance’ at Bath. The attendees dressed in full tartan plaid, and danced to overtly Jacobite songs, such as *Prince Charles’s recruit or the Auld Stewarts Back Again* and *Over the Water to Charlie*.¹⁰ Despite attempts by the government to suppress Jacobite culture, there is no doubt that it endured. Occasionally a report would surface in the press of the Jacobites in Scotland becoming ‘uncommonly insolent’ before being debunked.¹¹ Even small indications of Jacobitism’s survival such as these were enough to instil low levels of insecurity amongst supporters of Hanover. British Whigs may not have seen Jacobitism as a military threat, but neither could they forget about it. Opposition to Jacobitism and, importantly, anyone deemed to hold Jacobite principles concerning power and liberty remained fervent throughout the 1760s.

To many disgruntled English men and women, Scottish power in the 1760s was a clear indication of the return of the Jacobite menace. John Wilkes and other writers immediately leaped upon Bute’s name (John Stuart) as a mark of Jacobitism. ‘Under the government of a STUART’, wrote Wilkes in the very first edition of the *North Briton*, ‘the most daring encroachments have been made on the favourite liberties of the people’.¹² The *Public Advertiser*, meanwhile, printed a letter supposedly sent to George II from his counsellors warning of the dangers of entrusting the education of the Prince of Wales to Bute:

. . . to have a Scotchman of the most disaffected family, and allied in the nearest manner to the Pretender’s first minister, consulted in the education of the P[rince] of W[ales] and entrusted with the most important secrets of government, must tend

⁹ Murray G. H. Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.78-80.

¹⁰ Pittock, *Material Culture*, p.79.

¹¹ *Public Advertiser*, April 14th 1762, issue 8563; *Public Advertiser*, April 16th 1762, issue 8565.

¹² *North Briton*, June 5th 1762, no.1.

to alarm and disgust the friends of the present Royal family, and to encourage the hopes and attempts of the Jacobites.¹³

The authenticity of this letter is extremely dubious, but its publication reflects contemporary fears of Scottish Jacobitism. Bute is clearly presented as a supporter of the Pretender, one who would use his powerful position to influence and corrupt a young and naive Prince.

In the *Briton*, Tobias Smollett attempted to refute Wilkes' accusations of Bute's Jacobitism. Smollett argued (quite correctly) that Bute's Stuart ancestry dated back several centuries to Robert the Bruce, since which time the Stuart family had branched out enormously. Smollett even argued that William of Orange, that Whig icon of English liberty, was the son of one Stuart and the husband of another.¹⁴ His attempts to redeem the name of Stuart from its Jacobite connotations, however, do not appear to have been very successful. Papers and prints continued to portray Bute as a Jacobite villain plotting to return Stuart principles to Britain. *The Jack-Boot Exalted* (figure 2.1) shows Bute bedecked with symbols of Jacobitism: a blue bonnet, white ribbon and white star, regalia repeated in other prints.¹⁵ Accusations of Jacobitism were also thrown against other powerful Scots during this period. Junius, the pseudonymous writer whose letters attracted wide readership in the press, mockingly praised Lord Mansfield for his 'generous attachment to the House of Stuart' in his earlier days, and chastised him for not adhering to the same zealous loyalty shown to the Pretender by others in his family, including Mansfield's own brother.¹⁶

¹³ *Public Advertiser*, October 1st 1763, Issue 9021.

¹⁴ *Briton*, October 2nd 1762, issue XIX.

¹⁵ *The Jack-Boot, exalted* (1762), BM Satires 3860; see also *The Three Roads to John Bull's Farm* (c.1762), BM Satires 3926; *The Boot & the Block-Head* (1762), BM Satires 3977.

¹⁶ *The Letters of Junius*, vol.2 (London, 1771), pp.8-9.



Figure 2.1 *The Jack-Boot, exalted* (1762), BM Satires 3860, © The Trustees of the British Museum

Newspapers also complained about the redemption of former Jacobites and their restoration to positions of power. The papers rarely named names, and it is not clear whether they had particular figures in mind, or whether they were simply speaking of the Scots in general as former Jacobites. Their outrage, however, is very clear. A correspondent writing to the *Gazetteer* firmly believed that the Scots had shown their true colours in 1715 and 1745, and nothing could be done to restore trust between England and Scotland. To bestow favours on the Scots was therefore not only unwise, but also in essence rewarding treachery:

If it had been foretold in the year 1715 or 1745, that abettors of rebellion in favour of a Popish Pretender . . . should in a few years become favoured, and even promoted . . . would not the future completion of such a prediction have been looked upon as one of the greatest evils that could befall any prince inheriting the British throne on Revolution principles? Principles, which, from nature and

education, have ever been exploded by, and are incompatible with, the political creed of every adherent to the House of *Stuart*.¹⁷

The writer's reference to Revolution principles to assert their point is very telling. It reveals their belief that anyone affiliated with Scottish Jacobitism was an inveterate enemy to the Glorious Revolution and its legacy of liberty. The writer was also likely referencing the accession speech of George III, in which the monarch vowed to uphold the constitution and protect the civil and religious rights of his subjects.¹⁸ By allying himself with Bute and the Scots, whom the writer believed to be fervent Jacobites, the King had betrayed his promises to his people, and set their special English liberty at risk. It also did not matter to the writer that Bute and the Scots presently showed little to no sign of Jacobite sympathies; all this was merely an illusion to subvert the King and the British people:

Can the Ethiopian change his skin? No, but he may discolour it. For what end should he do the latter; but that thereby he may more effectually attain the primary object of his pursuit. . . everyone knows what were their principles in 1745; let it be shewn then, by what miraculous power those principles have been so suddenly altered as to fit them for public stations in the year 1763.¹⁹

The writer speaks of political principles as inherent, unchanging, and intrinsically connected to ethnicity. Just as the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, so Scots could not switch their allegiance away from the House of Stuart. Yet the Scots could still 'discolour their skin'. Those Scots who migrated to England in the 1760s often anglicized their accents, whilst Scottish society itself was becoming ever more similar to that south of the border (at least in the lowlands).²⁰ Prints such as *Scotch Collops an Antidote for an English Stomach* (figure 2.2), however, showed these anglicized Scots as merely Jacobites in disguise.²¹ Alongside the comments of the writer in the *Gazetteer*, this was a clear warning against Anglo-Scottish convergence; to be Scottish, Wilkites argued, was to be a Jacobite, a supporter of monarchical power and an enemy to the Glorious Revolution.

¹⁷ *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, June 8th 1763, issue 10,682.

¹⁸ *His Majesty's Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Tuesday the Eighteenth Day of November, 1760* (London, 1760).

¹⁹ *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, June 8th 1763, issue 10,682.

²⁰ Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain*, p.129; Pittock, *Celtic Identity*, pp.54-55.

²¹ *Scotch Collops an Antidote for an English Stomach* (1761), BM Satires 3811. See also Pittock, *Celtic Identity*, p.55.



Figure 2.2 *Scotch Collops an Antidote for an English Stomach* (1761), BM Satires 3811, © The Trustees of the British Museum

Bute, Wilkite writers maintained, was now entrusting all of these would-be Jacobite Scots with every position of power and profit. Satires of Bute as the Ossianic hero Gisbal, for example, show him as the leader of a scheme for the ‘importation of the Hebronites’. As he gains power at court, ‘wagonloads of Gisbal’s race arrive to occupy their place’.²² *The Posts* features several different pictures of Scots gaining power. As Bute expels Pitt in *The Highest Post*, a hoard of Scots flood through the doors of the Treasury. Similarly *The Jumping Posts* depicts Scots leapfrogging their way through various government positions.²³ ‘Into our places, states and beds they creep’, wrote Charles Churchill in *The Prophecy of Famine*; ‘They’ve sense to get what we want sense to keep’.²⁴ The influx of Scots described by Churchill was presented in some prints as a new Jacobite invasion. *The Three Roads to John Bull’s Farm* (figure 2.3) showed Scottish migration of the 1760s as the direct successor to the 1715 and 1745 uprisings. Armed insurrection had failed, so a new tactic of civil subversion was required instead. The principal aims of the Scots, the

²² *Gisbal’s Preferment*.

²³ *The Posts* (1762), BM Satires 3944.

²⁴ Churchill, *Prophecy of Famine*, p.11.

all taught an obedience, of the most implicit nature, to their superiors, and imbibe no one sentiment that bears the least resemblance to that generous spirit of independency which glows in the bosom of a freeborn Englishman.²⁸

John Shebbeare echoed Wilkes' sentiments in a pamphlet of 1762. Although a supporter of Bute and King George, Shebbeare still appears to have harboured an aversion towards the political dispositions of Highland Scots. Their chiefs, he wrote, 'imbibe with their milk a set of supercilious delusions, totally inconsistent with all the arrangements necessary to be observed in every free state, and diametrically opposite to every principle revered by us'.²⁹

In the eyes of Wilkes, Shebbeare and many others, Scottish society was infested with a culture of servitude completely incompatible with an English culture of liberty, 'that generous spirit of independency' exemplified by the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Wilkes' allusion to the Scottish chiefs was a common argument used by English propagandists at this time in attempts to highlight the different systems of power at work in the two countries. It did not matter to them that the clan power system could only really be applied to Highland Scots, and was on the verge of extinction following the series of government measures dividing land, property and power in the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite uprising. The equation of Scottish power with the Highland clan system was firmly embedded in popular imagination, enough so for Wilkes and others to speak of Highland chiefs as if they represented the main form of Scottish power. This Highland clan system was, they argued, a sure sign of Scottish despotism and backwardness. It demanded a level of servitude only seen in the most base and primitive societies, a system of politics and power practised only in 'the most abject of nations.'³⁰ Wilkite propaganda frequently compared Scottish governance to the power of 'Oriental' rulers amongst the Turks and Indians. Such imagery carried strong connotations of despotism and primitiveness, but also exotic Otherness, turning Scottish power into something alien and unknowable.³¹

Wilkites also missed no opportunities to contrast the systems of power in Scotland with those in England. They believed that English power, like English identity, was wrapped up in the legacy of the Glorious Revolution. At the beginning of the 46th issue of

²⁸ *North Briton*, June 25th 1763, No.50.

²⁹ John Shebbeare, *One More Letter to the People of England. By Their Old Friend* (London: J. Pridden, 1762), p.36.

³⁰ *The North Briton*, May 28th 1763, No.46.

³¹ See for example *North Briton*, June 11th 1763, No.48; *The Staff of Gisbal: An Hyperborean Song* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3848; Shebbeare, *One More Letter to the People of England*, pp.35-36.

the *North Briton*, Wilkes wrote at length of the government system venerated by ‘Revolutionaries’: that individuals should not be treated as property, that government should serve the people, and that no supreme leader should have the sole authority to deprive the people of their liberty and property. In contrast, Wilkes claimed that the Highland chiefs were taught an opposing creed of power. Their vassals groaned under a yoke of despotism and slavery which had continually served to tear Scotland to pieces ‘by the ungovernableness of their tempers, and the haughtiness of their politics’.³² Here, Wilkite propaganda presented Scottish power not merely as different to English government, but as its polar opposite. The two systems were utterly alien and incompatible, the one founded on the principles of the Glorious Revolution, the other seeking to repeal these liberties. The sentiments of Wilkes concerning the attitude of Scots to English liberty are perfectly displayed in the 1763 print *The Politicians*, which features a Highland Scot using Magna Carta for toilet paper.³³

Wilkes’ words also imply that neither country’s system could ever be adopted by the other. The inherent nature of Englishmen and Scotsmen, as presented by Wilkes, meant that the Scottish clan system of power could never be successfully imposed on the English people, whilst the Scottish temperament left them unable to cope with English liberty. Liberty, according to Wilkes, ‘glows in the bosom of a freeborn Englishman’; it is such an integral component of English nature and English character that it will always inform the nature of their government. Scots, meanwhile, do not have liberty ingrained upon their character. Their culture and upbringing has made them unable to cope with English liberty, as their chiefs are instinctively drawn towards absolute power and their people are ‘acquainted with no other word than “obey”’.³⁴ By portraying liberty as an instinctual urge of Englishmen, Wilkes was also questioning the patriotism and loyalty of those Englishmen who served in government under Lord Bute, approved of George III’s increased involvement in political affairs, or supported Wilkes’ arrest, trial and expulsion from parliament. These men were corrupted Englishmen, or ‘Scottified English’ as Wilkes described them.³⁵ ‘True Englishmen’, he maintained, should rejoice in England’s limited

³² *North Briton*, May 28th 1763, No.49.

³³ *The Politicians* (c.1763), BM Satires 4018.

³⁴ *North Briton*, June 25th 1763, No.50.

³⁵ *North Briton*, February 12th 1763, No.37.

monarchy and system of government, and feel revulsion and contempt for measures so threatening to liberty.³⁶

The Wilkites, therefore, viewed Scots as absolutist both in their response to power and their exercise of it; fawning and obedient to their superiors, and domineering to their inferiors. Whilst the Scots had remained largely on the peripheries of British society in the early part of the eighteenth century English men and women primarily feared this power in the form of Jacobite uprisings. Bute's ministry, however, was seen by many as a sign that Scots were conquering England through political scheming rather than force of arms. Although a full-scale Jacobite invasion had become far less likely by the 1760s, Wilkes' supporters still believed that the threat of Scottish Jacobite power remained very real. What made the threat even greater in their eyes was the widespread belief that Bute himself was exercising this power over the most powerful family in Britain.

Bute and Scottish power 2: The Petticoat Government

A central theme of many Wilkite attacks on Bute was his relationship with the young King George and the King's mother, the Dowager Princess of Wales. Bute had tutored George III in the 1750s before his accession to the throne and was undoubtedly a powerful influence on the young prince. George described Bute as his 'dearest friend', and through his patronage Bute rose quickly to high political office. He was appointed to the Privy Council immediately after the King's coronation and received a cabinet seat in early 1761. Following the successive resignations of William Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle, Bute was appointed Prime Minister at the behest of the King.³⁷

The 'intense personal and political relationship' between the two men provoked hostility from the outset of George III's reign, long before Wilkes began his assault. A print entitled *The Loyal Beasts or Visionary Addressors* encapsulated the feelings of those who objected to the King's favouritism. The print depicts the King as a young lion receiving homage from the animals of his kingdom. Bute, a huge bison, looms over the

³⁶ *North Briton*, November 6th 1762, no.23; *North Briton*, April 2nd 1763, no.44.

³⁷ John L. Bullion, 'The Prince's Mentor: A New Perspective on the Friendship between George III and Lord Bute during the 1750s', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring, 1989), pp. 34-55; Karl Wolfgang Schweizer, 'Stuart, John, third earl of Bute (1713-1792)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26716>, accessed 16 Oct 2014].

king and glares down at the animals kissing the lion's feet. An accompanying poem derides Bute's political ambitions:

Yon hugeous Beast that's near the Lion
Is a most dreadfull Scottish Bison,
Who devilish angry looks & grim,
At those who pay no court to him...³⁸

Wilkes, meanwhile, compared Bute to Claudius, the usurping King in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Mocking Bute for his 'exquisite' acting talents, Wilkes wrote of 'the famous scene of *Hamlet*, where you *pour fatal poison into the ear* of a good, unsuspecting King.'³⁹

Bute's Scottish nationality was often a central feature of these attacks. *The Tame Lion a Fable* (figure 2.4), in many ways a sequel to *The Loyal Beasts*, took a far more aggressive and Scotophobic approach in its criticism of Bute and the King's friendship. Bute is shown in full tartan plaid riding on a lion (the King) cheered on by a throng of Scots. A poem below the print shows popular fears of Bute's influence:

A Lion that was bred up tame,
Was tutored by a man of fame. . .
'Twas by smooth words, & cunning art,
He gain'd the easy Lion's Heart
And what is wondrous strange beside
Upon his back, he learn'd to ride
Exalted in a higher Sphere
He galloped without dread or fear,
His Power grossly did abuse
To serve his own ambitious Views...⁴⁰

In these pictures and tales of tame lions we can read English aversion to the new British nation. The lion, representing both King George and English power, has been subdued and tamed by the Scottish minister. By showing Bute riding on the lion's back, the artist is claiming that Scots are taking advantage of the wealth and opportunities the new British nation has to offer, opportunities which Wilkites claimed were won by Englishmen, for

³⁸ *The Loyal Beasts or Visionary Addressers, a Dream* (1760), BM Satires 3740.

³⁹ John Wilkes, *The Fall of Mortimer, An Historical Play. Dedicated to the Right Honourable John Earl of Bute* (London: G. Kearsly, 1763), p.viii.

⁴⁰ *The Tame Lion a Fable* (1762), BM Satires 3960.

Englishmen. The print also contains an ending to the tale which Wilkite radicals so desired to see in real life. The lion rears up, throws Bute from its back and pins him to the ground, as England reclaims the bounties of national wealth which it is so unwilling to share with the Scots.



Figure 2.4 *The Tame Lion A Fable* (1762), BM Satires 3960

The lion's other passenger shows another aspect of the royal relationship which caused public outrage. Behind Bute sits the king's mother Augusta, the Dowager Princess of Wales. Desiring to keep Bute's tutelage of her son a secret in the 1750s, the Princess instead claimed that Bute's long visits to the palace were in order to spend time with her. This, coupled with Bute's subsequent appointment to increasingly powerful positions, fuelled rumours that the two were engaged in an illicit affair.⁴¹ Bute and the Princess were almost undoubtedly innocent, but prints, ballads and newspapers delighted in this possible scandal. *The Staff of Gishal* caricatured Bute as an Ossianic hero who descends from the North and enraptures 'Bathsheba' and the other women of the Southern court:

When this notable Chief of the Hebronites Land

⁴¹ John L. Bullion, 'Augusta , princess of Wales (1719–1772)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46829, accessed 17 Oct 2014]; John. L. Bullion, 'The Origins and Significance of Gossip about Princess Augusta and Lord Bute, 1755–1756', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 21 (1991), pp.245–265.

Before Bathsheba stood, with his Staff in his Hand,
The Damsels around her cry'd out, one and all,
“What a *wonderful* Staff is the Staff of Gisbal”!⁴²

Bute, it was believed, used his sexual prowess to gain power over the Princess, and thus over the King. In the fifth issue of the *North Briton* Wilkes compared Bute to Roger Mortimer, the fourteenth-century nobleman who conspired with Queen Isabella, the mother of Edward III, to overthrow Edward II. ‘Mortimer’ he wrote ‘. . . was, through the ascendancy he had obtained over the *Queen Mother*, in fact the sole Regent’.⁴³ Wilkes expanded on this analogy by resurrecting an old play based on the life of Mortimer and republishing it with a dedication to Bute. Dripping with irony, Wilkes’ dedication praised Bute for being so unlike Mortimer:

. . . history does not furnish a more striking contrast between the two Ministers in the Reigns of *Edward the Third*, and of *George the Third*. The former Prince was held in the most absolute slavery by his Mother and her Minister, the first Nobles of England were excluded from the King’s Councils, and the Minion disposed of all places of profit and trust.⁴⁴

As with *The Tame Lion*, this was not simply an attack on Bute but on Scots in general. Wilkes’ dedication continued:

The young King had been victorious over the *Scots*, who were in *that* reign our cruel enemies, but are happily in *this* our dearest friends. On every favourable opportunity . . . they have ravaged ENGLAND with fire and sword.⁴⁵

In satires of the affair Bute and the Princess are often surrounded by other Scots engaged in similarly licentious behaviour. In *The Scotch Broomstick & the Female Beesom* (figure 2.5), a group of Scots on the ground watch Bute and the Princess cavort in mid-air on broomsticks. Gazing up the Princess’ skirt, the Scots ‘see the road to preferment’.⁴⁶ A

⁴² *The Staff of Gisbal: An Hyperborean Song* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3848.

⁴³ *North Briton*, July 3rd 1762, issue V.

⁴⁴ Wilkes, *The Fall of Mortimer*, p.ii.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* pp.ii-iii.

⁴⁶ *The Scotch Broomstick & the Female Beesom, a German tale, by Sawney Gesner* (1762), BM Satires 3852.

similar print by George Townshend implicates a number of other ‘Scotch intruders’ in the couple’s supposed affair.⁴⁷



Figure 2.5 *The Scotch Broomstick & the Female Beesom, a German tale, by Sawney Gesner (1762), BM Satires 3852*

The alleged sexual relationship between Bute and the Princess was, in the Wilkite imagination, largely symbolic of the new relationship between Scotland and England. Scots, as Linda Colley has argued, were penetrating England, just as Bute in these satires was penetrating the Princess Dowager.⁴⁸ Although many of the prints previously mentioned use Bute and the Princess as a figurative allegory, others are more explicit about what this relationship represents. The 1763 broadside *Wilkes and Liberty* (figure 2.6) showed a ferocious, dagger-wielding Bute attacking a fainting, helpless Britannia. As he attacks, Bute rips Britannia’s clothes away, clearly implying a sexual element to the attack. John Wilkes, Charles Churchill, Earl Temple and others are the gallant, masculine defenders of Britannia against this bestial, barbaric Scottish threat.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ George Townshend, *Sawney Discovered or the Scotch Intruders 1760* (London, 1760), BM Satires 3825.

⁴⁸ Colley, *Britons*, p.123.

⁴⁹ *Wilkes, and Liberty. A New Song* (1763), BM Satires 4028.



Figure 2.6 *Wilkes, and Liberty. A New Song* (1763), BM Satires 4028

In their attacks on Bute and the Princess, Wilkite radicals were also showing their fears over the command of political power. Bute and Augusta represent two groups of people whom Wilkites believed should not possess power over Englishmen – Scots and women. In her study of scandals and sexuality in eighteenth-century Britain, Anna Clark has shown how popular opposition to the Princess Dowager in the 1760s often focused on issues of sexuality, gender roles and female political power. By comparing Augusta to figures such as Queen Isabella, Madame de Pompadour and Catherine the Great, Wilkite literature provoked fears of despotism and arbitrary power. These, it was believed, were the inevitable consequences of women becoming too involved in political affairs. Through her supposed influence, the Princess was depriving her son of not only his power but also his masculinity.⁵⁰ Wilkite crowds expressed their opposition to the ‘petticoat government’ at protests and public gatherings. When the government ordered the *North Briton* to be ceremonially burnt by the common hangman, the crowd rescued the paper and replaced it with a jack-boot (Bute) and a petticoat.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Clark, *Scandal*, pp.25-29. For further analysis of Wilkitism, gender and sexuality see Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, pp.212-228.

⁵¹ Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third*, vol.1 (London, 1848), p.330.

Opposition to Bute's power often contained similar themes of emasculation.⁵² The print *A Poor Man Loaded with Mischief or John Bull and his Sister Peg* (figure 2.7) shows Bute as a Scottish woman riding on the back of John Bull who is blind, lame and wears a cuckold's horns.⁵³ The image was adapted from an older print satirizing cuckolded husbands (figure 2.8), and demonstrates the Wilkite vision of the current relationship between England and Scotland.⁵⁴ John Bull is male and according to contemporary attitudes towards gender roles should therefore be the dominant partner in possession of power. Scotland, meanwhile, is presented as female, implying that it should submit to England's masculinity. However, the balance of power has become skewed; Peg has defied her subordinate feminine position and refuses to submit to John Bull. England, according to the print, has lost its masculinity and has been turned into a cuckold by Scotland. Ideas not only of English liberty but also masculinity seemed, to the Wilkites, to demand that the overbearing Scots be put back in their 'feminine' subordinate position beneath the 'masculine' English.



Figure 2.7 *A Poor Man Loaded with Mischief or John Bull and his Sister Peg* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3904

⁵² Wilson, *Sense of the People*, pp.213-214.

⁵³ *A Poor Man Loaded with Mischief or John Bull and his Sister Peg* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3904.

⁵⁴ *A Poor Man Loaded with Mischief or Matrimony* (c.1750), BM Satires 4495.



Figure 2.8 *A Man Loaded with Mischief, or Matrimony* (c.1750), BM Satires 4495

Other prints played on Scottish clothing as a suggestion of unwelcome female power. In *The Lion Well Booted* (figure 2.9) Bute's Scottish standard bearer holds aloft a 'Scotch banner' – a tartan petticoat crowned with a 'Scotch bonnet' sprouting three plumes

(the insignia of the Princess of Wales).⁵⁵ The tartan colour of the petticoat in particular creates an intrinsic connection between Scottishness and female political power. The petticoat in the banner is also practically identical to the kilts worn by the Scottish figures in the print. The similarities between the petticoat and the kilt are mirrored in numerous other prints, and the sheer abundance of kilted Scottish figures in contemporary prints is likely an attempt to impose a somewhat feminine identity on Scotland.⁵⁶ This attitude is certainly displayed in literature - a lengthy satire on Bute mocked his fellow Scots and their 'Posteriors' who 'disdained the Use of Breeches'.⁵⁷

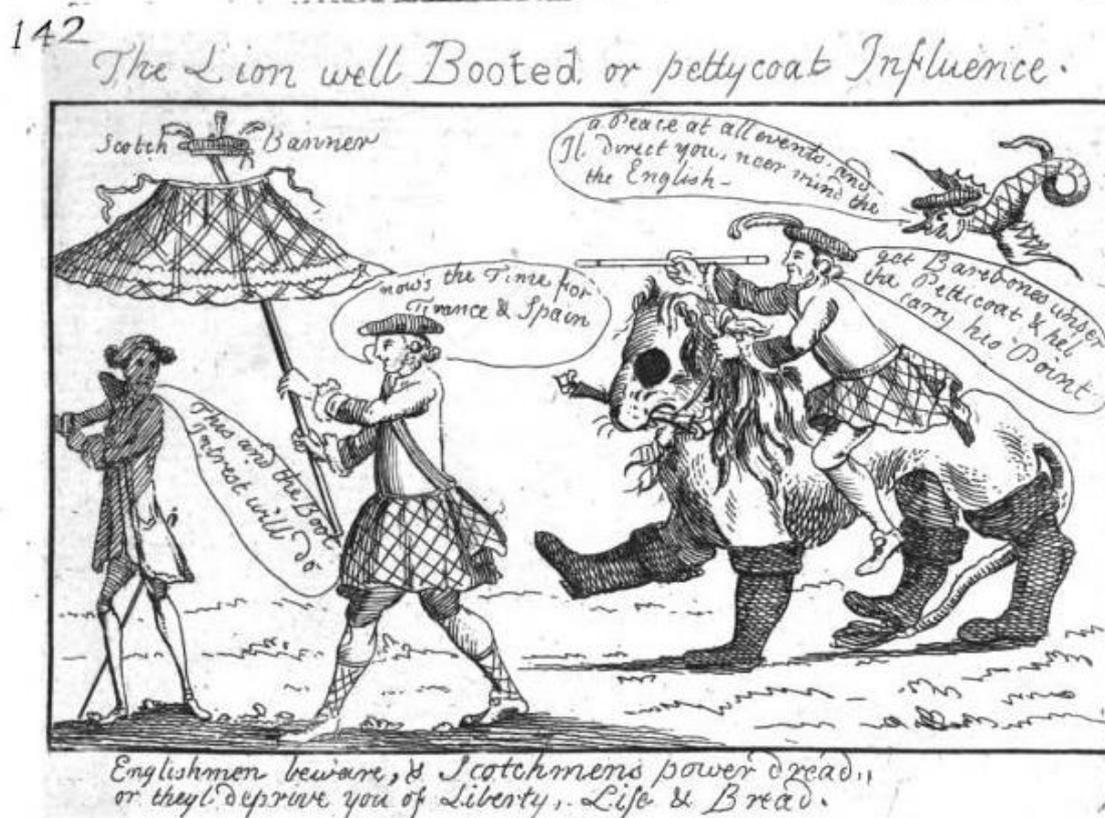


Figure 2.9 *The Lion Well Booted or Pettycoat Influence* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3928

This is not to say that the popular image of Bute and Scots was entirely feminine. Indeed, many prints and satires also emphasised Scottish masculinity to the point of gross

⁵⁵ *The Lion Well Booted or Pettycoat Influence* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3928. Taken from M. Darly, *A Political and Satirical History Displaying the Unhappy Influence of Scotch Prevalency, in the Years 1761, 1762, and 1763*, vol.2 (London, c.1763), p.142.

⁵⁶ See for example *The Congress; or a device to lower the land-tax* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3887; *The Scotch Tent, or True Contrast* (London: Mary Darly, 1762) BM Satires 3912; *The Fan and Mull or the modern Stupefaction* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3927; *The Lion made Ridiculous by Sawney & Jenny* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3962.

⁵⁷ *Gisbal, an Hyperborean Tale*, p.11.

exaggeration. However, the manner in which this masculinity was portrayed continues the theme of Scots possessing undue power. Bute's masculinity is presented through overtly phallic imagery, particularly his 'staff', a symbol of both masculinity and power featuring in a multitude of pamphlets, ballads and prints from the early 1760s (figure 2.10).⁵⁸ At first glance these prints emphasizing Bute's masculinity through phallic imagery appear to contrast quite heavily with other prints and popular demonstrations which sought to depict Bute as feminine. Yet the two are connected through the theme of power, and in particular the over-exertion of power by those whom English radicals believed had no right to wield it. Feminized depictions of Bute and the Scots sought to rob them of their right to power by associating them with women, and called for the English to reassert their masculinity and reclaim power over the nation. Prints exaggerating Scottish masculinity, meanwhile, identified the Scots with savage leaders such as the 'Cherokee King' or 'Nabob of Bengal' who exerted an overbearing masculine power over their subjects. As Anna Clark notes, the staff mimics the symbolism of the King's sceptre in displaying power. Its grotesque exaggeration in satires, however, shows that Bute's masculine power has grown far beyond the English ideal of manly, controlled masculinity and instead closely resembles that of an oriental despot.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ See for example *Gisbal, an Hyperborean tale*, pp.1-5; *The Staff of Gisbal; Provision for the Scotch convent* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3980; *The Lion Made Ridiculous*.

⁵⁹ Clark, *Scandal*, pp.24-25.

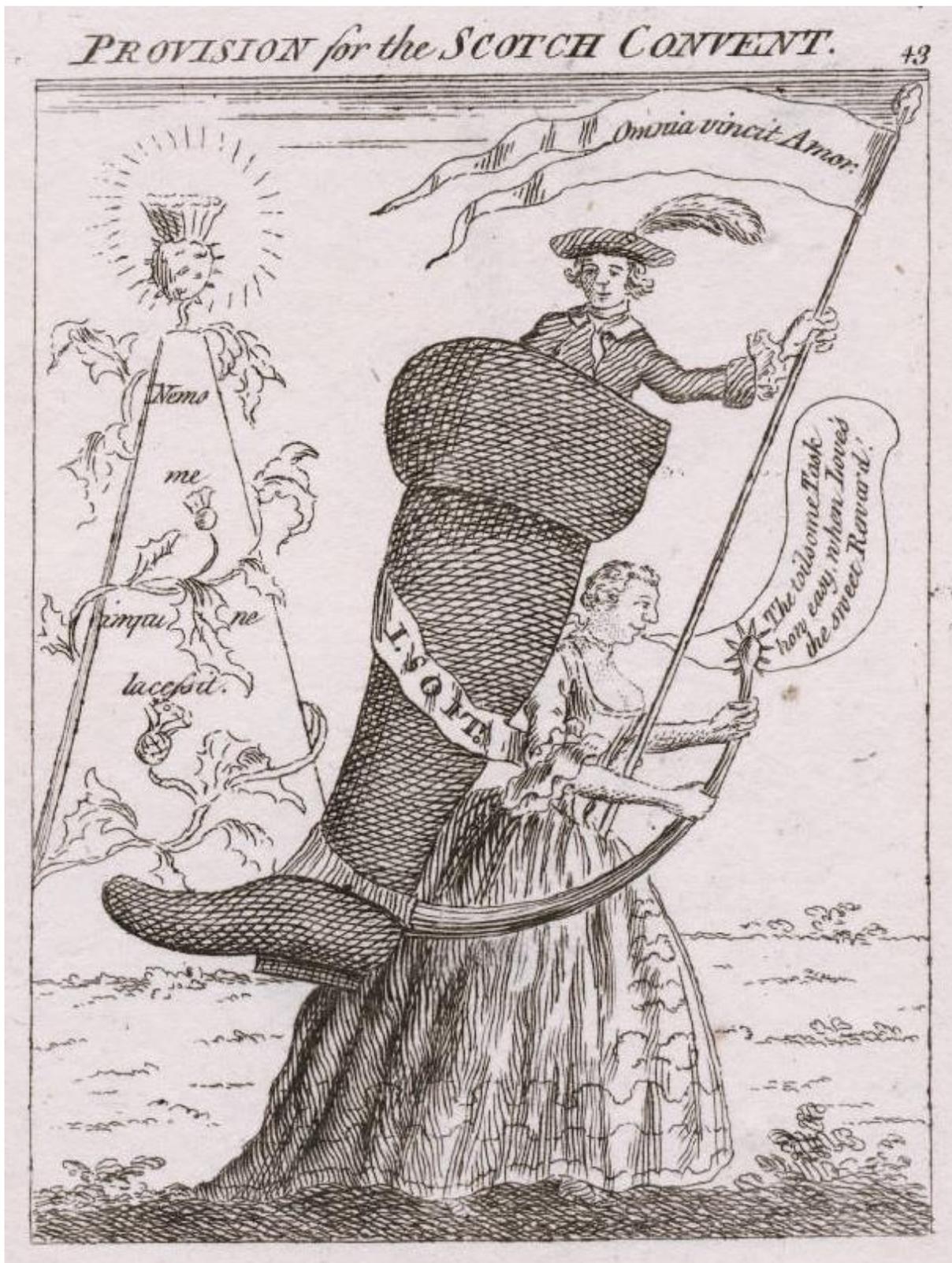


Figure 2.10 *Provision for the Scotch Convent* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3980

Bute's friendship with the King and supposed affair with the Princess Dowager were both attacked as signs of Bute's excessive and ever-increasing power. Popular opposition, however, was directed not only at Bute as an individual, but also at the Scots in general. There was a general feeling amongst many that Scots were advancing too far in

government and society, gaining too much power at the expense of the English. The Scottish courtiers gazing up at Bute and the Princess in *The Scotch Broomstick and the Female Beesom* all possess similar staffs, indicative of undue power. Commentators often singled out Bute as the exemplary tyrannical Scot, but few believed him to be acting alone. Instead, he was simply the figurehead of a swarm of power-hungry Scots descending on England to rise through its ranks and consume its riches. Prints depicting Bute's relationship with the King also often featured other Scottish figures. Returning to the print *The Tame Lion a Fable*, we can see that its criticisms of undue power were not directed at Bute alone. In the early part of the print Bute rides the lion in order to chase away English politicians and replace them with Scots. When the lion attacks Bute the English politicians gleefully return, whilst the Scots flee crying 'Let's gang bock to our ain Country'.⁶⁰ This is partly a response to cabinet reshuffles in the early 1760s in which popular ministers like Pitt and Earl Temple were ousted from positions of power. Mostly, however, it is an expression of English resentment towards the appointment of Scots to important government posts. Scots, the print argues, should 'go back to their own country' and let the English manage the nation's affairs. The rearing lion represents not only George shaking off Bute's influence but is also symbolic of the English lion, a call for England itself to rise up, reclaim its masculinity and take back control of a nation supposedly dominated by Scottish and female power.

2.2 Peace and Excise

Whilst Wilkite Scotophobia was primarily driven by a general aversion to the perceived implications of Scottish power, two policies of Bute's ministry in particular resulted in heated polemic in the press. These were the 1763 Treaty of Paris which brought an end to the Seven Years' War, and an excise tax on cider. A broadside entitled *The Scotch Yoke* (figure 2.11) encapsulates Wilkite English antipathy towards these two measures. A crowd of English revellers celebrate the burning of Bute on a pyre. In one hand, the unfortunate minister clasps 'Peace', and in the other 'Excise upon Cyder'. The ballad beneath the print, meanwhile, sang out English opposition:

In vain have you conquer'd, my brave Hearts of Oak,

Your *Lawrels*, Your *Conquests*, are all but a *Joke*;

⁶⁰ *The Tame Lion a Fable*.

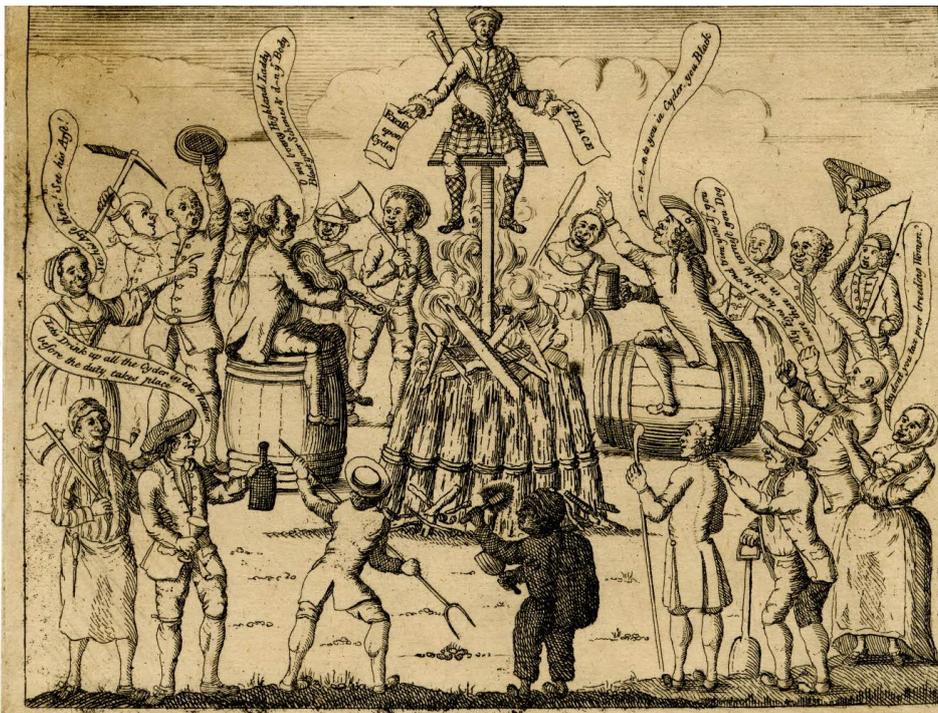
Let a [rascally] Peace serve to open Your Eyes

And the [damnable] scheme of a CYDER-EXCISE.⁶¹

The peace and the cider excise were also the two measures attacked most vigorously by Wilkes in the infamous forty-fifth edition of the *North Briton* as the measures which ‘will haunt [Lord Bute] wherever he goes’.⁶² Both saw widespread opposition in print, and both invoked aggressive crowd activity across the country, often accompanied by the burning of the unfortunate minister in effigy. The vehement and intensely Scotophobic opposition to these measures warrants a detailed examination, through which we can better comprehend the imperial and domestic nature of English Scotophobia in the late eighteenth century. Wilkes and his supporters saw in each policy concrete proof of all their fears. Through an unsatisfactory peace treaty and an unconstitutional taxation scheme, Scots were not only threatening the rights and liberties of English men and women at home, but also tearing apart the British Empire abroad and surrendering to the imperial despotisms of France and Spain.

⁶¹ *The Scotch Yoke; or English Resentment* (1763), BM Satires 4033.

⁶² *North Briton*, April 23rd 1763, issue 45.



The SCOTCH YOKE ; or English Resentment.

A New SONG. To the Tune of, *The Queen's A S S.*

OF Freedom no longer, let *Englishmen* boast,
Nor Liberty more be their favourite Toast ;
The *Hydra* OPPRESSION your *Charter* defies,
And galls *English* Necks with the Yoke of EXCISE.
The Yoke of Excise, the Yoke of Excise,
And galls English Necks with the Yoke of Excise.

In vain have you conquer'd, my brave Hearts of Oak,
Your *Lawrels*, your *Conquests*, are all but a Yoke ;
Let a r—f—ly PEACE serve to open your Eyes,
And the d—n—ble Scheme of a CYDER-EXCISE.
A Cyder-Excise, a Cyder-Excise,
And the d—n—ble Scheme of a Cyder-Excise.

What though on your *Porter* a Duty was laid,
Your *Light* double-tax'd, and encroach'd on your Trade,
Who e'er could have thought that a BRITON so wile,
Would admit such a Tax as the CYDER-EXCISE !
The Cyder-Excise, the Cyder-Excise !
Would admit such a Tax as the Cyder-Excise !

I appeal to the FOX, or his Friend JOHN A BOOT,
If tax'd thus the Juice, then how soon may the Fruit ?
Adieu then to good *Apple-puddings* and *Pyes*,
If e'er they should taste of a curst EXCISE.
A curst Excise, a curst Excise,
If e'er they should taste of a curst Excise.

Then toff off your Bumpers, my Lads, while you may
To PITT and Lord TEMPLE, Huzza, Boys, Huzza !
Here's the King that to tax his poor Subjects denies,
But Pox o' the Schemer that plann'd the EXCISE.
That plann'd the Excise, that plann'd the Excise,
But pox o' the Schemer that plann'd the Excise.

Let those at the H—m, who have fought to enslave
A Nation so glorious, a People so brave ;
At once be convinc'd that their Scheme you despise,
And shed your last Blood to oppose their EXCISE.
Oppose their Excise, oppose their Excise,
And shed your last Blood to oppose their Excise.

Come on then my Lads, who have fought and have bled
A Tax may, perhaps, soon be laid on your Bread ;
Ye Natives of *Worc'ster* and *Devon* arise,
And strike at the Root of the CYDER EXCISE.
The Cyder-Excise, the Cyder-Excise,
And strike at the Root of the Cyder-Excise.

No longer let K—s at the H—m of the St—e,
With fleecing and grinding pursue *Britain's* Fate ;
Let Power no longer your Wives disguise,
But off with their Heads --- by the Way of EXCISE.
The Way of Excise, the Way of Excise,
But off with Heads --- by the Way of Excise.

From two *Latin* Words *ex* and *scindo*, I ween,
Came the *hard* Word EXCISE, which to cut off does mean,
Take the Hint then, my Lads, let your Freedom advise
And give them a Taste of their fav'rite EXCISE.
Their fav'rite Excise, their fav'rite Excise,
And give them a Taste of their fav'rite Excise.

Figure 2.11 *The Scotch Yoke; or English Resentment* (1763), BM Satires 4033, © The Trustees of the British Museum

Peace and Excise 1: 'A Scotch Peace'

Whilst most historians tend to agree that the peace terms secured by Bute's ministry in late 1762 were largely favourable to Britain, the British Empire still remained in a rather precarious position.⁶³ The war had left the country heavily in debt, and although Bute initially favoured pursuing hostilities when in opposition, upon gaining power he sought a solution for the conflict's crippling drain on the Treasury. In search of a speedy resolution, Bute eventually ceded a number of conquered Caribbean territories to France and Spain whilst gaining control of large tracts of land in North America.⁶⁴ Although the peace treaty passed through Parliament, public opinion was far more heavily divided. Support came from the London merchants, whilst serving officer and chronicler of the conflict Thomas Mante wrote that by putting an end to such a bloody war, the peace 'was justly deemed, by the bulk of mankind, a happy event'.⁶⁵ However, William Pitt, 'the Great Commoner' held in such high esteem by the Wilkites and many of the ordinary people, spoke at great length against the Peace in the House of Commons.⁶⁶ Large sections of the general public emulated his opposition. Londoners expressed their discontent by rioting and stoning the King's coach, whilst provincial crowds paraded and burned tartan-clad effigies of Bute and the Princess Dowager on the thanksgiving day set aside to celebrate the peace.⁶⁷

Many of those who attacked the treaty believed that the concessions granted to France and Spain were too great. As the balladeer of the *Scotch Yoke* maintained, England's conquests were all in vain. 'I was in Paris when the Preliminaries were signed', claimed a correspondent with the *St James's Chronicle*, 'when the universal Joy there, was so great, as not to be exceeded in Imagination, by any other Thing, than what would happen in England, if every Scotsman in it was to be banished into their own country, and never to be suffered to set their Feet upon English Ground again'.⁶⁸ As this writer's words

⁶³ Bruce P. Lenman, 'Colonial wars and imperial instability, 1688-1793', in Marshall, *The Oxford History of the British Empire, volume II*, p.163; Colley, *Britons*, pp.102-103; Daniel Baugh, *The Global Seven Years War 1754-1763: Britain and France in a great power contest* (Harlow: Longman, 2011), pp.560-562, 617-619; P. J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India and America, c.1750-1783* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.72.

⁶⁴ Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.8-9.

⁶⁵ Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, pp.9-10; Thomas Mante, *The History of the Late War in North-America, and the Islands of the West-Indies, Including the Campaigns of MDCCLXIII and MDCCLXIV Against His Majesty's Indian Enemies* (London, 1772), p.478.

⁶⁶ Baugh, *The Global Seven Years War*, p.617.

⁶⁷ Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen*, p.9; Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.213.

⁶⁸ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, January 6th 1763, issue 287.

show, opponents of the peace often framed their grievances against Bute's Scottish nationality. In the *North Briton* no.45, Wilkes accused 'the Scottish minister' of betraying King and country through 'the most odious of his measures, the late ignominious *Peace*.'⁶⁹ *The Contrast*, a series of anti-ministerial letters published in the *Gazetteer*, complained bitterly of Scotch ambition 'to rule the poor English with a rod of iron. . . [and] to cram an inadequate peace down their throats, when the English declared for war'.⁷⁰ Numerous newspaper articles, pamphlets and satirical prints referred to the treaty as a 'Scotch Peace'.⁷¹



Figure 2.12 *Dedicated to Peace* (1762), BM Satires 3919

By turning the Treaty of Paris into a 'Scotch Peace', Wilkite propagandists were attempting to reimagine the war as an English campaign undermined by Scots. The Seven

⁶⁹ *North Briton*, April 23rd 1763, issue 45.

⁷⁰ *The Contrast: with Corrections and Restorations. And an Introductory Dissertation on the Origin of the Feuds and Animosities in the State* (London, 1765), p.143.

⁷¹ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, November 4th 1762, issue 258; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, October 5th 1763, Issue 10,784; *London Chronicle*, June 21st 1764, issue 1170; *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, October 25th 1764, issue 568; *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, November 1st 1764; *Reasons why Lord **** Should be Made a Public Example. Addressed to Every Free-born Englishman* (London, 1762), pp.21, 34; *The Boot and the Blockhead* (1762), BM Satires 3977.

Years' War had undoubtedly been a thoroughly British war. Several new Highland regiments were raised to fight across the globe, whilst a great many more Scots fought in ordinary mixed regiments. Militia regiments, too, fostered a strong sense of Britishness by transporting men across the country and introducing them to people from all parts of Britain.⁷² Like many imperial projects in the eighteenth century, the Seven Years' War had been an exercise in British cooperation. Yet this was not the vision of the war presented by Wilkite prints and ballads following the peace. The brave 'Hearts of Oak' in the *Scotch Yoke* were English Hearts of Oak, whilst *The Contrast* proclaimed the war's triumphs as 'the most glorious æra of English history'.⁷³ England's triumphs, however, were all in vain when 'the Scots basely purchased a peace, with those glorious acquisitions.'⁷⁴ As one balladeer lamented,

When with loss of much Treasure and many brave Men,

We had foolishly conquer'd nine places in ten,

How wisely did Jockey give all back again!

Oh the Scotch friend of old England,

And Oh old England's Scotch Friend!⁷⁵

The Wilkite vision of Empire, revealed through reactions to the peace, mirrored the Wilkite vision of power within Britain. In the wake of increasing British cooperation fuelling the expansion of an increasingly *British* Empire, Wilkites sought to reassert the dominant position of England and Englishness. Scotophobic diatribes against the 'Scotch Peace' express a longing for English power as the so-called Celtic Fringe took advantage of the imperial opportunities provided by the Seven Years' War to shake off the shackles of marginalization. English fears of Britishness come across all too clearly in responses to the Peace of Paris. The correspondent with the *St James's Chronicle* who reported French jubilation at the peace preliminaries, for example, spoke of his desire to banish Scots from England in terms of encroaching Britishness. 'By [this] we should preserve that glorious name of Englishmen', he wrote, 'instead of that new-coined one of British: for we detest as

⁷² Stephen Conway, 'War and National Identity in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Isles', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 116, No. 468 (Sep., 2001), pp.876-881.

⁷³ *The Contrast*, p.119.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* pp.120-121.

⁷⁵ *England's Scotch Friend, a New Song by Sawney McStuart* (1763), BM Satires 3961.

much any Alloy in our Blood as we do in our Coin'.⁷⁶ As with coin, the new alloying of identities had, in this writer's opinion, led to a weaker British Empire. A broadside entitled *A New Humorous Medley*, meanwhile, pitted separate British patriotisms against one another. An Englishman, Irishman, Welshman and a Scot gather together after the proclamation of peace to extoll the virtue of their national heroes. Will English mocks Sawney's support for Bute, and sings praise to Pitt, the choice patriot of 'all true Lovers of Old England'. Again, anti-Scottishness is framed within the context of British convergence. All four nations of the British Isles share in the celebration of victory, yet separate patriotisms (and English Scotophobia in particular) seek to fracture British unity.⁷⁷

Regurgitating old suspicions of Scottish loyalty was one effective method of combatting this converging Britishness in the imperial arena. Bute's concessions towards France provided a new opportunity for Wilkites to polemicize over a Franco-Scottish alliance, a tactic which had previously helped to provide assurance of English superiority in the wake of the 1745 Jacobite uprising.⁷⁸ 'The Scotch were always in strict alliance with France, and France has always been the natural enemy of England' wrote *The Contrast* in 1763, echoing comments made in the vehemently Scotophobic *Patriot* a year earlier.⁷⁹ Satirical prints attacking Bute and the peace frequently merged Scottish and French symbolism, combining the thistle with the fleur-de-lis to represent a Franco-Scottish alliance, or else directly depicted Bute scheming with French ministers.⁸⁰ In *The Scotch Cradle* (figure 2.13), Bute extends an olive branch to the French ambassador, proclaiming 'I prefer your master's friendship before any monarch's in Europe'.⁸¹

⁷⁶ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, January 6th 1763, issue 287.

⁷⁷ *A New Humorous Medley, As it was performed on the Evening after the Proclamation of Peace* (London, 1763), BM Satires 4008. For Wilkite Scotophobia as a response to converging Britishness, see Colley, *Britons*, pp.113-116.

⁷⁸ Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.174.

⁷⁹ *The Contrast*, p.139; *Patriot*, June 19th 1762, issue 1.

⁸⁰ See for example *The Lion Well-Booted, or Pettycoat Influence* (1762), BM Satires 3928; George Townshend, *The Game of Hum, invented by the Scotch and French Gamesters* (1762), BM Satires 3935; *Pedigree; a Satire on the Earl of Bute* (1762), BM Satires 3943; *Shave Close, or the Political Barbers* (1762), BM Satires 3959; *The Lion Made Ridiculous by Sawney and Jenny* (1762), BM Satires 3962.

⁸¹ *The Scotch Cradle, or the Caledonian Nurse* (1762), BM Satires 3936.

40 *The scotch Cradle or the Caledonian Nurse.*



Figure 2.13 *The Scotch Cradle, or the Caledonian Nurse* (1762), BM Satires 3936

Such accusations sought to keep alive English fears of latent Scottish Jacobitism, and cast aspersions on the suitability of Scots to serve the British Empire by insinuating that they served the interests of France, Britain's main imperial rival. They also gave Wilkite attacks on Scottish favouritism a more concrete foundation than simple English envy. When these writers railed against the appointment of Scots to powerful imperial positions, such as the appointment of four Scottish governors to the Canadian territories acquired by the treaty in 1763, they could present the Scots not merely as inferior candidates to the English (an argument which in the light of Scottish service in the Seven Years' War was becoming increasingly difficult to uphold), but as a threat to the empire.⁸²

Peace and Excise 2: the Cider Excise

The 1763 Peace of Paris brought an end to a long and very expensive war. In order to raise revenues to pay the £4.7million of interest on Britain's national debt, Bute proposed a tax

⁸² For English attacks on the appointment of Scots to imperial positions see *The Political Controversy: or weekly magazine of Ministerial and Anti-Ministerial Essays, Vol. V* (London, 1763), pp.32-33, 129, 144, 218.

of four shillings on every hogshead of cider.⁸³ His proposals were met with fury from cider-producing regions, particularly in the West Country, yet it was the nature of the tax which provoked this fierce opposition rather than the financial burden. An excise tax allowed the government to search private properties for illegal stills without a warrant.⁸⁴ Naturally many people viewed this as a violation of individual privacy and of the rights and liberties granted to every English citizen. Petitions against the bill poured in from across the country. In a petition to their MP, constituents from Gloucestershire denounced the cider tax as a ‘fatal blow to liberty’, whilst the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of London appealed to the King, arguing that ‘the exposing of private houses to be entered into, and searched, at pleasure, by persons unknown, will be a badge of slavery upon your people’.⁸⁵ Reports from Devonshire claimed that the people had begun to ‘cut down their Orchards and plow [sic] their lands; such is their Aversion to the Excise bill’.⁸⁶

Popular opposition to the cider bill often took the form of attacks on Bute and the Scots. A print entitled *Excise a-la-mode* depicted a particularly exotic-looking Bute directing the King from behind the throne, instructing him to ignore petitions against the cider bill.⁸⁷ In cider-producing regions Bute was burnt in effigy, often accompanied by a great deal of ceremony, such as in this account from Hereford:

Last week a great Number of true Lovers of Cyder and Perry assembled. . . and having prepared an Effigy of a certain Great Man, finely *plaided*, first exposed it in the Pillory, then exalted it on a Gibbet, and lastly threw it into a large Bonfire, where it was consumed to Ashes, amidst a general Huzza.⁸⁸

By dressing the effigy of Bute in tartan plaid, the Hereford protesters were linking the excise directly with Bute’s Scottishness. They were certainly not the only ones to draw this connection. From the outset, opponents to the excise bill portrayed it as Scottish through

⁸³ David Walsh, Adrian Randall, Richard Sheldon and Andrew Charlesworth, ‘The Cider Tax, Popular Symbolism and Opposition in Mid-Hanoverian England’ in Adrian Randall & Andrew Charlesworth (eds.), *Markets, Market Culture and Popular Protest in Eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), p.69.

⁸⁴ Brewer, ‘The misfortunes of Lord Bute’, p.8.

⁸⁵ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, Thursday 21st April 1763; *Lloyd's Evening Post*, April 25th 1763, issue 902.

⁸⁶ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, Thursday 21st April 1763.

⁸⁷ *Excise a-la-mode; or Sawney's Oeconomy* (London, 1763), BM Satires 4009.

⁸⁸ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, Thursday 14 April 1763.

and through. ‘They say Sawney the Schemes did devise’, read one line of the ballad *Excise a-la-mode*, subtitled ‘Sawney’s Oeconomy’, whilst the *Derby Mercury* decried how thanks to Bute, ‘e’en our *Apples* must not grow Scot-free’.⁸⁹ A vast number of other satirical prints laid the blame for excise firmly at the door of Bute or the Scots.⁹⁰

Many opponents of the excise bill explicitly presented the tax as a Scottish attack on English liberty. *The Roasted ExciseMan* (figure 2.14) depicted the lynching of a Scottish figure on a gallows above a burning boot (Bute) with a sign around his neck reading ‘For giving a stab to liberty’. In the background a crowd wave banners emblazed with the cross of St George, ‘Magna Charta’, and ‘Liberty, Property, and no Excise’.⁹¹ A lengthy article in the *Bath Chronicle* warned of how an excise tax could allow a king to rule without Parliament, but also presented the cider excise as the latest chapter in a long scheme spearheaded by Scots to subvert the constitution, Magna Carta and English liberty. Although speaking about King James I, the comparison with Bute’s supposed arbitrary influence on King George is plain to see:

No Prince was ever received with more Joy by his Subjects than King James I. But this inconsiderate Profuseness to unworthy Favourites and to his indigent countrymen, keeping him continually poor, and his imperfect knowledge of the English constitution, and the base Servility of the Scottish vassalage, by which he had been too far initiated with arbitrary Sentiments of Government, inducing him sometimes to attempt an illegal extention [sic] of his Prerogative, raised Discontents and Murmurings amongst the People.⁹²

The article went on to describe how King James passed these arbitrary sentiments down to his son, Charles I, who tore the country apart with civil war. The moral for eighteenth-century readers was all too clear: the cider excise was another ‘Scotch scheme’ to subvert the constitution and enslave the English, which, if left unchecked, risked the ruin of the British nation, the empire and the people.

⁸⁹ *Excise a-la-mode; Derby Mercury*, Friday 08 April 1763.

⁹⁰ See for example *Excise A Comical Hieroglyphical Epistle from [Beelzebub] to [Lord Bute]* (1763), BM Satires 4012; *The Seizure or give the Devil his due* (1763), BM Satires 4026; *Daniel cast into the Den of Lions, or True Blue will never stain* (1763), BM Satires 4030; *The Scotch Yoke; The Grand Triumvirate, or Champions of liberty* (1763), BM Satires 4035; *The Heroes of the Times* (1763), BM Satires 4037; *The Roasted ExciseMan or The Jack Boot's Exit* (1763), BM Satires 4045.

⁹¹ *The Roasted ExciseMan*.

⁹² *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, Thursday 14 April 1763.

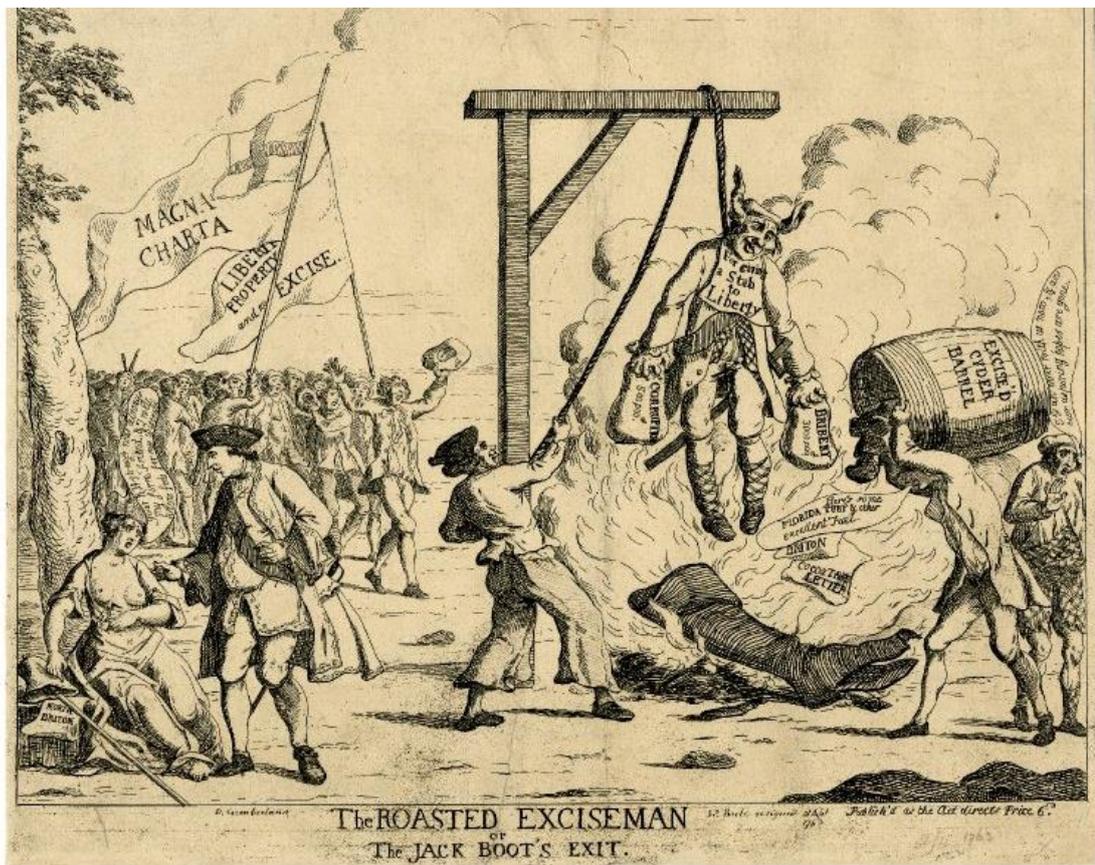


Figure 2.14 *The Roasted ExciseMan or The Jack Boot's Exit* (1763), BM Satires 4045

Lovers of English liberty and opponents of the cider tax were everywhere united in the belief that the excise scheme was enslaving the English beneath a ‘Scotch yoke’. In one popular ballad ‘Thomas Appletree’ lamented:

... how *Scotchmen* flourish, *Englishmen* decline,
 And all our glories fade which, once did shine. . .
 Will no kind friend avert the fatal stroke!
 Must *Britons* bend beneath the *Scottish* yoke?⁹³

This ‘Scottish yoke’ reached its pinnacle in the broadside of 1763, whose title explicitly paired the Scottish taxation with ‘English resentment’. The ballad underneath exhorts the English to reclaim the rights and liberties which have been stripped away by the excise scheme:

Of *Freedom* no longer, let *Englishmen* boast,

⁹³ *The Devil to Pay; or, the state indifference by Thomas Appletree of Herefordshire* (London, 1763), BM Satires 4013.

Nor *Liberty* more be their favourite Toast,
The *Hydra* OPPRESSION your *Charter* defies,
And galls *English* Necks with the *Yoke* of EXCISE.⁹⁴

The ballad's emphasis on England reflects the popular belief that the cider excise was a specific attack by the Scots on the English. Cider production, after all, was overwhelmingly concentrated in Southwest England and unlikely to affect the Scots. 'In what part of Scotland [do] those Apples and Pears grow, of which such Cyders and Perry are to be made?' asked the *Bath Chronicle* in April 1763.⁹⁵ A play satirising Bute and the excise scheme made similar mockery of whom the tax would affect and who it would not. As Bute and his squire toast to the success of the new excise, Bute cries 'While we can get such champagne and burgundy as we have before us, let the cyder drinkers be damn'd!'⁹⁶

English outrage over the excise's extension, however, went far beyond Scotland simply escaping the excise tax. Anti-excise propaganda claimed that the revenue raised by the tax was being funnelled directly to Scotland. The broadside *The Tyburn Interview* linked the excise scheme directly with Scottish migration to England:

. . . for *London* young *Sawney* around turn'd his Eyes,
Where he march'd for a Place in the *new-rais'd* Excise. . .
Ye National Schemers, come tell me I pray,
Your Intention in this, To bring more Scotch in play!
For this must the Tax be enforc'd with all Speed,
For Thousands are coming between *here* and the *Tweed*.⁹⁷

Here the excise scheme is presented as a Scottish affront to the English on multiple levels. Not only did this 'Scotch scheme' rob English men and women of their money and place

⁹⁴ *The Scotch Yoke*.

⁹⁵ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, Thursday 14 April 1763.

⁹⁶ *The Blessings of P****, and a Scotch Excise: or the Humbug Resignation. A farce, in two acts. As it was lately performed at the New Theatre in S- A-y Street by His M----'s Company of Comedians* (London, 1763), p.29.

⁹⁷ *The Tyburn Interview: A New Song* (1763), BM Satires 4017.

them in danger of arbitrary search and seizure, it then used the money to fund the favouritism of beggarly Scottish migrants in public office.

Other attacks on the excise invoked diabolical imagery. So great was the crime against English liberty, they argued, Lord Bute must have allied with the Devil himself to bring it about. A series of anti-excise prints took the form of hieroglyphic correspondences between Beelzebub and Bute. In the first of these, the Devil praises Bute for his artful scheme:

[your] new Excise Scheme is in [my] opinion a [master] Stroke indeed, [which] you may easily [mask] over with the Old Phrase – Pro Bono Publico.⁹⁸

The Devil then urges Bute to extend the tax to cover the necessities of life: bread, milk, small beer, water, fish and fowl. In a later print, Bute replies to the Devil expressing his thanks and his approval of the plan to extend the excise scheme. In hieroglyphic form, Bute tells the Devil of his longing to impose arbitrary power over the whole country, reduce the English to total subjection, and hear them groan ‘beneath the galling oppression of despotic sway and Caledonian Tyranny’.⁹⁹ Other prints such as *The S--- Puppet Show* (figure 2.15) similarly portrayed Bute and the excise scheme as a product of a diabolical alliance.¹⁰⁰ Such Scotophobic prints sought to link Scotland with the worst kind of wickedness imaginable to a Protestant Christian nation. Scots, the prints maintain, are not only dangerous on a political, economic, social or cultural level, but downright evil, on par with the Devil himself and certainly in his service.

⁹⁸ *Excise A Comical Hieroglyphical Epistle.*

⁹⁹ *An Hieroglyphic Epistle from [Lord Bute] to [Beelzebub] in Answer to that lately receiv'd from Pandemonium* (1763), BM Satires 4044.

¹⁰⁰ *The S- Puppitt Shew or the whole Play of King Solomon the Wise* (1763), BM Satires 4049.



Figure 2.15 *The S-Puppitt Shew or the whole Play of King Solomon the Wise* (1763), *BM Satires* 4049

Alongside this diabolic symbolism, sexual imagery was also invoked to protest against the cider tax and its violation of liberty. *The Devil to Pay* (figure 2.16) portrayed searches by excise officers as an act of rape. One officer pushes a woman to the floor and lifts up her dress saying ‘my orders are to search every where’. Another woman fights off two officers attempting to break down her door, emptying a chamber pot over their heads and crying ‘Your Scotch Master loves Women’s Flesh; here’s some o’ the Broth!’ Beneath the print a ballad decries ‘. . . how *Excisemen* may now search our houses / Rummage our butts, our daughters, and our spouses.’¹⁰¹ The use of the rape metaphor for the cider excise takes the image of Scottish masculine power to its pinnacle. Scots were now not only penetrating the nation and the King’s mother, but the ordinary English people as well. These prints were a warning that the power of Bute and Scots has gone beyond all control, leading to the raping and pillaging of England and its citizens.

¹⁰¹ *The Devil to Pay; or, the state indifference.*



Figure 2.16 *The Devil to Pay; or, the state indifference by Thomas Appletree of Herefordshire* (London, 1763), BM Satires 4013

Whilst protests against the cider excise extended typical attacks on Bute and Scottish power, the true importance of this measure in relation to Scotophobia lies in the people it affected. Wilkite Scotophobia was often able to rouse a crowd in London, but anti-Scottish crowd activity outside of the metropolis was rare. The excise tax on cider provoked popular hostility in the West Country where there had previously been little organised opposition to Bute. Unlike Wilkite rhetoric attacking Bute as a threat to the constitution and the nation as a concept, the cider excise could be invoked as evidence of the Scots' tangible threat to ordinary English people. Prints depicting excise men ransacking English houses and attacking English women provided convincing evidence to many people that Scottish politics was something for them to personally fear through its direct effect on them as individuals, namely the invasion of their private lives and liberties. In so doing, it helped Wilkite Scotophobia to spread beyond the confines of bourgeois political radicalism outside of London, and become something embraced by men and women from a wide spectrum of social classes.

2.3 A new Scottish stereotype – the canny careerist

Wilkite attacks on Bute and Scottish power, therefore, were based on a combination of English fears for the loss of their liberty and traditional English xenophobia towards their

Northern neighbours. Yet the sudden rise of rampant Scotophobia in the early 1760s was largely a response to increasingly prominent role Scots were playing in British society. As the arch-Scot, Bute was singled out as the embodiment of Scottish power and influence, but in Wilkite prints he was often supported and surrounded by hordes of his countrymen. These were the new Caledonians arriving in Money-land and instantly gaining government posts, the tartan-clad courtiers circling Gisbal and Bathsheba.¹⁰² As discussed earlier in this chapter, English fears of latent Scottish Jacobitism and arbitrary power underlay many of these attacks on Scots in positions of power. Simple English resentment towards Scottish success, however, also drove this polemic forward in the press, as bitter English commentators complained time and again that Scots were stealing jobs which rightfully belonged to Englishmen.¹⁰³ These years consequently saw the emergence of a new Scottish stereotype to supplement to traditional Scottish savage: the cunning, artful careerist Scot who fawned and flattered their way up the ranks.

The new stereotype of cunning, cringing Scots fawning their way into power is perfectly displayed in the character of Sir Pertinax Macsycophant in Charles Macklin's play *The Man of the World*. Having gained a fortune by marrying a rich widow on the verge of death, Sir Pertinax tells his son how he proceeded to bow and wriggle his way up the ranks:

Sir, I bowed, and watched, and hearkened, and ran about, backwards and forwards; and attended, and dangled upon the then great man, till I got intill [sic] the vary bowels of his confidence – and then, sir, I wriggled, and wrought, and wriggled, till I wriggled myself among the very thick of them.¹⁰⁴

Macklin's play was originally performed in Dublin in 1764 under the title of the *The True Born Scotsman*. His efforts to stage the production in London, however, were blocked by government censors – a reflection of the new Scottish power his play itself lampoons. It was not until 1781 that London audiences first saw the play under the watered-down title *The Man of the World*.¹⁰⁵ Macklin himself was certain that the censors were so averse to his play because the characters were a little too close for comfort. '[Censorship] is a nice manoeuvre,' he scornfully acknowledged, 'and it befits a Minister, in this Country, to

¹⁰² *The Caledonians Arrival in Money-Land; Gisbal and Bathsheba in the Hyperborean Tale*.

¹⁰³ See for example *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, June 30th 1762, issue 774; *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, July 1st 1762, issue 10,355.

¹⁰⁴ Charles Macklin, *The Man of the World* (London, 1795), p.45.

¹⁰⁵ Colley, *Britons*, p.122.

know how to gain the people, and how to divert and baffle a charge that may be brought against him.¹⁰⁶ Macklin's vision of scheming, fawning Scots is mirrored in a number of late eighteenth-century satirical prints. Richard Newton's *Progress of a Scotsman* from 1794 (figure 2.17), for example, echoes *The Caledonians Arrival in Money-land*, depicting the rise of a beggarly Highlander to the House of Lords by 'booing', 'making love to a rich widow', and other underhand tactics.¹⁰⁷



Figure 2.17 Richard Newton, *Progress of a Scotsman* (London, 1794), BM Satires 8550, © The Trustees of the British Museum

The canny Scottish stereotype by no means conflicts with the image of Scots as barbarians. Indeed, the savage characters of Sawney and Peg were also often depicted as

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in James Thomas Kirkman, *Memoirs of the life of Charles Macklin, esq.*, vol. II (London, 1799), p.287-289.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Newton, *Progress of a Scotsman* (London, 1794), BM Satires 8550. See also *The Powerfull Recommendation or Sawney at St ****** (1761), BM Satires 3829; Jones, *The Posts; The loaded Boot or Scotch preferment in Motion or Monsieurs will you ride* (c.1762), BM Satires 3911; James Dareny *A Privy Council* (1779), BM Satires 5569.

cunning and ambitious. The Scotsman in Newton's *Progress* is every inch Sawney Scot, the scrawny, angry Highlander, ragged and trouserless, rubbing himself against a post to relieve the infernal itch. A recurring theme in many satirical prints of the early 1760s is the ascension of Sawney Scot from poor, bedraggled Highland peasant to rich government placeman, commonly through favours and hand-outs from other powerful Scots.¹⁰⁸ Despite her hot temper, Peg was still 'a tight clever wench as any was', and full of ambition and pride. Although portrayed as the poverty-stricken sister of John Bull by satirists, 'nothing could offend her more than to be told out of doors that she was not the richest heiress in the world'.¹⁰⁹ A ballad of 1782 tells of Peg's trickery. John Bull, taking pity on her meagre situation, takes his sister into his house. She proceeds to corrupt John's wife and bring in her manservant, Sawney, who steals John's treasure and drives him to ruin. Finally, John summons his friends to kick out Peg and Sawney and save him from bankruptcy.¹¹⁰

The new cunning stereotype of Scots is partly explained by their increased presence in formerly Anglocentric institutions, but is also partly a product of modernity itself. We can gain a more complete understanding of its emergence if we turn to the work of sociologists. Christie Davies, an expert on the sociological aspects of humour, has written extensively on the origin and nature of jokes involving ethnicity.¹¹¹ One of his leading theories concerns the binary nature of ethnic stereotyping: in most societies, one particular ethnic group is singled out and labelled as stupid or dim-witted, whilst another ethnic group is labelled as 'canny' (crafty, stingy, etc.).¹¹² In English society, Davies argues, these two roles are filled by the Irish and the Scots respectively.¹¹³ We can easily see this attitude towards Scots mirrored in Newton's *Progress*, as well as in other late eighteenth-century

¹⁰⁸ See for example George Townshend, *We are all Come or Scotch Coal burns longer than Pitt or Newcastle Coal* (1762), BM Satires 3858; George Townshend, *Scotch Arrogance or the English Worthies turn'd of Doors* (1762), BM Satires 3863; *The Laird of the Boot, or Needs must when the De'el drives* (1762), BM Satires 3898; *The loaded Boot or Scotch preferment in Motion or Monsieurs will you ride* (c.1762), BM Satires 3911; *The Scotch Butt Or the English Archers* (c.1762), BM Satires 3956.

¹⁰⁹ *Law is a bottomless pit*, p.82; *The History of the Proceedings in the Case of Margaret, Commonly called Peg, only Lawful Sister to John Bull, esq.* (London, 1761), p.6.

¹¹⁰ *Sawney Ganging Back Again being Turned out of Place* (1782), BM Satires 6005.

¹¹¹ See particularly, 'Ethnic Jokes, Moral Values and Social Boundaries', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Sep., 1982), pp. 383-403; *Ethnic Humour Around the World: A Comparative Analysis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); *The Mirth of Nations* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2002).

¹¹² Davies, 'Ethnic Jokes', p.384; Davies, *Ethnic Humour Around the World*, p.20.

¹¹³ Davies, 'Ethnic Jokes', p.385.

prints. *The Union Coach* by Isaac Cruikshank perfectly conveys the English image of canny Scots and dim-witted Irishmen. A coach symbolising the United Kingdom is being driven by Pitt; the main compartment is occupied by Scots, one asking ‘is this the way to the treasury?’ The Irish, however, have been duped into occupying the basket at the back of the coach, as the Scots have told them that ‘the back seats were the best’. Dundas, the new arch-Scot, throws them nut-shells from his seat on top of the coach.¹¹⁴ Similarly, Newton’s *National Characteristics* shows ‘a Highland laird’ with airs above his station and ‘an Irish Chairman’ scratching his head in puzzlement.¹¹⁵

Davies himself pinpoints the late eighteenth century as the origin of these two stereotypes in Britain. As a general rule, he states, the dual figures of stupid/canny ethnicities are found in societies characterised by ‘an advanced capitalist economy, political democracy and social pluralism’; in short, what might be termed ‘modern’ societies.¹¹⁶ If we accept Davies’ theory, it is clear that Scots were in the perfect position to occupy the ‘canny’ stereotype; the years of Bute’s tenure had apparently given English society enough evidence to label Scots as just such characters. But why should any society require these dual stereotypes? Davies provides an answer to this question, and it is one which implies some rather interesting developments in the perceived place of Scots within a newly emerging British identity. In jokes involving ethnicity, Davies argues, the joke-tellers often project traits judged to be socially ‘undesirable’ onto peripheral ethnic groups within their society.¹¹⁷ Scots, therefore, are being assigned characteristics deemed to be on the ‘moral periphery’ of society, in this case craftiness and stinginess. These traits would have been judged as undesirable according to an English identity which placed great importance on the values of honesty and candour.¹¹⁸ They were therefore projected onto the Scots in order to associate these values with outsiders. We can recognise in this something of the process of Othering; by defining Scots as crafty and stingy the English could define themselves as honest and generous through contrast.

¹¹⁴ Isaac Cruikshank, *The Union Coach* (1799), BM Satires 9394. It should be noted that Cruikshank was himself a Scot. However, *The Union Coach* was a print produced by a London publisher and intended for an English audience. National loyalties certainly did not impede the half-Scottish James Gillray from producing his grotesque version of *Sawney in the Bog-house*.

¹¹⁵ Richard Newton, *National Characteristics* (1795), BM Satires undescribed.

¹¹⁶ Davies, ‘Ethnic Jokes’, p.384, 393.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.386.

¹¹⁸ Langford, *Englishness Identified*, pp.122-128, 148-157.

As Cruikshank and Newton's caricatures demonstrate, this new canny careerist Scottish stereotype proved to be extremely enduring. As the following chapters in this thesis will show, English images of Scottish cunning were strengthened by an ongoing conspiracy theory of secret Scottish power personified by Bute and his 'Scotch Junto'. Whilst Cruikshank, Newton and other cartoonists in the 1790s primarily sought to lampoon Scottish ambition and pretension, however, Wilkite polemic in the 1760s and 1770s saw Scottish cunning as something to be feared. In place of armed rebellion, canniness provided would-be Scottish Jacobites with a new road to John Bull's farm.

Conclusion

The years of Bute's tenure as Prime Minister from 1762 to 1763 saw potent and widespread anti-Scottish sentiment in England which was to set the tone for English Scotophobia for many years to come. The strongest themes within Scotophobic Wilkite rhetoric were power, liberty, the empire and gender, each in some way threatened, abused or misused by Bute and his fellow Scots. The supposed alliance between Bute and Princess Dowager showed both English fears of female and overbearing barbaric male power in government. This in turn provided an ideal standard for chivalrous, controlled English masculinity which sat comfortably between these two extremes. The Peace of Paris and the cider excise, meanwhile, were seen by the English as the fruits of this undue Scottish power: the loss of liberty at home and the ruin of the British Empire abroad.

Of course, it was not the Peace of Paris that was to prove disastrous to the fate of the British Empire in North America, but rather subsequent government policies of taxation and coercion. Wilkite Scotophobia during the early 1760s, however, heavily influenced attacks on these very policies in the years to come. By breathing new life into old fears of Scottish power and its connotations of Jacobitism, despotic rulers and French alliances, Wilkites turned the Scots into Britain's 'enemy within'. As the following chapters will demonstrate, Scots came under fire for all manner of subsequent unpopular government policies as the supposed manipulators of power from behind the curtain. As we examine these attacks, we should view them in the context of an increasingly converging British national identity in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War. Often they stemmed from English insecurities over the balance of power within this new Britain and the unfamiliar directions imperial policy seemed to be taking. Wilkites, the English opposition and American colonists responded by reasserting Englishness, along with the ideals and values with which it was associated. The Peace of Paris, the excise on cider, the Stamp Act, the St

George's Fields Massacre, the Middlesex election dispute, the Intolerable Acts, and finally the outbreak of war with America – all of these things seemed to contemporaries to be so at odds with the notions of English liberty, the cornerstone of English national identity. Each time, the unfamiliar and apparently un-English nature of these policies was blamed on the un-English element within the nation: the Scots.

Chapter 3: American Scotophobia in the 1760s

Scotophobia in the British Atlantic during the 1760s mostly revolved around events in England. In London the ongoing conflict between Wilkes and successive ministries stirred up crowds and kept anti-Scottish sentiment alive in the press, whilst in provincial areas such as the West Country the excise tax on cider fuelled popular demonstrations against Bute and the Scots. Consequently, it is tempting to take an entirely Anglocentric approach to Scotophobia in this era. This is indeed the approach taken by most previous studies of Wilkite Scotophobia. Linda Colley and Adam Rounce both speak of Scotophobia as an almost entirely English (and predominantly London-based) phenomenon.¹ The same can be said of works concerned primarily with popular politics and Wilkite radicalism, such as those by John Brewer, George Rudé and Kathleen Wilson.² Although the Wilkites' concerns were sometimes imperial, the arena of study remains England.

Yet Wilkitism was not confined to England. As Pauline Maier has shown, Wilkite radicalism had a strong influence on many Americans throughout the 1760s and early 1770s.³ The colonists kept a close eye on Wilkes' public writings, followed his trials and tribulations, and drank toasts to 'Wilkes and Liberty'.⁴ Colonial newspapers (which reprinted entire editions of the *North Briton* and other Wilkite writings) allowed the colonists to closely follow the course of Wilkite radicalism in Britain. This was a decade in which American newspapers began to take on a new role of 'communicating liberty' in the words of William Warner, spreading ideas of liberty and resistance across the American colonies.⁵ The Americans identified so heavily with Wilkes because the issues of the Wilkite movement closely resembled their own. Wilkes' campaigns against excessive ministerial power (especially over the issue of general warrants) resonated strongly with Americans who opposed the Stamp Act, whilst his trial for seditious libel made him a martyr for the cause of liberty. When the colonists had to decide whether to resist the

¹ Colley, *Britons*, pp.105-134; Rounce, "Stuarts without end", pp.20-43.

² Brewer, *Party ideology*; Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty*; Wilson, *Sense of the People*, pp.206-236.

³ Pauline Maier, 'John Wilkes and American disillusionment with Britain', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol.20, No.3 (1763), pp.373-395; Maier, *Resistance to Revolution*, pp.162-178, 256-257. See also Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*, pp.110-112

⁴ Maier, 'John Wilkes', p.375.

⁵ Warner, 'Communicating Liberty', pp.339-361.

government in order to protect their liberties, Wilkes' own example showed that resistance could be right and just.⁶

Maier's work has certainly shown the strong political influence of Wilkite radicalism in America, yet the influence of English Wilkitem on anti-Scottish sentiment in America during the 1760s remains largely unexplored. This chapter will examine the extent to which Scotophobia also crossed the Atlantic on the back of Wilkite politics. Firstly, it will examine the reprinting of Scotophobic Wilkite writing in American newspapers, and assess the extent to which these ideas were embraced by the Americans during the early 1760s. An analysis of American newspapers during Bute's tenure suggests that American colonists were less concerned about the dangers of Scottish politics perceived by Wilkite radicals in Britain, yet the circulation of Wilkite writing in America provided a foundation upon which American Scotophobia could build as the decade progressed. It will then explore how the coercive policies of the British government towards America began to convince Americans of the existence of a 'Scotch plot' to deprive them of their liberties, beginning with the Stamp Act in 1765.

This chapter primarily focuses on New England and the middle colonies rather than the Southern colonies and the Chesapeake, although Wilkes' connections with Virginia are discussed towards the end of the chapter. This focus allows for a general discussion of early Wilkite Scotophobia in America, supported by a burgeoning newspaper culture unmatched by the Southern colonies. As chapter seven demonstrates, the social and economic circumstances of Virginia and the Chesapeake led to an extremely potent wave of Scotophobia in that region in the 1770s. An examination of Virginian Scotophobia has thus been reserved for chapter seven, whilst this chapter focuses on the transference of Wilkite Scotophobia to the New England colonies through the colonial press.

3.1 Early Wilkite Scotophobia and the colonial press

Colonial newspapers in particular provided Americans with a wealth of information on Wilkes. The colonial press at the time reprinted a large selection of material from London newspapers, including a vast amount of Wilkite writings alongside full editions of the *North Briton* itself. Although copied word for word from the London press, these reprints should not be dismissed as unimportant or irrelevant to the Americans. Demand for

⁶ Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution*, pp.162-163.

London news in the colonies was high, and American printers would sometimes add their own comments to the extracts.⁷ Upon acquiring issue 42 of the *North Briton*, the *Providence Gazette* reprinted the paper across their entire page, and boasted that it had ‘never made its appearance before in any other *American Paper*’. The *Providence Gazette* instructed its readers to decide for themselves whether the ‘severe censures’ in the issue (mainly Wilkes’ invectives towards Scots gaining all the best commissions in the army) sprang from ‘truly honest and patriotic principles’, or simply a sign of Wilkes’ jealousy. However, they pronounced themselves assured that the ‘*spirit and temper* of its author’ would be satisfying for their readers.⁸

Some American printers reproduced London Wilkite pamphlets in their entirety. In 1763, two printers in Philadelphia and Boston reprinted *An Authentick account of the proceedings against John Wilkes, Esq*, a detailed description of Wilkes’ arrest and trial supplemented with a selection of newspaper commentaries, a defence of Habeas Corpus, and the infamous forty-fifth edition of the *North Briton*. Naturally enough, this pamphlet abounded with Scotophobic comments. Many of these came from Wilkes himself in a transcript of his speech made during his trial at the court of common pleas. He warned any ministers harbouring ‘*Scottish* and arbitrary principles’ that they could never hope to defeat English liberty, and complained that the cruelties of their actions towards him, particularly his imprisonment in the Tower of London, were ‘worse than if I had been a *Scots* rebel’.⁹ By choosing to italicise all references to Scotland, the printers emphasized the underlying Anglo-Scottish conflict throughout the trial. Whilst the main issues of the trial itself clearly revolved around the liberties of the subject, habeas corpus and freedom from general warrants, Wilkes and Wilkite publishers still set these within a Scottish framework, reminding their English and American readers all the while that Scots remained the true enemies of liberty.

Another section of the pamphlet expanded on Wilkes’ reference to Scottish Jacobite rebels. The piece, entitled *The Contrast*, had initially been sent to the *Public*

⁷ Langford, ‘British correspondence in the colonial press’, pp.273-313.

⁸ *Providence Gazette*, August 6th 1763, vol.1, issue 42.

⁹ *An Authentick account of the proceedings against John Wilkes, Esq; Member of Parliament for Aylesbury, and late colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia. Containing all the papers relative to this interesting affair, from that gentleman's being taken into custody by His Majesty's messengers, to his discharge at the Court of Common Pleas. With an abstract of that precious jewel of an Englishman, the Habeas Corpus Act. Also the North Briton no. 45. Being the paper for which Mr. Wilkes was sent to the Tower. Addressed to all lovers of liberty.* (Philadelphia, 1763), p.19.

Ledger, and contained a series of contrasts between Wilkes and those other famous prisoners of the Tower of London, ‘*rebellious and tyrannical SCOTS*’. The list gives an impression that Scots were in every single way the polar opposite of Wilkes:

He is a staunch Whig, they were notorious Jacobites. He is zealously attached to our present royal family of Brunswick, the glorious maintainers of our civil and religious rights. They were bigotted [sic] to the tyrant family of the Stuarts, who for repeated attempts to enslave a free people, and reduce them to the state of SCOTCH VASSALS, was BANISHED.¹⁰

Other contrasts included Wilkes’ opposition to the cider excise, and his support for the freedom of the press and habeas corpus, all of which the writer sets in firm opposition to the Scots. The writer portrays Wilkes as the personification of English liberty, a noted tendency amongst Wilkite writers of the time.¹¹ Held against the light of Wilkes’ very English brand of liberty, the Scots are portrayed as everything averse to this liberty; supporters of ‘*Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power*’.¹² Although the writer claimed at the outset to be contrasting Wilkes specifically with the Scottish Jacobite rebels of 1745, it is abundantly clear throughout the piece that they do not differentiate between these rebels and the Scottish people as a whole. ‘Col. *Wilkes* Attachment to the present Royal Family has been gratis’, the writer boasted; ‘Where is the SCOT that can say the same?’¹³

American newspapers also reprinted their London counterpart’s attacks on the Earl of Bute and Scottish favouritism. The *Boston Evening Post*, the *New Hampshire Gazette*, the *Newport Mercury* and the *New York Gazette* all reported that Bute had made sixteen new appointments to the Treasury, ‘14 of whom were Scotch’.¹⁴ The *Providence Gazette*, meanwhile, reprinted a satirical ‘political dictionary’ from the *London Magazine*, supposedly written to help readers navigate the rhetoric of contemporary political discourse. Dripping with sarcasm, the dictionary clarified ministerial language for the paper’s readers, turning what had been written into what was really meant:

An upright minister – Lord Bute

A man of superior excellence and virtue – Ditto

¹⁰ *An Authentick account of the proceedings against John Wilkes, Esq.*, pp.23-24.

¹¹ Colley, *Britons*, p.112.

¹² *An Authentick account of the proceedings against John Wilkes, Esq.*, p.24.

¹³ *An Authentick account of the proceedings against John Wilkes, Esq.*, p.24.

¹⁴ *Boston Evening Post*, June 20th 1763, issue 1450; *New Hampshire Gazette*, June 24th 1763, issue 351; *Newport Mercury*, June 27th 1763, issue 251; *New York Gazette*, June 27th 1763, issue 237.

The firmest friend of the Sovereign – Ditto

The truest lover of his country – Ditto.¹⁵

The dictionary also attacked Scots in general. ‘*A good subject*’ was defined as ‘a man with a bare backside, and a lover of the itch’, whilst ‘*Scandal and detraction*’ were simply ‘a regard for the name of Englishman, and an aversion to the itch’. ‘*Arrogance and presumption*’, meanwhile, were defined as ‘the smallest dissent from the opinion of an insolent Scot, and refusal of that implicit submission to an over-bearing minister.’

Provisions for David Hume, John Home, David Mallet ‘and other *Scotch* writers, who had drawn their pens in favour of a *Scotch* Minister’ were derided as ‘*the encouragement of genius*’.¹⁶

In the summer of 1763, a tract entitled ‘a New North Briton’ appeared in the American press. This piece was penned by the pseudonymous John Pompey Wilkes, who was also editor of *The Political Controversy*, a weekly magazine consisting of extracts from popular political papers.¹⁷ Wilkes himself denied authorship, and personally wrote a disavowal to the *Public Advertiser*, the paper in which the tract was originally published.¹⁸ Although not penned by Wilkes, the tract received a lot of attention in England, and was reprinted in at least two American newspapers.¹⁹ In an attempt to emulate Wilkes, the writer liberally strewed his attack on Bute with numerous invectives against the Scots. He mocked Scottish ‘second sight’, the itch, the Erse language, even the Scots’ ‘poor, meager, barren, and uncultivated soil [which] will allow nothing to grow upon it but thistles’. Ironically mourning Bute’s resignation, Pompey Wilkes lamented the fate of the many Scots who had travelled to England with hopes of benefitting from Bute’s patronage:

What is to become of those numberless *Sawneys*, who are now upon the *North Road*, hastening up in hopes of Preferment? They must go *bock* again to the *Cave*

¹⁵ *Providence Gazette*, October 29th 1763, vol.2, issue 54. The dictionary was originally printed over two issues of Edward and Isaac Kimber’s *London Magazine*, June 1763, vol.32, p.287 and July 1763, vol.32, p.378.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Robert Donald Spector, *Political Controversy: a Study in Eighteenth-Century Propaganda* (London: Greenwood, 1992), p.65.

¹⁸ *Public Advertiser*, April 11th 1763, Issue 8873. For Wilkes’ response see *The Gentleman’s and London Magazine: or, Monthly Chronologer, MDCCLXIII*, vol.32 (Dublin, 1763), p.195.

¹⁹ *Boston Evening Post*, July 4th 1763, issue 1452; *Providence Gazette*, July 9th 1763, vol.1, issue 38.

of FAMINE. Should your Lordship, before you had resigned, have left one single Scot unprovided for, or have left one *Englishman* in Place?²⁰

Pompey Wilkes also drew on many other typical Wilkite issues of the early 1760s; the cider excise, the Peace of Paris, the liberty of the press and Jacobitism were all used to damn Bute and ridicule the Scots in equal measure.

3.2 The limitations of American Scotophobia in the early 1760s

The American colonists, therefore, appear to have been well-furnished with deeply Scotophobic Wilkite writings during the early 1760s. Yet the extent to which the publication of Scotophobic material in American newspapers represents popular feelings in the colonies at this point in time is much less clear. Firstly, it must be remembered that these tracts are almost entirely reprints from English newspapers. The American colonists themselves rarely produced Wilkite or Scotophobic literature of their own during the early 1760s, so news of Wilkes' ordeals and the tirades against the Scots are simply classified as 'news from London'. From this, all we can say with certainty is that Americans were interested in current events in London, especially the Wilkite agitation, but we cannot say whether they supported Wilkes or harbored similar sentiments towards the Scots. This is somewhat unsurprising, given that the colonists at this point in time were both geographically far-removed from these events and largely unaffected by them.

Secondly, reprinted reports and discussion of the Wilkes/Bute affair in the colonial press was noticeably more balanced than in London newspapers. Contemporary English newspapers were often aligned to particular parties or factions, and few sought to take a balanced approach to the Wilkes/Bute affair. Papers such as the *London Evening Post* and the *Gazetteer* commonly favoured Wilkes, whilst ministerial publications such as the *Briton* defended Bute. In contrast, American newspapers prior to the Revolutionary crisis strived for independence and impartiality. Their marketplace was small, and their readership did not have the luxury enjoyed by Londoners of choosing from a wide selection of different papers. Editors therefore did not want to alienate a significant proportion of their customers by lending their support to certain politicians and denouncing others. Impartiality maximized readership, which in turn maximized profits.²¹

²⁰ *Boston Evening Post*, July 4th 1763, issue 1452.

²¹ Stephen Botein, 'Printers and the American Revolution', in Bailyn and Hench, *The Press and the American Revolution*, pp.11-57; Jennifer Tebbe, 'Print and American culture', *American Quarterly*,

Consequently, colonial newspapers tended to publish a wide variety of opinion pieces to appease their many demographics, and only very occasionally rejected letters deemed ‘too extreme’.²² So, although American newspapers did indeed reproduce numerous attacks on Bute and the Scots, they also reprinted a large number of articles which spoke in their defense. The *New York Gazette* introduced its reprint of the *North Briton* number 45 alongside some other seemingly Wilkite Scotophobic articles with a disclaimer stating that ‘Last Monday we advanced in favour of Mr. B. and this Monday, the two following Extracts from the *North Briton*. . . are ushered in for the opposite Side.’²³

Numerous vindications of Bute appeared over the coming months, many of which also denounced popular Scotophobia. In July 1763, the *Providence Gazette* reprinted a letter from London defending the Peace of Paris and Bute. Introducing the letter, the *Gazette* described the writer as ‘a Gentleman (not a *Scotchman*) of good Sense and Judgment’, and believed that a piece in defense of Bute would please their readers ‘amidst the much at present published against the peace.’²⁴ The letter itself defended the peace treaty in terms of economic stability, but took particular care to denounce popular Scotophobia and the attacks made against Bute on the basis of his Scottish nationality. ‘Calumny has endeavoured to blast his reputation,’ the writer acknowledged, ‘but her Aspersion have chiefly been founded on his being a Scot, a malevolent Distinction, which should have been buried, never to rise again, from the Date of the Union’.²⁵

A letter in the *Boston Evening Post* a few days later expressed very similar sentiments. Introduced as the observations of a ‘South Briton’ on Wilkes’ speech before the Court of Common Pleas, this letter also criticized Wilkes for illiberal and unjustifiable attacks on the Scottish people. ‘I never had, or desire to have, any particular Connections with *Scotsmen*,’ the writer claimed, ‘but, in the Name of Common Sense, why this Outcry that runs through the whole Speech about *Scottish Principles*, *Scottish Cruelty* and a *Scots Rebel*?’ The letter was in general very scathing towards Wilkes, describing him as ‘not considerable enough to deserve anything but Disregard’ and his speech as ‘the weakest that was ever made’, but was particularly critical of his Scotophobia. The writer claimed that

vol.32, no.3 (1980), p.262; Adelman, “A Constitutional Conveyance of Intelligence, Public and Private”, pp.710-711.

²² Copeland, *Debating the Issues in Colonial Newspapers*, p.xiii.

²³ *New York Gazette*, June 27th 1763, issue 237. The paper’s vindication of the Earl of Bute appears in *New York Gazette*, June 20th 1763, issue 236.

²⁴ *Providence Gazette*, July 9th 1763, vol.1, issue 38.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Wilkes simply exploited anti-Scottish sentiment for ‘raising the Passions’ of his supporters, and accused him of hypocrisy in his failure to condemn enemies of liberty amongst the English. ‘Oppression and Despotism,’ the writer maintained, ‘are as bad in *Englishmen* as in *Scotsmen*.’ The letter concluded that Wilkes’ Scotophobia was likely to cost him the support of all sensible people who might otherwise support him, as ‘all Whigs, Lovers of Liberty, and steady, judicious Defenders of it, must for ever disclaim the Services of so indecent a Writer as the North Britain’.²⁶

‘A letter in vindication of the Earl of Bute’ accompanied the *South Briton*’s observations on the front page of the *Boston Evening Post*, condemning how even ‘the place of his nativity’ had been hurled against him by Wilkites. Instead of the Machiavellian, scheming Jacobite described by Wilkes, this letter claimed that Bute was an able minister whose conduct ‘shines with a splendour of generosity and disinterestedness that must strike every unprejudiced mind, and even soften the rage of prejudice itself’. The real threat to the constitution, the writer argued, came from ‘the temerity of seditious men, working on the passions of their fellow subjects.’²⁷

Two weeks later, the *Newport Mercury* published a letter from a member of parliament commenting on the disgraceful insults levied against Bute and his fellow Scots. The MP wrote of how Wilkes and other journalists had endeavoured to ‘inflame the minds of the English against their fellow subjects’, and ‘indiscriminately attacked [Bute’s] whole nation, in a language that would disgrace the very dregs of the people’. Wilkite Scotophobia, the writer claimed, was a call to arms for Scots and ‘sensible Englishmen’ to stand up to these ‘villies of filth’:

Shall a whole nation, honest and brave, tamely submit to the infamous and groundless reproaches of a few abandoned hirelings? And can they see without indignation, these reproaches received and approved by numbers of the people?

As an example of how Britons on both sides of the Tweed should behave towards one another, the MP turned to the armed forces. The army and the navy, he argued, were filled with ‘brave men of both nations who have seen and experienced the courage of each other

²⁶ *Boston Evening Post*, July 11th 1763, issue 1453.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

in the field and on the ocean, [who] incorporate and converse like brethren like soldiers and like fellow subjects.’²⁸

An article in the *New Hampshire Gazette* appealed to its readers to learn an important lesson from the long history of conflict in Anglo-Scottish relations. Entitled ‘A Word to the Opposition’, the article appealed to the English and the Scots to unite for the good of the nation. Throughout history, it claimed, ‘the great source of calamity to this island was the mutual opposition of the southern and northern parts thereof to one another.’ As divided kingdoms, Scotland became a weapon ‘artfully used by France’, and the mutual antagonism between the two nations ‘kept always open a door of destruction for the French, or any other enemy to come into the heart of this island, to ravage, lay waste and desolate the same’. The writer made a powerful case for British unity and gave a strong rebuttal against Wilkite Scotophobia:

What open and avowed enemy could wish a heavier curse on Great-Britain, than the dissolution of that bond of peace, amity and united interest, safety and tranquillity, that now happily connects these two (formerly divided) kingdoms into one happy, flourishing, and powerful nation, become by its union formidable to its enemies, respectable among foreign powers, and almost invulnerable in itself?²⁹

The writer denounced the Wilkites and opposition writers for stirring up animosities between England and Scotland under a ‘mask of patriotism’, and defended Bute from their attacks. These men, he claimed, turned to Scotophobia because they could not fault Bute’s actions as a minister. The writer finished by expressing his hope that all rational and sensible people will see through ‘the rage and heat of the less discerning’, and encouraged all Britons to unite for the sake of imperial strength: ‘May no baneful spirit of discord be let loose among us, to distract us with local animosities, and the reviving of bloody tragedies of former days, to our land (by unity become a paradise) into a desert!’³⁰ In many ways the writer’s appeal to Anglo-Scottish unity in the face of a French enemy supports Linda Colley’s argument of Britishness being forged against a French Catholic ‘Other’, although in England they were largely drowned out at this point in time by the voices of disunion.

²⁸ *Newport Mercury*, July 25th 1763, issue 255.

²⁹ *New Hampshire Gazette*, September 9th 1763, issue 362.

³⁰ *New Hampshire Gazette*, September 9th 1763, issue 362.

These appeals to Anglo-Scottish unity for the sake of imperial strength likely carried more resonance in the colonies, the frontier of the British Empire, than in London. The threat from France to the British Empire was more apparent to colonists who had experienced first-hand the precarious and fragile boundaries of British sovereignty in America during the Seven Years' War. For the greater part of the previous decade, British North America and the Atlantic provided the arena for a bloody and expensive war against enemies even more alien than the Scots, particularly the French and American Indians. Whilst Britain had emerged victorious, these enemies were still far from vanquished. Consequently, some commentators believed that British unity for the sake of the empire should set all other national distinctions aside. 'He is now a bad Scotchman who is not a good Englishman,' proclaimed a letter in the Connecticut newspaper the *New London Summary*, 'and he is a bad Englishman who is not a good Scotchman.' These 'mutual interests' would ideally produce 'mutual affection'. The writer also praised the Scots for their 'martial spirit', 'hardy bodies', 'acute and vigorous minds', their industry and activity, all of which were now being employed for the benefit of Great Britain and the British Empire. England and Scotland, he argued, had been brought together by nature itself, which 'has fenced them both with the sea, against the invasion of all other nations; but has laid them quite open to one another. Accursed be he who tries to divide them!'³¹

This writer was not alone in praising the Scots for their martial spirit. In August 1763, the *Boston Evening Post* printed a letter describing a new monument built in homage of General Wolfe. The writer reported himself 'greatly struck' by the figures composing it: Wolfe himself expiring in the arms of a Scottish Highland soldier whilst another Highland soldier stands by witnessing the general's last moments. 'The faces of these two persons,' the correspondent wrote, 'have all that glorious intrepidity and heroism for which their countrymen are so eminently distinguished.' However, the writer still included some remarks about Scottish favouritism in his description:

But I am to ask . . . for what reason Highlanders above any other people, are made the only attendants to general Wolfe upon this occasion; and if it does not seem that they are intended as a particular compliment, which is not to be paid to ourselves. There were surely English as well as Scotch regiments present when that gallant

³¹ *New London Summary*, September 16th 1763, issue 267.

officer was kill'd; and a person would imagine they had at least an equal right to be remembered.³²

The writer's comments suggests that he did not see the Scots as inherently bad or degenerate people (as many of the Wilkites seem to have viewed them), and indeed shows some popular belief in inherently good Scottish traits such as heroism. Their remarks about the lack of English soldiers, however, shows that even moderate English people not caught up in popular Wilkite fever still believed that Scottish favouritism was pushing the English into the background as second class citizens.

Some defences of Bute, however, did not entirely succeed in tackling Scotophobia. A letter in the *New York Gazette* attempted to argue (quite incorrectly) that Bute was not actually Scottish. The author expressed his surprise that no one else had so far challenged 'the grand objection of all against him, his being a Scotsman.' Far from being Scottish, the writer claimed that Bute was born in London, educated in England, married to an Englishwoman with whom he had English children and held English estates. 'Does it follow,' the writer asked, 'because his ancestors were born in Scotland, that that should be the place of his nativity?'³³ Although defending Bute, the letter does not denounce anti-Scottish sentiment. Instead it seems to reinforce Wilkite Scotophobia by claiming that Bute's Englishness should defend him from their attacks.

As with the Scotophobic Wilkite material published in American newspapers, many of the above letters speaking in defence of the Scots were not produced by American colonists themselves, but were instead copied directly from English newspapers. There were, however, a few notable exceptions. A letter sent directly to the *Boston Evening Post* in October 1763 was written by an American colonist with the pseudonym 'New-England's Friend', and offered both a robust defence of Bute and the Scots and a damning attack on Wilkite fever in London. The writer praised the 'happy peace' so lamented by Wilkes' English followers, and argued that Bute was an advocate of 'true liberty', which must have some boundaries otherwise 'it is right for every man to do what seemeth good in his own eyes; even if it hath a direct tendency to dethrone our King and ruin our country'.³⁴ As I discuss below, a large proportion of American colonists professed support for precisely this Wilkite vision of liberty only a few years later which the writer so

³² *Boston Evening Post*, August 1st 1763, issue 1456.

³³ *New York Gazette*, July 18th 1763, issue 240.

³⁴ *Boston Evening Post*, October 10th 1763, issue 1466.

vehemently attacks. The words of 'New England's Friend' and those of a similar mind in 1763, however, show that the development of Wilkite radicalism in England was not entirely parallel with the growth of the Sons of Liberty and the Patriot movements in America.

The writer also indicated that the roots of anti-Bute agitation in London lay in long-standing English xenophobia rather than in contemporary politics. After listing six of Wilkes' charges against Bute (including the cider excise and attacks on the press), the writer finished with the pithy 'And 7thly, you are only at the best / A Scot yourself, that's worse than all the rest'. Popular English Scotophobia, they argued, was simply inexcusable. The writer particularly appealed to Scottish military service, pointing to the seventy thousand Scottish soldiers enlisted during the Seven Years' War, 'thousands of which have died gloriously in the defence of their King and country'. It was nothing less than shameful, they continued, that 'instead of receiving just rewards of their merit, they are (by some ungrateful monsters) loaded with infamy and reproach'. It is likely that differing opinions concerning the end of the Seven Years' War affected attitudes towards Scots.

During the early 1760s colonial newspapers were far less Scotophobic than the London press. Although they reprinted many anti-Scottish Wilkite attacks on the Earl of Bute they also reproduced a large selection of articles denouncing Scotophobia and speaking in Bute's defence. American colonists also did not participate in Scotophobic crowd agitation in the manner of London Wilkites in these years. Early American historians report that crowds gathered in support of Wilkes in Boston in 1763, but the colonists did not adopt the Scotophobic language and symbolism of the Wilkites until later in the decade.³⁵ Whilst they may have adopted the cry of 'Wilkes and Liberty!' during these years, they did not brandish boots and petticoats or burn effigies clothed in tartan plaid until several years later.³⁶ There were also no reported acts of violence against Scots in America in contrast to the sometimes violent English mobs and multiple duels occasioned by opposition to Bute's ministry in England. In short, American Scotophobia for the early part of the 1760s appears to have been largely passive. Although colonial

³⁵ Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from 1749 to 1774* (London, 1828), p.103; Gwenda Morgan, *The Debate on the American Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p.14.

³⁶ Although Karl Schweizer has posited that anti-Bute protests took place in New York and Philadelphia in 1763, I have not been able to locate reports of such activity in colonial newspapers until 1765. See Schweizer, 'English xenophobia in the eighteenth century', p.14.

newspapers reprinted anti-Scottish articles from the London press they do not appear to have produced any original material of a similar content. By reprinting Wilkite articles alongside defences of Bute and the Scots, the colonial press was simply supplying its readers with their demands: the latest news and freshest gossip from the London papers, which at this time were full of news of the Wilkes/Bute affair and invectives against the Scots. American newspapers had no intention of stirring up popular Scotophobia in America.

It is nevertheless important to take account of these early reprints of Wilkite articles when we consider the development of American Scotophobia in later years. The relative calm of the colonies compared with the rampant Scotophobia amongst their contemporaries in London can be explained by the social and economic contexts of the two societies at this time. Wilkite Scotophobia was so powerful in London because Londoners felt themselves directly aggrieved by Bute's policies and the many myths surrounding the minister. General warrants, trial by jury, excise schemes and the fear of female power were all denounced by Londoners because they experienced (or believed they experienced) these issues in their every-day lives. The same cannot truly be said of the American colonists in the early 1760s. Likewise, London at this time was home to a large number of Scottish migrants whose presence was used by Wilkites as clear evidence of a new Scottish 'invasion'.³⁷ In contrast, Scottish migration to America was relatively low until an upsurge in the decade preceding the Revolution.³⁸ Those Scots who did cross the Atlantic in the early eighteenth century tended to form their own settlements and communities in the American backcountry, and their presence in urban centres during the early 1760s was relatively low compared with London.³⁹ As the decade progressed, however, issues such as general warrants and the cider excise became increasingly relevant in the colonies. From 1765 onwards with the advent of the Stamp Act and subsequent coercive legislation such as the Townshend Duties and later the Intolerable Acts, Wilkite rhetoric of Scots as despotic rulers and enemies of liberty began to resonate with Americans. When Americans began to actively write and demonstrate against the Stamp Act, we can see the influence of Wilkite Scotophobia from these earlier years at work in the colonies. This is particularly

³⁷ Colley, *Britons*, pp.121-125.

³⁸ Bernard Bailyn, *Faces of Revolution: Personalities and Themes in the Struggle for American Independence* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), pp.166-167 Brock, *Scotus Americanus*, p.68.

³⁹ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.605-642.

true of anti-Scottish invectives surrounding the cider excise, which in some cases were transplanted almost word for word into American opposition to the Stamp Act.

3.3 Cider excise and the Stamp Act

Although American colonists were not themselves directly affected by the cider excise, colonial newspapers kept them well informed of the furore surrounding the scheme in England. Many of these reports carried with them English attacks on the Scots as instigators of the excise. The *Boston Evening Post* reprinted the polemics of the imitation Wilkite writer ‘Pompey Wilkes’, which lambasted Bute for taxing the English whilst allowing Scottish goods to go tax-free – a sure sign, he claimed, that Scottish interest prevailed in government.⁴⁰ A great many American newspapers copied reports of popular anti-excise protests and effigy burnings from the English press. The *Newport Mercury* carried news from a London correspondent on a journey to Devon, who claimed that the whole of the West Country was ‘dreadfully enraged’ against the excise scheme. About two miles outside Honiton, the correspondent came across an effigy ‘suspended to an apple-tree that grew over the road, a figure as big as life, dress’d in Scotch plaid’. A board had been placed around Bute’s neck bearing the words:

Behold the man who made the yoke,
Which doth old England’s sons provoke:
But now he hangs upon a tree,
An emblem of our Liberty.
Now Britons all join heart and hand,
His sly-schemed project to withstand;
That all our sons, as well as we,
May have our Cyder go Scot free.
LIBERTY, PROPERTY And NO EXCISE.⁴¹

Similarly the *Massachusetts Gazette* reported that the people of Exeter had created an effigy, ‘the lower part of which represented a Jack Boot, the upper part . . . dressed in a plaid bonnet, &c. with a star’. During the May Day celebrations, the people paraded the

⁴⁰ *Boston Evening Post*, July 4th 1763, issue 1452.

⁴¹ *Newport Mercury*, August 22nd 1763, issue 259; see also *Boston Evening Post*, August 22nd 1763, issue 1459; *Providence Gazette*, August 27th 1763, vol.1, issue 45; *New London Summary*, September 2nd 1763, issue 265.

effigy of Bute in a cart hanging from a gallows, and in the evening burnt it on a huge bonfire.⁴² The American people were therefore left with no doubt as to whom the English blamed for the excise scheme. These reports in the American press are important, as they created an image of Bute and the Scots as instigators of unjust and unconstitutional taxation.

Whilst the cider tax did not affect the colonies in 1763, the Stamp Act and Townshend duties later in the decade certainly did. Introduced by the administration of George Grenville in 1765, the Stamp Act was an attempt to raise revenue from Britain's North American colonies in order to pay the debts accrued by Britain during the Seven Years' War, and fund the deployment of roughly 10,000 British troops to defend newly acquired territories in the Caribbean, Quebec, Nova Scotia and Florida.⁴³ In Britain, the government had attempted to pay these new expenses through the excise tax on cider, with disastrous results. In an effort to spread the economic burden to citizens across the British Empire, the government introduced the Stamp Act in 1765, which levied a duty on legal documents, newspapers, bills of sale, playing cards and dice in America.⁴⁴ Although some previous duties such as the Sugar Act had raised money in America by taxing trade, the Stamp Act was the first measure to directly tax the Americans themselves. American opposition to the Stamp Act centred not so much on the economic burden of taxation, but rather the imposition of a tax without the colonists' own consent. To many American colonists, the Stamp Act provided evidence of a conspiracy at the highest levels of government to deprive them of the rights and liberties they enjoyed as citizens of the British Empire. Although the Stamp Act itself may have been a relatively minor tax, its passage, they believed, would set a precedent for the sacrifice of far greater freedoms.⁴⁵

Whilst it was Grenville's administration who passed the Stamp Act in 1765, taxing the colonies to pay for military expenses in North America had originally been proposed by Bute some years previously.⁴⁶ Although Bute was no longer Prime Minister, the King still looked to him for advice until the return of Pitt ended their friendship in late 1766. Their ongoing friendship in the early 1760s fuelled rumours of Bute's continuing secret

⁴² *The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News Letter*, June 30th 1763, issue 3106.

⁴³ Stephen Conway, 'Britain and the Revolutionary Crisis, 1763-1791', in Marshall, *Oxford History of the British Empire*, p.327.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.327-328; John Derry, 'Government Policy and the American Crisis, 1760-1776', in H. T. Dickinson, *Britain and the American Revolution* (London: Longman, 1998), p.50.

⁴⁵ Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*, pp.99-102.

⁴⁶ Conway, 'Britain and the Revolutionary Crisis', p.328.

influence.⁴⁷ The *Boston Evening Post* wrote that the present administration was too afraid of ‘the dreadful power of Lord Bute’ to repeal the Stamp Act, believing Bute to still carry the power of Royal authority. The paper claimed that Bute’s influence, along with the support of other Lords and Bishops, was pressuring the government to bring ‘Fire and Sword to America’. Only the direct intervention of the King himself, the report claimed, kept Bute and his supporters from enforcing the Stamp Act in the American colonies through bloodshed and force of arms.⁴⁸ At the height of the crisis in Autumn 1765, the *Massachusetts Gazette* reported that ‘the chief and only support of the present Ministry is the E[arl] of B[ute], whose secret influence is at this very hour . . . as all-powerful as it was when he was put in, and turned out the last set of ministers’.⁴⁹

When the Stamp Act was finally repealed in March 1766, the *New York Mercury* claimed that Bute and his ‘Junto’ had ‘set every Engine at Work’ to prevent the repeal, but were unsuccessful.⁵⁰ A message in the *New Hampshire Gazette* emphasized the loyalty of those celebrating the downfall of the Stamp Act through ‘general Illuminations, Ringing of Bells, Bonfires, Firing of Guns, or other Fire-Works’. Although the message did not mention Bute directly, it did speak of the colonists’ triumph over ‘an *infernal, atheistical, Popish and Jacobite Crew*, on BOTH Sides of the Atlantic’.⁵¹ References to a ‘Jacobite Crew’ plotting the enslavement of America bear striking similarities to Wilkite invectives against Bute and the Scots in English political writings during the same decade. The anti-Scottish polemic of English newspapers had little impact on American colonists whilst they themselves remained unaffected by the Wilkites’ grievances. As soon as the British government began to impose measures which threatened the colonists’ liberties, however, Americans adopted the Wilkites’ anti-Bute rhetoric which they had absorbed through the transatlantic press.

From its inception the Stamp Act bore strong similarities with the cider excise, and the English and American colonists alike did not fail to draw connections between the two measures. Pauline Maier notes that contemporaries viewed the cider tax as ‘England’s domestic counterpart of the Stamp Act.’⁵² In *The Gentle Shepherd*, a satirical take on Allan

⁴⁷ Schweizer, ‘Stuart, John, third earl of Bute’.

⁴⁸ *Boston Evening Post*, May 5th 1766, issue 1599.

⁴⁹ *Massachusetts Gazette*, October 3rd 1765, issue 3235.

⁵⁰ *New York Mercury*, May 19th 1766, issue 760.

⁵¹ *New Hampshire Gazette*, April 25th 1766, issue 499.

⁵² Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution*, p.107.

Ramsay's pastoral of the same name, Bute hands the wand of taxation to Grenville 'that to the cyder counties taught my name'.⁵³ When the cider excise was finally repealed in 1766, the *Gentleman's and London Magazine* reported that it gave the cider counties 'a taste of the same pleasure, which their brethren in America about the same time enjoyed' following the repeal of the Stamp Act.⁵⁴ American protests against the Stamp Act consequently bore a number of similarities with the anti-excise crowd agitation in England discussed earlier. Although ritualistic parading and the construction and destruction of effigies held a long-established place in English and American popular protest (particularly the November 5th or 'Pope's Day' festivities), the language and targets of colonial disaffection indicate the influence of the Wilkite and anti-excise movements in England.⁵⁵ In Wilmington, North Carolina, around five hundred people expressed their opposition through effigy-burning, processions, and drinking toasts to 'Liberty, Property, and No Stamp Duty, and confusion to Lord Bute and all his adherents'.⁵⁶ In New Jersey, the Sons of Liberty drank toasts to 'Courage and Resolution to oppose the cursed Stamp Act, Peace and Happiness to ourselves, and may the D[evi]l burn the BUTE.'⁵⁷

Often the colonists accompanied their anti-Bute rhetoric with actions, primarily effigy-burning.⁵⁸ 'The Book of America', a mock-Biblical commentary on the Stamp Act and American opposition, described how colonists expressed their opposition by burning effigies of a Jack Boot.⁵⁹ During the Boston Stamp Act riot of August 14th 1765 the townspeople hanged two effigies, one of a Stamp Officer, the other of a Jack Boot 'with a Head and Horns peeping out of the top'. They then processed into town and tore down the

⁵³ Frank Moore, *Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution* (New York: Appleton & Company, 1856), p.30.

⁵⁴ *The Gentleman's and London Magazine*, August, 1767, p.473.

⁵⁵ For the ritualism of protest in eighteenth-century England and America see Alfred Young, 'English plebeian culture and eighteenth-century American radicalism', in Margaret C. Jacob and James R. Jacob (eds.), *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983), pp.185-212; William Pencak, 'Play as prelude to Revolution: Boston, 1765-1776', in William Pencak, Matthew Dennis & Simon P. Newman (eds.), *Riot and Revelry in Early America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), pp.125-155; E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (Pontypool: Merlin Press, 1991), pp.467-531.

⁵⁶ *New York Mercury*, January 13th 1766, issue 742.

⁵⁷ *New York Mercury*, April 21st 1766, issue 756.

⁵⁸ Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution*, pp.55-56; Richard Archer, *As if an Enemy's Country: the British Occupation of Boston and the Origins of Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.24-26.

⁵⁹ *Newport Mercury*, May 19th 1766, issue 402.

half-constructed Stamp office.⁶⁰ Later in the year the residents of Salem conducted a similar procession, carrying a Jack Boot, ‘out of which the D[evi]l was peeping’, on the end of a pole to the whipping post before burning it on a large bonfire.⁶¹ Crowds in Charleston, South Carolina also hanged a boot with Bute’s head poking from the top, with the words ‘Behold, my Countrymen, the just Reward of a bad Minister’ draped around his neck.⁶² Although the crowds at Halifax did not create an effigy of Bute himself, the ‘confession’ pinned to the effigy of their Stamp officer still claimed that ‘B[ut]e was the Author of this cursed Act, and what I say you may depend is Fact’. Next to this they pinned a fabricated speech assigning him full blame for Stamp Act:

O mourn whith [sic] me my poor and wretched State:
I now repent; but alas! Too late!
America I sought to overthrow,
By stamping them to Death, you all must know,
But *Pitt* o’erthrow my schemes, did me confound,
And brought my favourite Stamp Act to the Ground.⁶³

In February 1766 the Boston Sons of Liberty accompanied by two or three thousand townspeople hanged effigies of Bute and Grenville from a gallows beside the Liberty Tree. On this occasion, however, the crowd dressed Bute in full tartan plaid, calling greater attention to his Scottish nationality than they had during previous demonstrations.⁶⁴ A toast during the celebrations also alluded to the Scots as particular supporters of the Stamp Act – ‘A Repeal of the Stamp Act; a perpetual Itching without the Benefit of Scratching to its Friends’.⁶⁵ This is most likely a reference to the common stereotype of the ‘Scottish itch’. This imagery was employed once again following the repeal of the Stamp Act later in the year in an elaborate print by Paul Revere which denounced Bute as the Scottish arch-villain and celebrated Wilkes and Pitt as patriot heroes (figure 3.2).⁶⁶ The Americans’ swing towards Wilkite Scotophobia here shows the influence of Wilkite writing on the colonists during the early 1760s. Although they had not

⁶⁰ *Boston Post Boy*, August 26th 1765, issue 419.

⁶¹ *Massachusetts Gazette*, February 6th 1766.

⁶² *Boston Post Boy*, November 18th 1765, issue 431.

⁶³ *Boston Post Boy*, November 18th 1765, issue 431.

⁶⁴ *Massachusetts Gazette*, February 20th 1766.

⁶⁵ *New York Mercury*, March 3rd 1766, issue 749.

⁶⁶ Paul Revere, *A View of the Obelisk Erected Under Liberty Tree in Boston on the Rejoicing for the Repeal of the --- Stamp Act* (1766).

reacted strongly to events in England such as the cider excise and the *North Briton* libel case, the colonists employed the anti-Scottish language and imagery of the Wilkites once they believed themselves to be directly affected by a despotic Scottish politician and an over-reaching government.



Figure 3.1 Bute, in tartan plaid, and Grenville hanged in effigy below the Devil in Boston, in the *Boston Gazette*, February 24th 1766, issue 569



Figure 3.2 Paul Revere, A View of the Obelisk Erected Under Liberty Tree in Boston on the Rejoicing for the Repeal of the Stamp Act (1766)

A satirical print by Paul Revere entitled *A View of the Year 1765* (figure 3.4) drew strong parallels between the Stamp Act and the cider excise. The print itself was directly adapted from an earlier English print protesting against the excise bill, and as such carried a host of Wilkite imagery. Both prints are also infused with anti-Scottish symbolism. The original English print from 1763 by Jefferyes Hammett O'Neale, entitled *The Heroes of the Times* (figure 3.3), depicted the excise bill in the form of a monstrous dragon battling against Wilkes and Churchill whilst clutching Magna Carta in its claws. The dragon wears a Scots cap, and is supported by Bute on the right. Overhead, Mansfield in a Scots bonnet and tartan plaid squirts envy and spite out of a huge syringe.⁶⁷ Revere made a number of alterations to the original in his version of the print. The dragon now represents the Stamp Act, whilst Wilkes, Churchill and their entourage are replaced with a number of figures representing the American colonies. Although Revere has replaced Bute with an effigy of John Huske hanging from a tree, he retains some of the anti-Scottish imagery from the original print. The dragon still sports a Scots bonnet, and Mansfield is dressed in tartan plaid. Bute is also represented by a Jack Boot worn by one of the flying harpies.⁶⁸ Revere's print shows the strong current of Atlantic transference between English protests against the cider excise and colonial protests against the Stamp Act. Both movements expressed their opposition through similar ceremonies, and both drew on anti-Scottish imagery to express their dissatisfaction.

⁶⁷ Jefferyes Hammett O'Neale, *Representing the Heroes of the Times supposed to be concerned in the Grand Political Uproar* (1763), BM Satires 4037.

⁶⁸ Paul Revere, *A View of the Year 1765* (Boston, 1765).



Figure 3.3 Jefferyes Hammett O’Neale, *Representing the Heroes of the Times supposed to be concerned in the Grand Political Uproar* (1763), BM Satires 4037



Figure 3.4 Paul Revere, *A view of the year 1765* (Boston, 1765)

American protests against the Stamp Act thus adopted the same language and symbolism as English protests against the cider excise. ‘Liberty, Property and No Excise’ became ‘Liberty, Property and No Stamp Duty’. They also adopted the same antagonist – Lord Bute. However, the American colonists do not appear to have focused as much on Bute’s Scottish nationality as the anti-excise crowds in England did. Although the Boston Sons of Liberty on one occasion hanged an effigy of Bute in tartan plaid, most other protests simply represented him with a Jack Boot. The language of the colonists themselves also does not at this point contain invectives against the Scots in general. Aside from the Boston toast wishing a ‘perpetual itch’ to supporters of the Stamp Act, most American opposition writing does not refer to the Scots at all, or single them out as particular enemies of liberty. This forms a notable contrast to Wilkite writers in England at this time, who crammed their writings full of Scotophobic rhetoric denouncing Scots as the enemies of freeborn Englishmen.

The Stamp Act certainly helped American colonists identify with the ideals of the Wilkites, and vice versa. This common cause was fostered not only through the press, but also through personal networking and correspondence. As the issue of the Stamp Act increased, certain individuals also attempted to ferment colonial interest in Wilkes. Many of these were Americans drawn to London for reasons of business, education or pleasure. In a study of American colonists in London during the years between the Seven Years’ War and the American Revolution, Julie Flavell has shown how these sojourners fostered political connections between the colonies and Britain. Flavell documents several American businessmen who became involved with the Wilkite movement in London, including Stephen Sayre and Dennys De Berdt, an agent for Massachusetts, who together cemented a strong political connection between London Wilkites and the Sons of Liberty in New England.⁶⁹

A young Virginian named Arthur Lee also grew enamoured with Wilkite politics. He came from a family of wealthy Virginian tobacco planters who sent him to England for his education. Caught up in the excitement of London politics at the height of the Stamp Act crisis, Lee became a firm supporter of John Wilkes. He returned to Virginia in 1766 to begin work as a doctor, but continued to write letters to American newspapers opposing the Townshend duties. In 1768 he crossed the Atlantic again, and threw himself into

⁶⁹ Julie Flavell, *When London was Capital of America* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp.145-47.

transatlantic Wilkite politics. He befriended Wilkes himself, and kept up strong connections with Virginian and Massachusetts colonies in an attempt to link their causes with those of the London Wilkites.⁷⁰

The work of Lee, Sayre and De Berdt alongside the transatlantic press ensured that by the late 1760s John Wilkes had become an iconic figure in the American colonies as well as in London. Americans venerated Wilkes as the embodiment of English liberty, in much the same manner as his followers in England. Following his election for Middlesex and subsequent expulsion from parliament in 1768, at least two American almanacs for the coming year carried his picture as their frontispiece.⁷¹ Several newspapers reported that ‘a Gentleman of great consequence in North America’ had commissioned a portrait of Wilkes to be painted from life, and sent across the Atlantic to be hung in the public hall in Boston.⁷² The Sons of Liberty in New York drank toasts to Wilkes on the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act, as did the Irish Sons of St Patrick in Philadelphia.⁷³ The South Carolina Assembly at Charleston, meanwhile, reportedly granted Wilkes £1,500 in support of his election and to pay his debts.⁷⁴ In Massachusetts, Paul Revere and the Sons of Liberty commissioned an elegant silver bowl to honour both Wilkes and the ninety two members of the Massachusetts Assembly who opposed the Townshend Acts (figure 3.5). The words ‘No. 45’ and ‘Wilkes & Liberty’ were emblazoned on one side, flanked by Magna Charta, the liberty cap and the Bill of Rights, whilst general warrants lie torn and crumpled on the ground.⁷⁵ Alongside the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts describes the overtly Wilkite Sons of Liberty Bowl as one of America’s ‘three most cherished historical treasures’.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Flavell, *When London was Capital of America*, pp.147-151.

⁷¹ *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, for the Year of our Lord 1769* (Boston, 1768); *The New-England Town and Country Almanac for the Year of our Lord 1769* (Providence, 1768).

⁷² *New York Gazette*, March 6th 1769, issue 906; *New York Journal*, March 9th 1769, issue 1366; *Boston Chronicle*, March 13th 1769, vol.2, issue 11; *Boston Evening Post*, March 13th 1769, issue 1746; *Supplement to the Boston Gazette*, March 13th 1769, issue 728; *Essex Gazette*, March 14th 1769, vol.1, issue 33; *Providence Gazette*, March 18th 1769, vol.6, issue 271; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), March 23rd 1769, issue 931.

⁷³ *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), April 13th 1769, issue 934.

⁷⁴ *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), April 19th 1770, issue 987.

⁷⁵ A description of the bowl appears in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), September 8th 1768, issue 903.

⁷⁶ Sons of Liberty Bowl, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,

<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/sons-of-liberty-bowl-39072>, accessed April 15th 2015.



Figure 3.5 Sons of Liberty Bowl, 1768

American colonists also adopted many of the symbols and language of Wilkitem. The number 45 (the infamous issue of the *North Briton* for which Wilkes was imprisoned on a charge of seditious libel) carried as much reverence in the colonies as it did amongst English Wilkites, and American newspapers abounded with anecdotes in which the number featured heavily. The *Connecticut Journal* celebrated its forty-fifth edition with an homage to ‘Wilkes and Liberty’ in its nameplate; the very same edition reported that revellers in Roxbury drank forty five toasts to celebrate the anniversary of Massachusetts residents defying the Stamp Act.⁷⁷ In 1769, forty five Virginian gentlemen reportedly sent Wilkes forty five hogshead of Tobacco in celebration of his victory in the Middlesex elections.⁷⁸ Some particularly overt displays of Wilkite symbolism amongst the early American Patriot movement featured in some celebrations in New York in 1770:

Yesterday, the forty-fifth Day of the Year, forty-five Gentlemen, real Enemies to internal Taxation, by, or in Obedience to external Authority, and cordial Friends to Captain McDougal, and the glorious Cause of American Liberty, went in decent

⁷⁷ *Connecticut Journal*, August 26th 1768, issue 45.

⁷⁸ *New York Gazette*, January 29th 1770, issue 1413.

Procession to the New Gaol; and dined with him, on Forty-five Pounds of Beef Stakes, cut from a Bullock of forty-five Months old.⁷⁹

Contemporaries were well aware of Wilkes' transatlantic following. In a letter to a correspondent in Philadelphia, a gentleman in London complained bitterly of American support for Wilkes and the *North Briton* no.45, 'which I suppose they do not know was a paper in which their King was personally affronted'. The correspondent claimed that colonial fervour for Wilkes was damaging their cause in Britain when sober sensible men saw them infected with 'the madness of English mobs'.⁸⁰ A Liverpoolian correspondent with the *New York Gazette*, however, rejoiced in American support for Wilkes as a sure sign of 'the generous spirit they are animated with in the cause of liberty'.⁸¹

Conclusion

Clearly Wilkite politics and culture were widespread in America during the 1760s. The extent to which Wilkite Scotophobia travelled across the Atlantic with Wilkite politics, however, is less certain. Although we see a large level of American support for Wilkes in the late 1760s these were not accompanied by similar outpourings of anti-Scottish rhetoric in the American press. Much like the early 1760s, Scotophobic comments in the latter half of the decade are minimal, and usually reprinted from London papers. This suggests that prior to the 1770s, the Americans did not necessarily view the Scots as the absolute enemies of liberty in contrast to their image amongst London Wilkites. As we shall see in later chapters, this also contrasts heavily with the view of Scots amongst the American colonists as the American Revolution began to unfold. A possible explanation for this lies in the relatively low level of Scottish migration to America in the mid eighteenth century in comparison to London. During the early 1760s the high number of Scots in London was frequently observed by contemporaries, many of whom resented these 'outsiders' for penetrating their communities. Once Scottish migration to America began to increase during the later 1760s, however, American anti-Scottish sentiment became more vocal. As later chapters will demonstrate, the high-point of American Scotophobia at the outbreak of the War of Independence coincided with the highest recorded levels of incoming Scottish migrants.

⁷⁹ *New York Journal*, February 15th 1770, issue 1415.

⁸⁰ *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), February 9th 1769, issue 925.

⁸¹ *New York Gazette*, January 29th 1770, issue 1413.

Yet it is nevertheless important to acknowledge the transatlantic Wilkite connection during the 1760s. Wilkite writings provided American colonists with an image of Scots as despotic tyrants, laying deep foundations upon which later American Scotophobia could build. English newspapers also singled out individual Scots such as Bute as particular enemies of liberty, and kept fears of a supposed Scottish Jacobite threat alive across the British Empire. The outpouring of American Scotophobia during the 1770s suggests that these ideas certainly took root during the previous decade, but took slightly longer to develop into active Scotophobia in America than in England.

Chapter 4: English Scotophobia and American connections

This chapter will examine ongoing Wilkite Scotophobia in London, and focus particularly on its development in response to transatlantic influences. Just as the American colonists became increasingly aware of English Wilkitism in the 1760s, so too did English Wilkites come to increasingly identify with the Americans in their stand against the imposition of coercive government policies. The anti-Scottish rhetoric of London newspapers in particular gave increasing prominence to the Sons of Liberty in America as the decade progressed, commonly attacking Bute and the Scots as the principal enemies of this movement. These attacks helped to forge strong connections between English radicals and the American Sons of Liberty. The two movements identified strongly with the ideals of the other, both campaigning for the liberties of the people and against excessive ministerial power.

Whilst this transatlantic connection has been discussed by historians such as Pauline Maier and Bernard Bailyn, this chapter focuses on a previously unexplored aspect of this connection, namely the attempts by London Wilkites to blame British coercion towards America on the Scots. By ascribing measures such as the Stamp Act to a sinister ‘Scotch Junto’, London Wilkites attempted to distance themselves and the English in general from unpopular government policies, and forge an Anglo-American political alliance against a common Scottish enemy. This connection was reinforced by a supposedly common suffering, exemplified by the two crowd-shootings in London in 1768 and Boston in 1770. In both instances Wilkites portrayed these shootings as the physical manifestation of an oppressive and arbitrary government ruled from behind the curtain by that sinister Scot, Lord Bute. The struggle against these despotic Scots, they argued, had engulfed the British Empire, and now required the efforts of all those who loved English liberty on both sides of the Atlantic.

4.1 The Stamp Act and English Scotophobia

From the mid-1760s onwards, the issues surrounding anti-Scottish sentiment in England began to change. Whilst earlier in the decade English Scotophobia focused primarily on issues which directly affected English men and women at home such as the cider excise and general warrants, it now became increasingly common to lambast Scots as a threat to

British citizens across the empire. Government policy towards America became a much more prominent issue, especially following coercive measures to tax the colonies such as the Stamp Act and Townshend duties. Although Grenville masterminded the Stamp Act, many English commentators (especially those with Wilkite sympathies) blamed these measures on Bute and the Scots.

English Scotophobia surrounding the Stamp Act remains largely unexamined within the historiography of eighteenth-century Scotophobia. Discussions of anti-Scottish sentiment tend to dwell on the years of Bute's premiership and examine only internal issues within Britain itself, or else bypass the Stamp Act altogether and discuss English or American Scotophobia during the 1770s.¹ In his study of Wilkes and the Wilkite movement, George Rudé made no mention of the Stamp Act crisis, despite the clear and vocal opposition Wilkites expressed against the act.² Rudé's omission of this chapter could be due to Wilkes' exile in Paris from late-1763 to 1768, but Wilkes' supporters certainly did not stop their political activities during his absence, nor did they cease their haranguing of the Scots.

This gap in scholarship does not stem from a lack of awareness. As far back as 1953, Douglass Adair noted the potent levels of Scotophobia in English satirical prints attacking the Stamp Act. In a brief note introducing a selection of these prints in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, Adair spoke of their connotations of transatlantic radicalism before the Revolution, and called for a major historical study examining the connections between Wilkite radicalism in England and the Sons of Liberty in America.³ This call was answered in part by Pauline Maier, who examined the network of correspondence between John Wilkes, his followers and the Sons of Liberty and like-minded organisations in the American colonies.⁴ Similarly Bernard Bailyn acknowledged Wilkitism as an important ideological influence on the American revolutionaries.⁵ Neither Maier nor Bailyn, however, expanded on Adair's comments about the overtly anti-Scottish nature of English attacks on the Stamp Act; Maier concentrated on Wilkes' connections with the colonists from 1768 to

¹ See for example Colley, *Britons*, pp.105-132; Rounce, "Stuarts without End", pp.20-43; Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.166-202; Hook, *Scotland and America*, pp.47-72.

² Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty*.

³ Douglass Adair, 'The Stamp Act in Contemporary English Cartoons', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Oct., 1953), pp. 538-542.

⁴ Maier, 'John Wilkes', pp.373-395; *From Resistance to Revolution*, pp.162-169.

⁵ Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*, pp.110-112.

the early 1770s, whilst Bailyn was primarily concerned with the transference of political ideology across the Atlantic.

This chapter will seek to apply the approach to imperial history advocated by Kathleen Wilson and others, and demonstrate the intrinsic connection between the affairs of the British Empire and British identity.⁶ In so-doing it will explore Adair's unanswered calls, and examine the significance of English Scotophobia surrounding the Stamp Act crisis. It will focus primarily on satirical prints, as these vehemently attacked the act as a Scottish plot to enslave America. Although given a brief introduction by Adair, Scotophobic satirical prints relating to the Stamp Act remain otherwise unexamined by historians. In particular I will show how Wilkite printers used gender as a metaphor for power and its abuse, and discuss Adair's suggestion that London Wilkites were deliberately seeking to link their cause with the Americans'.

Bute and the Stamp Act

Contemporary commentators often debated where blame for the Stamp Act lay. Some claimed it was the work of George Grenville, others said the King, and still others blamed the King's close companions and favourites.⁷ As satirical prints from the mid-1760s show, a significant number of people believed that Bute and the Scots manufactured the Stamp Act, or at the very least were instrumental in its inception. In *The Last Shift* (figure 4.1) Bute, in full tartan plaid, directs a Highwayman to rob the American colonists in order to provide money for the King.⁸ In *The State of the Nation* (figure 4.2), Bute directs his fellow Scot Lord Mansfield to attack Britannia and America from behind while their backs are turned, distracted by Grenville who attacks them from the front with a sword.⁹ This was one of many prints which attributed the Stamp Act to an alliance between Grenville and Bute. In *The Tomb Stone* (figure 4.3), for example, the bill for the Stamp Act pokes out of Grenville's pocket, indicating that Grenville was responsible for its inception. Grenville himself, however, is dancing on the tomb of the Duke of Cumberland with Bute while a

⁶ Wilson, *Sense of the People*, pp.22-25. Wilson, *A New Imperial History*, pp.5-10.

⁷ A correspondent styling themselves 'Thersites' discussed the popular debates surrounding the Stamp Act's origins in the *Public Advertiser*, March 1st 1766, Issue 9776.

⁸ *The Last Shift* (1765), BM Satires 4118.

⁹ *The State of the Nation An Dom 1765* (1765), BM Satires 4130.

Scottish devil plays the bagpipes.¹⁰ This insinuates that Grenville was in close allegiance with Bute, and his ministry was simply dancing to the tune of a 'Scottish devil'.



Figure 4.1 *The Last Shift* (1765), BM Satires 4118

¹⁰ Benjamin Wilson, *The Tomb Stone* (1765), BM Satires 4124.



Figure 4.2 The State of the Nation An Dom 1765 (1765), BM Satires 4130



Figure 4.3 Benjamin Wilson, The Tomb Stone (1765), BM Satires 4124

The creator of *The Tomb Stone*, Benjamin Wilson later went on to produce one of the most successful and popular prints of the Stamp Act crisis, *The Repeal Or the Funeral of Miss Ame-Stamp* (figure 4.4).¹¹ The original print sold two thousand copies, whilst Wilson estimated that cheaper pirated editions sold over sixteen thousand.¹² Wilson published the print to coincide with the repeal of the Stamp Act, and although the subjects are composed of a number of political figures, the print's undertones carry hints of an ongoing Scottish plot against English liberty. Amongst the mourners at Miss Ame Stamp's funerals are two notable Scottish figures: the Earl of Bute and Alexander Wedderburn. One of the pirated editions of the print introduced these two men as 'Sajanus Chief Mourner' and 'M. Alex^r Scotchbourn' respectively. Wedderburn carries 'Scotch appeals' against the repeal of the Stamp Act in his pocket.

In addition to Bute and Wedderburn, Wilson included references and symbolism designed to associate the Stamp Act with Scottish Jacobitism. Wedderburn and his companion, the former attorney-general and Bute-ally Fletcher Norton, carry flags bearing Scottish thistles and the White Rose of the Stuart family. A banner pointing to these flags declares them to be 'All of a Stamp'. The connections with Jacobitism are reinforced by the tomb in which the Stamp Act is to be laid to rest. Two skulls are impaled on spikes above the entrance, bearing the marks '1715' and '1745' respectively. Using this symbolism, Wilson was portraying the Stamp Act as the latest in a long series of failed Scottish Jacobite plots against English liberty. According to the signs above the tomb, these plots also included the cider excise and general warrants.

¹¹ Benjamin Wilson, *The Repeal, "Or the Funeral of Miss Ame-Stamp"* (1766), BM Satires 4140.

¹² Andrew Graciano (ed.), 'The Memoir of Benjamin Wilson, FRS (1721-1788): Portrait Painter and Electrical Scientist,' *The 74th Volume of the Walpole Society* (2012), p.200.



Figure 4.4 Benjamin Wilson, *The Repeal, “Or the Funeral of Miss Ame-Stamp”* (1766), BM Satires 4140

Wilson’s *Repeal* strongly supports Adair’s hypothesis that London Wilkites were attempting to forge connections with the Sons of Liberty in America. Copies of the print and its various pirated incarnations made their way across the Atlantic to the American colonies themselves. Further copies were then produced and distributed in America, as evidenced by advertisements in colonial newspapers. A notice ‘To all true Lovers of Liberty’ in the *Boston Post Boy* advertised the print on sale at Green and Russell’s printing office in Queen Street, Boston. The advert described the *Repeal* as ‘a humorous, patriotic Print . . . acceptable to every Friend of his Country as it exhibits a variety of Figures characteristic of those who patronized the late Stamp-Act’.¹³ A notice in the *New York Gazette*, meanwhile, advertised the print alongside ‘the State of America’.¹⁴ This was most likely a copy of *The deplorable state of America or Sc---h government* (figure 4.5), a print which similarly attributed the Stamp Act to Bute and the Scots.¹⁵

¹³ *Boston Post Boy*, May 19th 1766, issue 457.

¹⁴ *New York Gazette*, June 9th 1766, issue 374.

¹⁵ *The Deplorable State of America or Sc-h Government* (c.1765), BM Satires 4119.

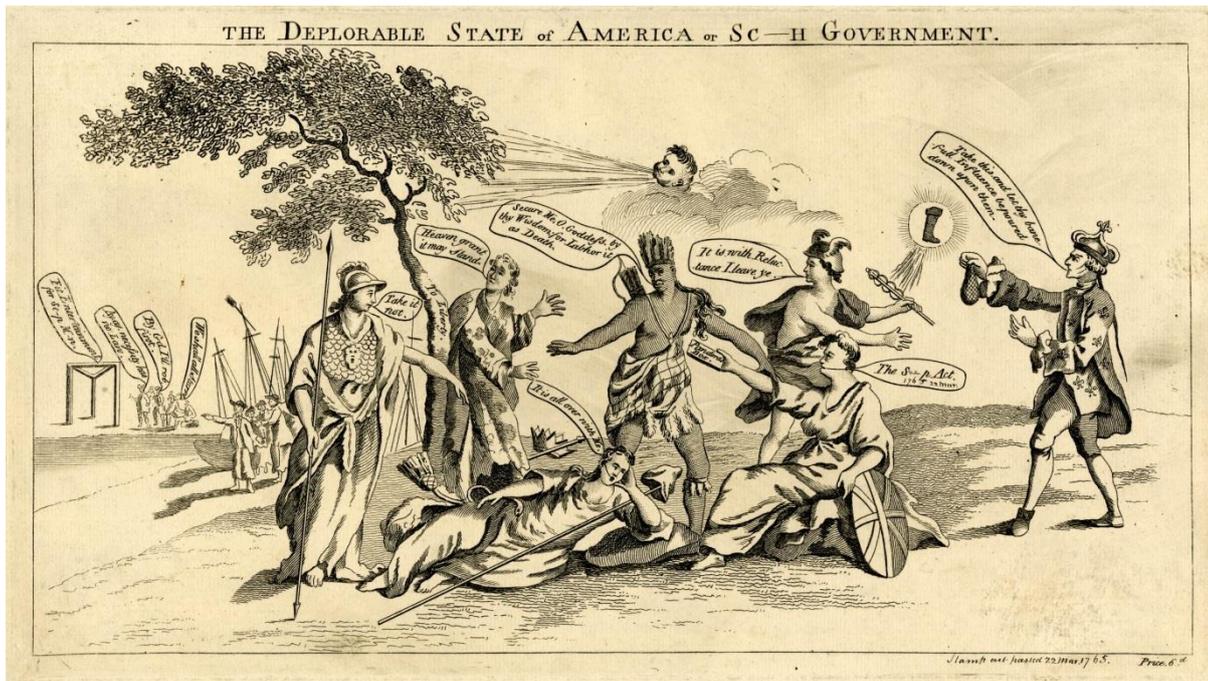


Figure 4.5 *The Deplorable State of America or Scotch Government* (c.1765), BM Satires 4119

London Wilkites exported these prints to America with two particular aims in mind. Firstly, they were attempting to show English opposition to the Stamp Act and support for the American colonists. This is where the prints' Scotophobia became particularly useful. By emphasizing the role of Bute and the Scots and equating the Stamp Act with Jacobite politics, the Wilkites disassociated themselves and England from the attempts to tax America. They instead portrayed it as a Scottish Jacobite plot. The threat, they claimed, came not from the King or the British government itself, but from sinister Scottish Jacobite forces seeking to undermine English rights, liberties and the constitution from within. Opponents of the Stamp Act could hence still claim loyalty to King and Country, as their supposed enemies were also enemies of Britain and the Hanoverian monarchy. Secondly, these prints sought to unite the ongoing cause of the London Wilkites with the American Sons of Liberty. By placing the Stamp Act in 'the family tomb' of measures such as the cider tax and general warrants, the Wilkites made the American cause their own and vice versa. This certainly implies that the roots of a transatlantic radical network (in which Scotophobia played an important unifying role) were in place several years prior to the period discussed by Maier and Bailyn.

Gender, Scotophobia and the Stamp Act

A print featuring a series of pictorial medallions attacking Grenville's ministry also attempted to connect the Stamp Act crisis with the Wilkite movement (figure 4.6). Some of the medallions attack measures pertinent to the English Wilkites such as general warrants and the Peace of Paris, whilst others were clearly designed to appeal to Americans; in one medallion Bute forcefully pins down America whilst Grenville hammers a stamp onto her face.¹⁶ This print is particularly noteworthy, as it transfers a theme of Wilkite attacks on Bute from earlier in the decade. As has been discussed in chapter two, early prints often depicted Bute ravaging a female Britannia. The medallion shows a similar scene, but replaces Britannia with the female embodiment of America. The themes and imagery, however, remain the same: the embodiment of Scottish masculine power is asserting himself over a powerless female representing a nation. This connection is made all the more overt by the image in the preceding medallion, which features Bute whipping a bare-buttocked Britannia who is being ridden by a Scottish medusa. These images imply that the Scotophobia surrounding the Stamp Act was driven by similar issues as those surrounding Bute's earlier ministry, namely the misuse and overuse of power. America, like Britannia before her, has now become the helpless female forced to yield to arbitrary Scottish male power in the form of the Stamp Act.

¹⁶ *Six Medallions Shewing the Chief National Services of his New Friends the Old Ministry Inscribed to E-l T-e* (1765), BM Satires 4125.



Figure 4.6 Six Medallions Shewing the Chief National Services of his New Friends the Old Ministry Inscribed to E-l T-e (1765), BM Satires 4125

These medallions were not the only prints to depict America as a helpless female in contrast to Scottish masculine power. In a print entitled *The New Country Dance*, America takes the form of a half-naked Native American woman partnered with the Earl of Chatham in a ministerial dance revolving around Bute and the Princess Dowager. A doctored version of *The Tomb Stone* appearing in a collection of anti-ministerial and anti-Scottish prints showed America and Britannia as two women weeping over the death of the Duke of Cumberland.¹⁷ These gendered metaphors for power and nationhood are extremely useful for showing British ideas about governance and people, and consequently reveal more about the perception of Scots in relation to these themes. In satirical prints in this era, political power is commonly depicted as masculine, either in the form of the King or politicians such as Bute or Pitt. Peoples, meanwhile, are depicted as feminine. To be more specific, they are *helplessly* feminine. In accordance to contemporary ideas of gender, the female was required to submit to the power of the male, as this was considered the ‘natural’ state of affairs. In reality the role of women within eighteenth-century society was much more fluid than this assertion suggests, as a large number of historians have demonstrated.¹⁸ However, Wilkite writers and propagandists stood firmly behind the idea of a patriarchal society, especially in the political or public sphere, hence their denouncement of the supposed ‘petticoat government’ of the early 1760s.¹⁹ These prints should therefore be read in accordance with Wilkite ideas of masculinity and femininity.

By applying their ideas of femininity to the nation, Wilkite prints emphasized the subordinate or helpless position of the disenfranchised within contemporary society, in particular the American colonists who had no voice in parliament to oppose the imposition of the Stamp Act. The feminine nation by its nature has very little power in itself. Instead, this power is entrusted to the masculine government. However, the masculine power of the government carried with it the responsibility not to abuse this power. This idea of dual

¹⁷ *The British Antidote, or, Scots scourge. Containing twenty-two, anti-ministerial, political and comic prints, published in the year 1766; for; and, against the American Stamps and Cyder Acts, &c.* (London, c.1766), plate 17.

¹⁸ See for example Colley, *Britons*, pp.237-281; Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (eds.), *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (London: Longman, 1997), pp.1-28; Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp.4-6.

¹⁹ Clark, *Scandal*, pp.25-29; Wilson, *Sense of the People*, pp.212-28; Kathryn Gleadle and Sarah Richardson, ‘The petticoat in politics: women and authority’, in Kathryn Gleadle and Sarah Richardson (eds.), *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860: the Power of the Petticoat* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp.1-5.

responsibilities had its origins in both Christian theology and political philosophy. Paul's letter to the Colossians instructed wives to submit to their husbands, but also taught that husbands should love their wives and should not become 'bitter toward them'.²⁰ John Locke, meanwhile, discussed matrimony as a form of natural power in his *Second Treatise of Government*, presenting marriage as a contract between man and woman, and consequently one of the foundational components of his 'contract' theory of government.²¹ Locke argued that although marriage united men and women in 'one common concern', where differences arise power ultimately lay with the male rather than the female, as he is 'the abler and the stronger'. However, Locke did not grant absolute power to the husband within marriage, arguing that the husband too must fulfil his end of the contract and allow the wife free possession of her own special rights within marriage. The power of the husband, he maintained, was 'so far from that of an absolute monarch that the wife has in many cases a liberty to separate from him, where natural right, or their contract allows it'.²²

Whilst Locke himself did not explicitly relate the conjugal relationship to that between government and people, his outlines for the contract between each party were similar; government was formed by a contract between rulers and ruled, and if the monarch or their ministers violated the terms of this contract the people had a right to resist. Wilkite printers consequently used the relationship between a husband and wife (or simply a male and a female) as a pertinent metaphor for the relationship between government and people. In all of the prints discussed above the female nation is being mistreated by the masculine government. The message is clear: just as an abusive husband violates the contract of marriage, so an abusive government violates the contract between government and people. For the Wilkites, Bute and the Scots personified the violation of this contract through the overexertion of ministerial power. During his tenure as Prime Minister, Bute's name was tied to general warrants and the excise tax on cider, and satirists accordingly depicted him attacking a helpless Britannia.²³ The Stamp Act of 1765 was, for the Wilkites, the successor of these British measures carried across the Atlantic to the furthest reaches of the empire. Just as the Scottish Bute attacked the helpless female Britannia, so too did he pin down and 'Stamp' the helpless female America. Scots, the prints claim, are playing the

²⁰ Colossians 3:18-19 (King James Version).

²¹ John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, chapter 7, sections 77-84, in *The Works of John Locke in Four Volumes*, vol. II (London: 1768), pp.247-249.

²² Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, chapter 7, section 82, in *The Works of John Locke*, p.249.

²³ See for example *Wilkes, and Liberty, a New Song* (London, 1763), BM Satires 4028.

part of the tyrannical husband to the female nation, with Britain and America unable to protect themselves from Scotland's overbearing power and abusive masculinity.

As the *Six Medallions* print shows, America did not simply replace Britannia as the abused female embodiment of a nation. Instead she joined Britannia as a fellow suffering sister, both enslaved to the arbitrary whims of the 'Great Thane'. Satirical prints continued to show Britannia suffering under the yoke of Scottish slavery. *The Wheel of Fortune or England in Tears* (figure 4.7) features the female personifications of Britain and Ireland (Britannia and Hibernia) lying helpless on the ground as Bute defecates over them.²⁴ Taken together with similar depictions of America, these prints imply that Scottish despotism is ruining both Britain and her entire empire. Sometimes the helpless female did not represent a nation, but instead an abstract ideal. *The Deplorable State of America* depicts the female personification of liberty lying prostrate on the ground, tormented by a Scottish thistle and crying 'It is all over with Me'.²⁵ In *The Wheel of Fortune*, Britannia and Hibernia are joined by Fortune, who is forced by Bute to bestow her favours on his countrymen.²⁶



Figure 4.7 *The Wheel of Fortune or England in Tears* (1766-1767), BM Satires 4154

²⁴ *The Wheel of Fortune or England in Tears* (1766-1767), BM Satires 4154.

²⁵ *The Deplorable State of America or Sc-h Government* (c.1765), BM Satires 4119.

²⁶ *The Wheel of Fortune*.

Whilst Wilkites attacked Scots as overbearing abusers of the feminine nation, they simultaneously exhorted their English heroes as her defenders. In the early 1760s several ‘defenders of liberty’ had come to the aid of Britannia in distress. In the print *Wilkes and Liberty*, the gallant heroes defending Britannia include William Pitt, Earl Temple, John Wilkes and Charles Churchill. The villains attacking Britannia, meanwhile, are Scots such as Bute and Tobias Smollett.²⁷ Wilkite prints attacking the Stamp Act continued this theme of contrasting overbearing abusive Scottish masculinity with gallant, chivalrous English masculinity. In *The State of the Nation*, for instance, Lord Camden defends Britannia from Bute and Mansfield, whilst Pitt holds back a rapacious Grenville.²⁸ This imagery would have appealed to eighteenth-century ideas of masculinity; just as a gentleman should defend the honour of a lady, so too was it the duty of Englishmen to stand against the oppression of the disenfranchised.

This call to gallantry represents an English ideal of masculinity which stands in the middle of two extremes. The first extreme is characterised by effeminacy and the loss of masculine power. Effeminacy was feared by eighteenth-century commentators as a threat to national security, as the army required strong masculine soldiers and strong masculine politicians to deploy them properly. During the early years of the Seven Years’ War, John Brown denounced effeminacy amongst the ruling classes as the cause of Britain’s weak campaign against the French. By adopting French fashions and manners, Brown claimed, Englishmen had lost their public and martial spirit, and it was only due to the French keeping these manners in check that the same had not occurred in France.²⁹ According to Brown,

The Sexes have now little other apparent Distinction, beyond that of Person and Dress: Their peculiar and characteristic Manners are confounded and lost: The one Sex having advanced into *Boldness*, as the other have sunk into *Effeminacy*.³⁰

These fears of male effeminacy and female boldness are perfectly captured by Wilkites during the 1760s. Denouncements of the petticoat government and prints of King George

²⁷ *Wilkes, and Liberty, a New Song* (London, 1763), BM Satires 4028.

²⁸ *The State of the Nation An Dom 1765* (1765), BM Satires 4130.

²⁹ John Brown, *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*, vol. 1 (London, 1757), pp.135-134.

³⁰ Brown, *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*, p.51; see also Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: a Cultural History 1740-1830* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), pp.80-84; Barker and Chalus, *Gender in eighteenth-century England*, pp.1-3.

trapped beneath his mother's skirts show English fears of female boldness characterised by the Princess Dowager.³¹

Whilst France and women characterised this one extreme, the opposing end of the spectrum was characterised by Scots. The masculinity of Bute and the Scots was presented in prints as overbearing and terrible, driven by base instincts left unchecked and uncontrolled. This overt Scottish masculinity was represented in the early 1760s by phallic imagery, such as bagpipes or a large staff.³² As we have seen in chapter two, the large staff represented both extreme masculinity and overbearing power. In the mid-1760s, prints depicted the extreme masculinity of the Scots as a negative factor leading to the abuse of powerless feminine figures of Britannia and America, or else the female personifications of fortune and liberty. It was the duty of Englishmen, the prints maintained, to counter the barbaric, aggressive masculinity of the Scots to defend Britain, America and liberty which lay in its path. These prints therefore present an ideal of English masculinity which lies between these two extremes, each of which is represented by a different nation. English masculinity was ideally strong enough to avoid the effeminate powerlessness characterised by French foppishness and defend the helpless against threats. However, it was also a masculinity which was firmly under control. The uncontrolled extreme masculinity characterised by Scots led to the overexertion of power and abuse of the helpless. The middle-ground of English masculinity should be strong enough to counter runaway Scottish masculinity whilst simultaneously avoiding the danger of losing control and crossing over itself to this other extreme.

Gendered imagery, therefore, provided Wilkites with a means of attacking the overexertion of ministerial power through the Stamp Act whilst simultaneously self-affirming a transatlantic English identity which venerated the just resistance to this power. By using Bute and the Scots to personify a despotic government, these prints reaffirmed the place of Scots as 'outsiders' who did not share in the ongoing struggle for liberty with the English and American colonists. Instead, the images reinforced the stereotype of Scots as latent Jacobites intent on depriving Britons across the empire of their liberties.

³¹ See for example *The Lion made Ridiculous by Sawney & Jenny* (London, 1762), BM Satires 3962.

³² See for example *The Masquerade; or the Political Bagpiper* (1762), BM Satires 3880; *The Scotch Yoke; or English Resentment* (1763), BM Satires 4033; *The Staff of Gisbal: An Hyperborean Song / Gisbal, Lord of Hebron* (1762), BM Satires 3848.

4.2 A Scotch massacre – St George’s Fields

As we have seen, the Stamp Act crisis provided English Wilkites with their first opportunity to connect their cause with the Sons of Liberty in America and the ongoing campaign against colonial taxation. Although the Sons of Liberty disbanded in the immediate aftermath of the Stamp Act’s repeal, British ministers did not give up on plans to tax America, leading to the reincarnation of the Sons of Liberty in various forms towards the end of the 1760s.³³ On the other side of the Atlantic, meanwhile, the late 1760s also witnessed a new resurgence of English Wilkitism. This was fuelled by Wilkes’ return from exile in 1768, and by events such as the St George’s Fields massacre and the Middlesex election dispute.³⁴ All of these events, in both Britain and America, ensured that the debate concerning the extent and limitations of parliamentary power remained open and widely discussed. Recognising the common aims of their causes, Wilkites in London continued to forge connections with the new incarnations of the Sons of Liberty in America.

This section will explore Wilkite responses to two events in the late 1760s and early 1770s: the St George’s Fields massacre of 1768 and the Boston massacre of 1770. In particular it will discuss how Wilkites brought these events into their ongoing attempts to unite their cause with the Americans’. Historians of the American Revolution and eighteenth-century radical politics have already identified a number of connections between the two shootings. Pauline Maier, for instance, has demonstrated how commentators depicted the Boston Massacre as an American version of the St George’s Fields Massacre which was seen to complete the ‘parallel development’ of the respective radical movements in England and America.³⁵ Certain elements of the popular response to these events, however, remain unexamined. In the following section I will show how Wilkites attempted to ascribe responsibility for both massacres to the Scots as part of an ongoing tactic of employing Scotophobia as a unifying factor between English and American radicalism.

³³ Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution*, pp.111-112, 116.

³⁴ Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty*, pp.37-56, 57-73.

³⁵ Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution*, pp.192-195.

St George's Fields – the English response

The St George's Fields Massacre took place on 10 May 1768 following the imprisonment of John Wilkes after his successful (but unaccepted) election to parliament for Middlesex. After the reopening of Parliament following the Easter recess, crowds gathered outside the King's Bench Prison to show their support for Wilkes and harangue the various magistrates, politicians and civil servants who had opposed Wilkes' election. Whilst pursuing a man who had thrown a stone at a Justice of the Peace, four soldiers bayoneted and shot William Allen, a bystander uninvolved in the crowd's protests. Allen's death provoked the crowd even further, and following the reading of the Riot Act soldiers opened fire, killing between six and eleven people.³⁶ The shootings simply led to further rioting which was to continue for several weeks, resulting in a large amount of damage to buildings and property. Crowds principally targeted property belonging to those they believed opposed Wilkes or supported the ministry, but in some instances the pulling down of houses appears to have been indiscriminate.³⁷

The wider impact of the massacre and subsequent riots is shown by the outpouring of commentaries in newspapers, pamphlets and prints. From the outset, many of these commentaries emphasized the supposedly Scottish nature of the massacre. The soldiers were drawn from the Third Regiment of Foot Guards, who happened to be predominantly Scots.³⁸ The three soldiers subsequently put on trial for the murder of William Allen following the coroner's inquest (Captain Alexander Murray, Donald McLane and Donald McLaurie) were all Scots, as was a fourth soldier who it was believed had deserted with the unofficial approval of his commanding officers. This fourth soldier was most likely to be the one who actually shot Allen, as the other three were all cleared in various trials.³⁹ Tracts and pamphlets denouncing the actions of the army consequently referred to the soldiers simply as 'the Scots', no doubt due in part to the heavy atmosphere of anti-Scottish sentiment amongst their London Wilkite readership.⁴⁰

³⁶ Gilmour, *Riot, Risings and Revolution*, pp.314-316.

³⁷ Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty*, pp.52-53.

³⁸ M. Dorothy George, *English Political Caricature: a Study of Opinion and Propaganda to 1792* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), p.143.

³⁹ Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty*, pp.54-55.

⁴⁰ *A Collection of Pieces Relative to the Inhuman Massacre in St George's Fields, on the 10th of May 1768* (London, 1769), p.9.

Many newspapers made a point of bringing the soldiers' nationality to the forefront of their discussion over why they had opened fire. One commentator claimed that the crowd had been entirely calm and peaceful until the arrival of 'this *Scottish* detachment', who proceeded to provoke the crowd to violence by shouting threats and abuse, and even wounding them with their bayonets.⁴¹ A letter to the *Public Advertiser* was particularly malicious, portraying the shootings as a cold-blooded Scottish slaughter tantamount to a new national conflict between England and Scotland:

Who can think with Patience of S[cotc]h Soldiers defending the Laws of England, of Englishmen murdered by Scots in cold Blood, of Englishmen and Women murdered in those very Fields, which took their name from our tutelary Saint, as if the Triumph of our Enemies could not be complete, unless an Insult were offered to the Name of GEORGE.⁴²

In other sections of the letter, the writer appears to suggest that the Scots were not simply willing to open fire on unarmed crowds, but actually 'enjoyed the Pleasure of being an Executioner' of English men and women. The writer's jingoistic language would doubtless have stirred up memories of the Jacobite risings earlier in the century; as one writer put it, 'there has not been such a massacre of the English by Scotsmen since *Preston Pans* [sic] and *Falkirk*.'⁴³ Fears of barbarian Scottish hoards massacring English men and women were still ingrained in the English imagination over twenty years after the failure of the 'forty-five.

The letter to the *Public Advertiser* also attempted to explain the motivation behind the Scots' actions. The Scottish soldiers fired upon the 'peaceable' crowds, the writer claimed, simply because the mob were brandishing boots and petticoats, and an insult against Bute was simultaneously an insult to the Scots. They argued that crowds in other areas of the city had behaved with more violence, but had not been suppressed because their protests did not involve Scotophobic symbolism.⁴⁴ Other writers also pointed to Scotophobia as the spark which ignited the massacre. The *Gazetteer* suggested that the deployment of this particular regiment had been an imprudent choice 'because the major part of that regiment, officers as well as private men, consists of Scotchmen; in whom it

⁴¹ *The Political Register for June 1768*, vol.2 (London, 1768), p.387.

⁴² *Public Advertiser*, August 17th 1768.

⁴³ *A Collection of Pieces*, p.43.

⁴⁴ *Public Advertiser*, August 17th 1768.

might very reasonably be supposed, the seeds of resentment, respecting Mr. Wilks [sic] and his opposition to the Scots, were still remaining, and ready the first opportunity to vegetate into action'.⁴⁵ This accusation was almost entirely unwarranted. With the exception of William Allen the St George's Field's deaths had been accidental; there is evidence to suggest that a reluctance to open fire had led many of the soldiers to aim over the heads of the crowd, with the unintended but disastrous consequence of hitting bystanders some distance away.⁴⁶ However, it was nevertheless very easy for newspapers to present the shootings as Scottish revenge for Wilkite insults, thus fanning the flames of further Scotophobia.

The *North Briton*, now revived under the editorship of William Bingley, also questioned the deployment of Scottish soldiers against Wilkites in London:

. . . I cannot sufficiently admire the prudence they have discovered in sending a *Scotch regiment* to quell the riots about the King's Bench prison. Was it in order to allay the animosities, which unhappily already run but too high between the two kingdoms?⁴⁷

Bingley went on to suggest that only a Scottish regiment could have been used for so abhorrent a purpose, 'because no English regiment would fire upon the people'. He claimed (without foundation) that soldiers from the predominantly English First and Second Foot Guards had directly refused to march out against London crowds, and had consequently been placed under confinement for disobedience. 'English soldiers', Bingley assured his readers, '. . . could never be persuaded to draw their swords against their countrymen.'⁴⁸ The insinuation, left unspoken, was that Scots were an altogether different kind of soldier to their English counterparts, fully prepared to blindly obey orders and open fire on unarmed English citizens. Bingley had preceded his critique of the Scottish soldiers with a discussion of the armies of foreign powers, drawing particular attention to the use of armies by arbitrary regimes to oppress their subjects. Singling out France and Turkey, Bingley spoke of soldiers drilled into unquestioning obedience and used by the government to carry out atrocities against their fellow subjects. The willingness of the Scottish soldiers to fire into an unarmed English crowd, Bingley seems to be suggesting, places the Scots

⁴⁵ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, May 14th 1768, issue 12,230.

⁴⁶ Gilmour, *Riot, Risings and Revolution*, p.315.

⁴⁷ *North Briton*, May 14th 1768, Issue XLVIII.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

alongside these despotic regimes, and further cements the association of Scotland with arbitrary power.

It was not long before prints depicting the St George's Fields shootings as a Scottish massacre of innocent English men and women appeared. One of the most elaborate was *The Scotch Victory* (figure 4.8), featuring a picture of a young, helpless William Allen being shot by three soldiers above a series of inscriptions and elegies mourning the massacre.⁴⁹ Although the soldiers do not bear any of the stereotypical hallmarks of Scots in prints such as tartan plaid or kilts, other symbols within the print linked Allen's death with the Scots. Alongside the overt connotations of the print's title, the skeletal figure of Death standing to the right wears a Scotch bonnet. Beneath the print, a monument inscription reads:

Sacred to the Memory of
WILLIAM ALLEN,
An Englishman of unspotted Life and amiable Disposition,
Who was inhumanly murdered near St. George's Fields,
The 10th Day of May 1768,
By Scottish Detachments from the Army.

⁴⁹ *The Scotch Victory* (1768), BM Satires 4196.



Inscribed to His MOST SACRED MAJESTY GEORGE the Third
the FATHER of his PEOPLE.

THE MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION

On a Tomb-Stone erected over the Grave of Mr. WILLIAM ALLEN junior, in the Church-Yard of St. MARY, NEWINGTON, SURRY.

<p>N O R T H.</p> <p>Sacred to the Memory of WILLIAM ALLEN, An Englishman of unspotted Life and amiable Disposition, Who was inhumanly murdered near St. George's Fields, The 10th Day of May 1768, By Scottish Detachments from the Army. His disconsolate Parents, Inhabitants of this Parish, Caused this Tomb to be erected to an only Son, As a Monument of his Virtues, and their Affection.</p> <p>E A S T.</p> <p>O, Earth! Cover not thou my Blood, &c. Job xvi. 28.</p>	<p>An ELEGY, wrote on reading the Inscriptions on the Tomb-Stone erected in Newington Church-Yard, to the Memory of WILLIAM ALLEN junior.</p> <p>I. Army, and the youth I sing, who gullible fell, A cent's within us tyrannic pow'r; Harmonious noise, affix the motto to sell, How freedom's altar is in one fatal hour.</p> <p>II. Adh' her to relate, how ruffian hands, Sent on the hoard's purpose to destroy, With daughter's Ribbon dress'd all Georgian lands, And scarce'd an unoffending boy.</p> <p>III. Ye vile effluvia of a nation's peace, And is it that ye seek your country's good? By looting freedom from her native place, And setting England's veins in her blood.</p> <p>IV. Remove your frowns, ye haughty destroyers! know, Your losses are broken silks are lost on me; Whil' I exist oppression has a foe, Who born to freedom is, and will be free.</p> <p>V. Tho' I love kind's angry vengeance hurt'd, To serve my country I would have my head, Remove the hat that marks the British World, And gladly die, if that would give it red.</p> <p>VI. Then think not that a foul refuse'd as mine, Fears to smelt the ashes of the day Keepest remembrance of the Tenth of May.</p>	<p>XVII. The more they slaughter'd, still accurs'd should think For English blood—No when the tyrans pay On human flesh, they long to catch the first Unhappy man that next comes in their way.</p> <p>XVIII. Survey the morals of the Stuart line, Tho' those banish'd enemies to freedom's plan; Alas! you find the court was freedom's foe, Was there without a cause a foolish plan?</p> <p>XIX. Transfusions black as this do they disclose? Alas! you find the court was freedom's foe, Was there without a cause a foolish plan?</p> <p>XX. Oh, on reviewing those despotic times, You can this sad relation parallel, Think the third regiment, from crimes And that in virtue G—a doctored.</p> <p>XXI. Oh my despotic name ever fall! An Allen's fate; my clay as quickly fall! But not like him lacerated by mankind's But cut & by those they thought to enthrall.</p> <p>XXII. May punishment on each—eternal pains Light on the faces of freedom—the lot Of him who forces for our country chains, Wander Kibberman, Esq., Edinburgh, & Scot.</p>	<p>S O U T H.</p> <p>O disembod'd Soul! most rudely driven From this low Orb (our sinful Seat) to Heav'n, While Filial Piety can plead the Ear, Thy Name will still occur for ever dear: This very Spot, now humaniz'd, shall crave From all a Tear of Pity on thy Grave. O Flow'r of Flow'rs, which we shall see no more, No kind returning Spring can thee restore; Thy Loss thy hapless Countrymen deplore.</p> <p>W E S T.</p> <p>Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be established in Righteousness. PROV. xxv. 5.</p>
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On the Top of the Monument is the following Inscription:
Here also lies interred, the Remains of S A R A H N E W S H A M,
The only remaining Child of W I L L I A M A L L E N,
Who survived a few Months the cruel Death of her beloved Brother.
She died December the 7th, 1768, aged 23 Years.

THE malicious and base reports, so industriously propagated by some of the tools of the present ministry, tending to depreciate the character of my only and justly beloved son, who was wickedly murdered on the bloody 10th of May last, give me unpeakable grief, and none but a tender parent's heart can feel for me under such a loss.

They insinuate, that my son was a forward youth, riotous, and accessory to his own unhappy death. I beg leave to reply, that my son was a young man, of about twenty years of age, was industrious in business, sober, temperate, of exemplary conduct and behaviour, as all the neighbourhood will readily attest: among whom he was held in great esteem, for his inoffensive, harmless and becoming behaviour: but this vile report proves the industry of some to endeavour to gloss over the illegal, arbitrary, and military measures of the dreadful day above-mentioned.

I now beg leave to acquaint the public with the situation and conduct of my late son on that fatal day. He had been about my business, returned, conversed with his mother, and was then going to the stables; but seeing an unusual movement among the people, ran with one John Okins across the way, and there stood not more than 20 yards from my dwelling-house, and more than 100 yards from that part of the prison surrounded by the soldiers. When there, at the end of the uns-houfe wall next my house, they saw some soldiers pursue a man (one William Barley) across the Westminster road, the Hay-market, and Newington road, into Mr. Hinliff's cow-house. On seeing this, my son with John Okins followed into the cow-house, merely to see the event; and entered the cow-house at a side door in Horse-monger lane, to see whether the soldiers had caught William Barley.

They were no sooner entered, than one of the soldiers said, "D—n you, you are one of them I have been looking for, and d—n you, I'll shoot you." Another said, "D—n you, fire at him," or some such words; on which he levelled his piece, and fired, and the ball went through his body, and he was struck through the wrist, as may be seen by Mr. Lowdell the surgeon's deposition, given in the firmen preached by the rev. Dr. Free on that occasion.

My son stagger'd across the way to the door-way of the first house in Horse-monger-lane, fell down, and expired. Awful thought! Heart-rending reflection! How dreadful is it that any power should thus sport and gild itself with the blood of the inoffensive!

As near as can be judged, the time from my son's going from his now inconfolable mother to his being brought home dead, was not more than two minutes. Thus he fell a passive victim to the blood-thirsty Scotch regiment.

Who first gave them orders to fire, or to fire with ball, or to pursue and fire in a cow-house in an innocent young man, whom they could easily have taken; I know not; that, Alexander Mur-

ray, and the justices then present, can best inform you. His blood cries aloud for vengeance; but every effort to bring the authors to deserved punishment has been shamefully made void. I desire to leave my cause with God.

The above is the fact, and nothing but the fact; and God give repentance to all projectors and perpetrators of those horrid cruelties!

W. ALLEN.
Ston's-End, Blackman-Street, Southwark.

O B S E R V A T I O N S.

MURDER may pass unpunish'd for a time,
But tardy justice will o'ertake the crime;
And oft a peevish pain the guilty feels:
The hue and cry of heaven pursues him at the heels.

DRYDEN.

WHEN a man becomes a member of a particular political society, he gives up to that society the right of revenging any injury done to him as an individual. The highest wrong a parent can suffer, is the unmerited loss of an affectionate and virtuous son. This is the case of Mr. Allen, who has no more the comfort of an only son of the greatest hopes. It was generally believed, that he was murdered by one Maclane a Scottish soldier, of the third regiment. The father prosecuted. Administration undertook the defence of the soldier; the solicitor of the treasury, Mr. Nuthall, the deputy solicitor, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Barlow of the Crown-office, attended the trial, and it is said, paid the whole expence for the prisoner out of the treasury to the amount of two thousand pounds sterling. The defence fell up, that young Allen was not killed by Maclane, but by another Scottish soldier of the same regiment, one MacLaughlin, who confessed it at the time to the justice, as the justice says, though he owns he took no one step against a person, who declared himself a murderer in the most explicit terms to this magistrate, sworn to administer the laws. The perfect innocence of the young man, as to the charge of being concerned in any riot or tumult, is universally acknowledged, and a more general good character is no where to be found. This MacLaughlin soon made his escape, therefore was a deserter as well as a murderer; yet he has had a discharge sent him, with an allowance of one shilling a day, instead of a proclamation issued with a reward to apprehend him as a deserter and a murderer. These facts are fairly stated. Now I ask, if it is possible for an administration to wound deeper the fundamental principles of all government; or to show more clearly, that there is no security under this set of ministers, for the life of the subject; and if a continuance of power, in such hands, does not threaten a dissolution of our body-politic, and of our civil society?

Figure 4.8 The Scotch Victory (1768), BM Satires 4196

A separate print taking the same title explicitly linked Allen's death to Bute. Again, three soldiers fire on the defenceless Allen, but an inscription below dedicates the print to the Earl of Bute, denoted by a boot and a petticoat surrounded by Scottish thistles. The inscriber mockingly gives Bute the title of 'Protector of our Liberties', insinuating of course that Bute was no such thing.⁵⁰ In *A Monument erected over the Grave of Mr Allen, Junior*, a thistle sprouts from the ground next to Allen's grave, whilst a Scottish soldier points to the tomb, gloating that he has 'obtain'd a pension of a shilling a day, only for putting an end to thy days!'⁵¹ *A Scots Triumph* (figure 4.9), meanwhile, contained much more graphic imagery against Bute and the Scots. In the foreground, a gigantic crocodile representing Bute ravages the helpless figure of liberty. In the background, a Scottish captain in full tartan plaid orders his men to fire into the crowd at St George's Fields with the cry 'Remember Culloden!' On the far right, three more Scottish soldiers also wearing tartan plaid stab the prostrate figure of William Allen, whilst a female bystander laments 'Ah! Poor Allen cut down like a flower by Scotch Assassins'. An inscription beneath the print proclaims that 'The law shall be afraid to Act, or *Scottishly* prevail.' This is no doubt a reference to the failure to secure convictions against the Scottish soldiers or the magistrate who gave the order to fire; to act 'Scottishly' was to undermine the laws and the constitution, to corruptly allow murderers to escape conviction and allow the oppression of freeborn English men and women to continue.⁵²

⁵⁰ *The Scotch Victory* (1768), BM Satires 4197.

⁵¹ *A Monument erected over the Grave of Mr Allen, Junior* (1768), BM Satires 4199.

⁵² *The Scots Triumph* (1768), BM Satires 4228.



Figure 4.9 *The Scots Triumph* (1768), BM Satires 4228

It was not only print-makers who sought to link the shootings and general suppression of protests to Lord Bute. The day after the shootings, a crowd marched through the city to Westminster carrying ‘a gibbet with a boot hung to it, and a yellow petticoat fastened to his back’.⁵³ Writing to the *St. James’s Chronicle*, ‘Brutus’ defended the ongoing gatherings of crowds as an expression of English support for Wilkes, dissatisfaction with the ministry and hatred of the ‘Favourite and his Creatures’. The crowd assembled at St George’s Fields, he wrote, to support Wilkes for opposing ‘the unjust Measures of a S[cotch] Favourite, whose pernicious Influence they are convinced is the Cause of all they suffer, joined to their Love of Liberty, which is all they have to boast of’.⁵⁴ The *Political Register* claimed that Bute had written a letter praising the actions of the soldiers following the shootings signed in the King’s name.⁵⁵ In reality the letter was written by Lord Barrington, a fact which the *Political Register* refused to believe as

⁵³ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, May 13th 1768, issue 12,229.

⁵⁴ *St. James’s Chronicle*, May 19th 1768, Issue 1126.

⁵⁵ *The Political Register for June 1768*, p.386.

Barrington was an Englishman. ‘Would an *Englishman* have thanked *Scottish* officers and soldiers,’ they wrote, ‘for having in so inhuman a way spilt the blood of his innocent countrymen?’⁵⁶ In the eyes of these Wilkite English writers, support for the killing of protesting English men and women was utterly alien to the English. Such actions could only be carried out by Scots, as they believed it was simply in their nature to act with violence and tyranny. Accordingly Bute, the arch-Scot, must be orchestrating ministerial support for the soldiers from behind the curtain.

St. George’s Fields in America – the Boston Massacre

News of the St George’s Fields shootings soon made its way into American newspapers. Much of the commentary was simply recycled word for word from London newspapers, and consequently emphasized the soldiers’ Scottish nationality and linked the shootings to Wilkes’ ongoing antipathy towards the Scots. The *Boston Evening Post* described the soldier who shot William Allen as a ‘Scotchman’ native to the Highlands.⁵⁷ The *Georgia Gazette* reprinted the English *Gazetteer*’s comments that the shooting was a product of Scottish resentment over Wilkite Scotophobia, agreeing that it had been an unwise choice to dispatch Scottish soldiers to deal with a London crowd.⁵⁸ The *New York Journal* reprinted an inscription to William Allen which described him as ‘an Englishman of unspotted life and amiable disposition’, who was murdered ‘at a massacre of several of his countrymen by Scottish detachments from the army’.⁵⁹ At least half a dozen New England newspapers, meanwhile, printed a dialogue between a Scottish soldier and an old woman:

During the late campaign in St. George’s Fields, an old woman asked a Scotch soldier if he was at the battle of Culloden? – “Yes, replied he, I was.” – “And was it *there*,” cried the woman, “that you learnt to fire at your countrymen?”⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *The Political Register for June 1768*, p.387; for Barrington’s authorship of the letter see Dylan E. Jones, ‘Barrington, William Wildman, second Viscount Barrington (1717–1793)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1535, accessed 9 June 2015].

⁵⁷ *Boston Evening Post*, October 31st 1768, issue 1727.

⁵⁸ *Georgia Gazette*, August 17th 1768, issue 255.

⁵⁹ *New York Journal*, August 11th 1768, issue 1336.

⁶⁰ *Boston News-Letter*, August 18th 1768, issue 303; *Boston Gazette*, August 22nd 1768, issue 699; *Boston Chronicle*, August 22nd 1768, vol.1, issue 36; *Essex Gazette*, August 23rd 1768, vol.1, issue 4; *Connecticut Journal*, August 26th 1768, issue 45; *Providence Gazette*, August 27th 1768, vol.5, issue 242.

This anecdote, like the letter to the *Public Advertiser*, sought to link the St George's Fields shooting to the Jacobite uprisings earlier in the century, and the brutality with which these uprisings were associated.

Two years later, a very similar incident to the St George's Field massacre occurred in Boston when British troops opened fire on a crowd, killing five people and wounding six others. The incident was subsequently dubbed 'the Boston Massacre' in a deliberate attempt to evoke the shootings at St George's Fields, and many reports portrayed the Boston massacre as the American equivalent of St George's Fields.⁶¹ The Boston Massacre did not produce the same outpouring of popular Scotophobia as its London counterpart, most likely because no Scots were directly involved in the incident. However, some English writers still sought to link the Boston Massacre and its aftermath to their ongoing grievances with the Scots. William Bingley's *North Briton* blasted what they saw as a corrupt and arbitrary ministry, lamenting that 'those bloody tragedies, which they lately exhibited at St George's fields . . . they are now beginning to perform at Boston.'⁶² The paper firmly believed that this ministry, which they dubbed 'the Carlton House cabal' or 'Carlton House Junto', were simply the puppets of Lord Bute. The *North Briton* called upon all Englishmen to 'destroy forthwith that accursed *Scotch Butean Junto of Carlton House*, for that is the *real source* of all our grievances . . . BUTE rules by the Proxy'.⁶³

In contrast to the St George's Fields massacre, the Boston massacre was not met with an outpouring of political prints. Depictions of the shootings include Paul Revere's *The Bloody Massacre* (figure 4.10) and William Bingley's *The Fruits of Arbitrary Power*, both of which were largely plagiarisms of a drawing by Henry Pelham.⁶⁴ Neither print directly sought to connect the shootings to the Scots in the same manner as prints attacking the St George's Fields Massacre, but other Wilkite prints still attempted to connect the situation in America with that in Britain, and thus draw the colonists into their ongoing campaign against the ministry and Bute's supposed influence over the government. The elaborate *Political Electricity* (figure 4.11), for example, depicted a Wilkite summary of the year

⁶¹ Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution*, pp.192-195; Maier, 'John Wilkes and American Disillusionment with Britain', p.387.

⁶² *North Briton* (Bingley) April 28th 1770, issue CLXI.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Paul Revere, *The Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th 1770 by a Party of the 29th Regt.* (Boston, 1770); William Bingley, *The Fruits of Arbitrary Power; or the Bloody Massacre, Perpetrated in King-Street, Boston, by a Party of the XXIXth Regiment* (1770), BM Satires 4839.

1770 through a tapestry of different pictures. Amongst these are commemorations to William Allen and the victims of St George's Fields, and various other Wilkite causes such as the Middlesex election. The bottom right corner shows the American colonists forced to work harder than ever due to the 'harsh proceedings' of the ministry, who had burdened them with intolerable taxes. Next to it, the centrepiece image depicts the source of these many woes: the ministry, seated around a dining table, feast on the carcass of the British Lion. At their head, Bute dines on the lion's genitals.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ *Political Electricity; or, an Historical & Prophetical Print in the Year 1770* (1770), BM Satires 4422.



Figure 4.10 Paul Revere, *The bloody massacre perpetrated in King Street Boston on March 5th 1770 by a party of the 29th Regt.* (Boston, 1770)

These prints, alongside the comments in the *North Briton*, show the continuing development of connections between London Wilkites and American colonists. They also show the role which Scotophobia played in cementing these connections. This anti-Scottish sentiment was not always overt; the Boston Massacre, for example, did not generate outpourings of Scotophobic prints and commentaries unlike its London counterpart in 1768. Nevertheless, London writers and artists still attempted to ascribe blame for these incidents to an overzealous and corrupt ministry headed by Bute. Moreover, once the Revolutionary crisis began to unfold in 1775 the Boston massacre was commemorated as an important milestone in the long narrative of oppression inflicted upon the Americans by an overbearing government heavily influenced by Scots, such as in this reflection on the shootings in the Massachusetts *Essex Journal*:

The murderers were tryed, in what *they* called a court of justice, and were acquitted. They have since endeavoured to cajole us out of our liberty, and property, and when they found they could not in that way accomplish their diabolical purpose, they determined to do *that* by force of arms which the Scotch, the devil and all his adherents could not bring about by their cunning and subtilty [sic].⁶⁶

The St George's Fields and Boston Massacres were, in the words of Bingley's print, the fruits of arbitrary power, and the representation of arbitrary power in print after print was that sinister Scot Lord Bute. In this way, the Wilkite and colonial campaigns of people versus government were transformed into that of Englishmen against Scots.

Conclusion

The Scotophobic aspects of the Wilkite-American connection has received scant attention from previous historians perhaps because the Wilkites' Scotophobia failed to materialise in the same form and extent amongst the Americans in the late 1760s and early 1770s. Whilst newspapers and prints lambasting Bute and the Scots travelled across the Atlantic and were readily circulated by American printers, the rhetoric of the Sons of Liberty remained, as it were, Scot free. Consequently historians who have examined these connections, such as Pauline Maier and Bernard Bailyn, tend to ignore Wilkite Scotophobia. Yet we should not dismiss this central component of Wilkite ideology simply because we do not see its fruits in America at this point in time. As later chapters will show, American Scotophobia in the

⁶⁶ *Essex Journal*, March 1st 1775, vol.2, issue 63.

mid-1770s was widespread, potent and overtly Wilkite in its tones. The distribution of Wilkite prints and writings in the late 1760s and early 1770s provided a foundation for a new image of Scots in America. Images of Scottish courtiers filling their pockets with American taxes, Scottish soldiers gleefully slaughtering unarmed civilians in St George's Fields, depictions of Bute as a tyrannical despot inflicting arbitrary measures on Britons across the empire – all of these were paraded by London Wilkites in the 1760s and adapted by American Patriots in the 1770s. Wilkite propaganda, therefore, reshaped the American image of Scots into a Wilkite form, an image which was to manifest as active American Scotophobia in the coming years.

Chapter 5: Scotophobia in the early 1770s

This chapter will examine English Scotophobia in the years between the Wilkite agitation of the 1760s and the outbreak of the American War of Independence in 1775. Anti-Scottish sentiment remained vocal in English newspapers during the early 1770s, supplemented by attacks on Scots in satirical prints. This chapter will examine the period from 1770 to 1775 as a bridge between the Scotophobia of the Wilkites in the 1760s and the anti-Scottish sentiment surrounding the American Revolution. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first two sections explore the internal factors driving Scotophobia in Britain, with section one examining the continuing attacks on Bute and Scottish political power, and section two discussing English resentment towards the place of Scots in British society. Sections three and four, meanwhile, examine the relationship between Scotophobia and the growing imperial crisis in North America. Section three examines English responses to the Intolerable Acts of 1774, whilst section four focuses specifically on English Scotophobia surrounding the Quebec Act to demonstrate the nuanced role of Francophobia and anti-Catholicism in Anglo-Scottish social relations.

The early 1770s remain largely unexplored in the historiography of eighteenth-century Scotophobia. Most previous studies focus overwhelmingly on the 1760s as the highpoint of anti-Scottish sentiment in England, such as Adam Rounce's 2005 article on John Wilkes and Charles Churchill.¹ Although Linda Colley looked from the 1760s through to the 1780s and beyond in her study of Scotophobia in *Britons*, she still took the Wilkes/Bute affair as a focal point. Colley's analysis of English anti-Scottish sentiment in the later decades of the eighteenth century was more generalised than her study of the 1760s, and did not include a detailed examination of the early 1770s.² Two articles examining aspects of Anglo-Scottish social relations over the course of the eighteenth century by Paul Langford and Gordon Pentland, meanwhile, did not single out these years for particular comment.³ Much the same can be said for works exploring Scotophobia in relation to the American Revolution. Studies such as those by Stephen Conway and

¹ Rounce, "Stuarts without End", pp.20-43.

² Colley, *Britons*, pp.101-131.

³ Paul Langford, 'South Britons' reception of North Britons, 1707-1820', in T. C. Smout (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603-1900*, Proceedings of the British Academy 127 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp.143-169; Pentland, "'We speak for the ready'", pp.64-95.

Andrew Hook focus on the years of the Revolution itself, and do not look any earlier than 1775.⁴

The neglect of these years in previous studies of eighteenth-century Scotophobia is perhaps due to their apparent uneventfulness. In the 1760s the ongoing conflict between Wilkes and the government spurred visible agitation, whilst after 1775 tempers were once again enflamed by the American Revolution. In comparison, the early 1770s did not witness any obvious events to prompt outbursts of English Scotophobia. Nevertheless, there are three reasons why these years deserve particular attention. Firstly, as section one will demonstrate, the nature of English hostility towards Scots changed somewhat during this period. As chapters two and four have shown, fears of Scottish power were inherently tied to fears of female power. Following the death of the Princess Dowager, however, fears of female power declined whilst leaving fears of Scottish power intact. Secondly, English resentment towards Scots remained strong during these years despite the decline of popular Wilkite fervour in London. The survival of Scotophobia during these years shows that it was not simply stirred up at particular points in time by Wilkes and other demagogues, but a deeply entrenched feature of English (and particularly metropolitan English) identity in the late eighteenth century. Thirdly, although the first shots of the American Revolution were not fired until 1775 relations between the British government and the American colonists were extremely tense during the years preceding the outbreak of war. Just as the Stamp Act crisis ignited English Scotophobia in 1765, sections three and four demonstrate how further coercive measures in the early 1770s fuelled similar animosity in the years preceding the Revolution.

5.1 From ‘petticoat government’ to ‘Scotch Junto’

Even though Bute had retired from politics to his estate in Hampshire and now devoted his time to botany and the patronage of literature, science and the arts, Wilkite writers claimed that the former minister continued to wield power. The nature of their attacks, however, transformed significantly in 1772 following the death of Augusta, the Dowager Princess of Wales. In the 1760s Wilkite propagandists had attacked ‘the boot and the petticoat’; the supposedly undue possession of power by Scots and women, their cuckolding of the king and their dominance over Englishmen.⁵ With the death of the Princess Dowager, belief in

⁴ Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.166-202; Hook, *Scotland and America*, pp.47-72.

⁵ See chapter two; Clark, *Scandal*, pp.25-29.

female political influence and the ‘petticoat government’ declined. Instead, propagandists explained the continuing ill-state of affairs by pointing to the surviving remnants of their previous scapegoat: Bute and the Scots.

Wilkite outrage was now concentrated on secret Scottish influence rather than secret female influence. Scottish power was commonly thought to take the form of a ‘Scotch Junto’: a group of powerful or influential Scots who held the ear of the government and the King. Naturally Bute was seen as the head of this Junto, which also included other Scots such as Lord Mansfield and Alexander Wedderburn. As Lord Chief Justice, Mansfield had pursued the prosecution of Wilkes for seditious libel following the publication of the *North Briton* no. 45, establishing himself in the eyes of Wilkites as an enemy to the free press. This image gained strength following Mansfield’s prosecution of the *Public Advertiser* for publishing the letters of Junius.⁶ Mansfield was often given the pseudonym ‘Jeffreys’ or ‘Jeffries’ in the press, an allusion to the seventeenth-century judge George Jeffreys who served as Lord Chancellor under James II, and gained a reputation for enforcing Royal Prerogative.⁷ John Almon’s *London Museum* printed a comparison of the two figures’ supposedly tyrannical policies, accompanied by bust-portraits of both men side by side.⁸ Wedderburn, meanwhile, won temporary popularity in 1769 by supporting Wilkes in Parliament, yet he had benefitted heavily from Bute’s patronage in the early 1760s, and his support of North’s government in the 1770s placed him at odds with the Wilkite movement once again.⁹

⁶ Norman S. Poser, *Lord Mansfield: Justice in the Age of Reason* (London: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2013), pp.244-259; James Oldham, ‘Murray, William, first earl of Mansfield (1705–1793)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19655>, accessed 29 June 2015].

⁷ Paul D. Halliday, ‘Jeffreys, George, first Baron Jeffreys (1645–1689)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14702>, accessed 16 June 2015].

⁸ John Almon, *The London Museum of Politics, Miscellanies, and Literature* (London, 1770), pp.166-171.

⁹ Alexander Murdoch, ‘Wedderburn, Alexander, first earl of Rosslyn (1733–1805)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28954>, accessed 29 June 2015].



Figure 5.1 *Lord Chief Justice Jeffries, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield* (1770), BM Satires 4440

A letter from ‘The Free Citizen’ to the *London Evening Post* in December 1774 perfectly captures the sinister conspiratorial nature of the Junto:

A favourite and his infamous countrymen rule all. They have a junto . . . who act immediately under their directions, who echo their measures to the world, and who controul [sic] every officer of state. Even the Prime Minister has no will of his own; he receives his orders from the junto, and must execute them; he dare not disobey.¹⁰

The Prime Minister and other English politicians at the highest levels of government were, according to this theory, simply the tools of the Scotch Junto, and largely unimportant in the great state of affairs. As a correspondent to the *Public Advertiser* wrote, ‘it little imports to the People of England . . . who are the ostensible puppets, if Scotch Favourites are still allowed to lurk behind the Scenes and pull the Wires.’¹¹ This imagery of Bute as a puppet-master had been established in satirical prints during the 1760s, particularly *The State Puppitt Shew* from 1763 and *The Wire Master and his Puppets* from 1767 (figure 5.2). The growing conspiracy of Bute wielding power in secret during the 1770s leant the

¹⁰ *London Evening Post*, December 20th-22nd 1774, issue 8228.

¹¹ *Public Advertiser*, July 29th 1774, issue 13,086.

metaphor new strength, resulting in further allusions to Bute's political puppeteering in the press.¹²

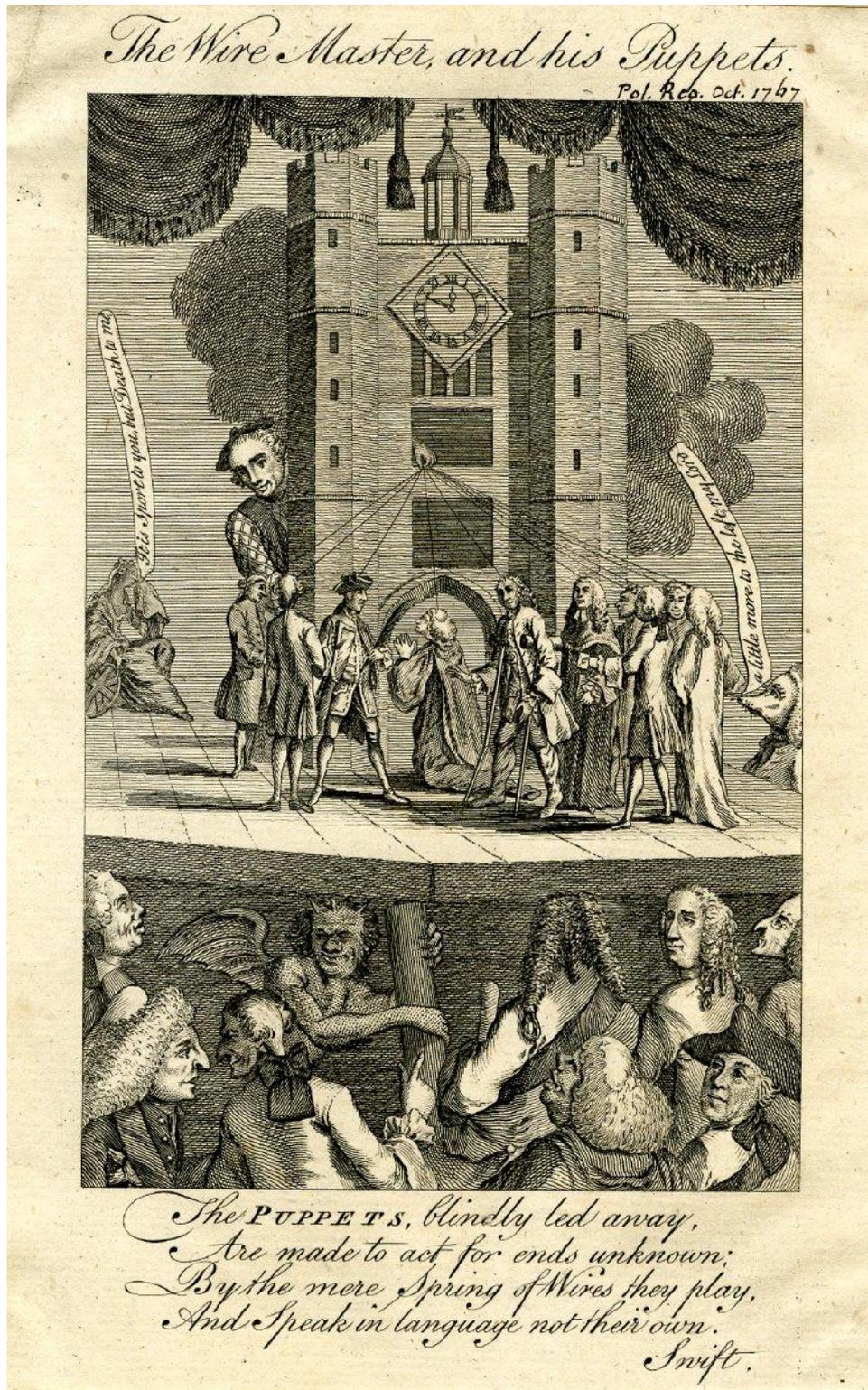


Figure 5.2 *The Wire Master, and his Puppets* (1767), BM Satires 4230

¹² *The State Puppitt Shew or the whole Play of King Solomon the Wise* (1763), BM Satires 4049; *The Wire Master, and his Puppets* (1767), BM Satires 4230; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, January 17th 1775, issue 1764; *Public Advertiser*, January 17th 1775, issue 14,133.

Aside from Bute and Mansfield there was no clear consensus concerning the exact composition of the Junto, but a number of political figures connected to Bute were implicated at various points in time by the press. The *Hibernian Journal* described the composition and structure of the Junto in November 1774:

Lord Bute secretly gives crude Hints, either to Mr. Charles Jenkinson, or Lord Mansfield; one or most of these, carry his hints to ----- . They are implicitly adopted. The Junto, consisting of Mr Stuart Mackenzie, Sir G. Elliot, Mr. C. Jenkinson, Mr. J. Dyson, if he is yet living, Mr Hans Stanley, Mr C. W. Cornwall, &c. then put the Measure into official Form. Lord North, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Suffolk, and other second and third Rate men, are next called upon to put the Measure into Execution. They dare not refuse it; for they are but the *Creatures* of Lord Bute's *Creatures*.¹³

Out of the eight men listed in the upper levels of the Junto, four were Scots (Bute, Mansfield, Elliot and Mackenzie). Two of the English members, meanwhile, were closely associated with Bute's ministry; Jenkinson had previously served as Bute's private secretary and Dyson as secretary to the treasury during Bute's tenure. In satirical prints Dyson was often depicted as 'Mungo', the overworked African slave from the comic opera *The Padlock*. He acquired this nickname through his 'tireless work' obstructing and interrupting parliamentary debates.¹⁴ Cornwall was only tenuously connected to the Bute ministry through the patronage of his cousin, Charles Jenkinson, but he alienated himself from the Wilkites in 1774 by accepting a pension from North, formally crossing the floor of the House of Commons from opposition to government, and supporting the government's coercive policies towards America.¹⁵ Although generally acknowledged to be a supporter of Pitt, Hans Stanley's inclusion in the Junto was likely due to his support

¹³ *Hibernian Journal; or, Chronicle of Liberty*, November 4th 1774, vol.4, no.132.

¹⁴ John Cannon, 'Jenkinson, Charles, first earl of Liverpool (1729–1808)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2013 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14737, accessed 30 June 2015]; Peter D. G. Thomas, 'Dyson, Jeremiah (1722?–1776)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8372, accessed 30 June 2015].

¹⁵ William Hunt, 'Cornwall, Charles Wolfran (1735–1789)', rev. Clare Wilkinson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6335, accessed 30 June 2015].

for the Peace of Paris in 1763, the Stamp Act in 1765, and general opposition to conciliation with the American colonists.¹⁶

The *Hibernian Journal*'s description shows the supposedly hierarchical nature of the Junto. At the top sat Bute, giving orders to Mansfield and Charles Jenkinson. Mansfield and Jenkinson distributed their orders via various political agents, who would then pass them on to the Prime Minister. North and his cabinet are depicted as helpless puppets, 'the *Creatures* of Lord Bute's *Creatures*' forced to obey his every whim. Advocates of the conspiracy were therefore attempting to argue that the upper levels of North's very English cabinet were simply the tools of a predominantly Scottish Junto. It is also notable that many of the supposed members of the Junto also belonged to the so-called 'King's friends' group, a collection of thirty or so political figures led by Bute who pledged direct allegiance to King George upon his accession in 1760.¹⁷ The close association of the Junto and the King recalled fears of Royal prerogative and arbitrary power.

Satirical prints provide depictions of the Junto in a variety of forms, and are also useful in showing the transition from the 'boot and petticoat government' of the 1760s to the 'Scotch Junto' of the 1770s. A print from 1771, before the death of Augusta, depicts the Princess Dowager as the ringleader of the Junto. Entitled *Carlton House Junto in Fear and Trembling* (figure 5.3), the print shows the reaction of Augusta and her Junto to the election of Wilkes as sheriff in 1771. The Princess sits beneath a canopy of tartan to indicate her relationship with Bute.¹⁸ In a mirrored copy of the same print entitled *A confab on the event of a late election*, the Princess laments how Wilkes has triumphed over her: 'to have all power in ye one hand, & all profit in ye other, & yet not to be obeyed, is Oh, Grief of Griefs!'¹⁹ *Vice Triumphant Over Virtue* (figure 5.4), meanwhile, shows female power entwined with Scottish power overcoming and enslaving Britannia.²⁰

¹⁶ W. P. Courtney, 'Stanley, Hans (1721–1780)', rev. E. A. Smith, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26270>, accessed 30 June 2015].

¹⁷ Peter D. G. Thomas, *George III: King and Politicians 1760-1770* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p.32; John Cannon, 'King's friends (*act.* 1760–c.1786)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/92864>, accessed 30 June 2015].

¹⁸ *Carlton House Junto in Fear and Trembling* (1771), BM Satires 4427.

¹⁹ *A Confab on the Event of a Late Election* (1771), BM Satires 4874.

²⁰ *Vice Triumphant Over Virtue or Britannia Hard Rode* (1771), BM Satires 4877.



Figure 5.3 Carlton House Junto in Fear and Trembling (1771), BM Satires 4427



Figure 5.4 Vice Triumphant Over Virtue or Britannia Hard Rode (1771), BM Satires 4877

The Dowager, along with any other connotations of female power, disappeared from prints of the Junto following her death in 1772. The new Junto is entirely male, and Bute has become the ringleader rather than the partner-in-crime to the Princess Dowager. In *A Retrospective View of a Certain Cabinet Junto* (figure 5.5), Bute and the devil peer

from behind a door as the King meets with North, Jenkinson and the Earl of Sandwich, ensuring that his (fictional) plans for an alliance with France and Spain are taken forward.²¹ In *The Assembly of the Grinders* (figure 5.6), meanwhile, Mansfield chairs a meeting of various Junto members whilst Bute stands to the left overlooking the proceedings. The King is present, but blindfolded to keep him from learning the true nature of his government, whilst the text below derides the monarch by allowing in his ignorance ‘a Villanous [sic] Set of Ministers [to] Triumph in the Ruin of the Nation’.²²



Figure 5.5 *A Retrospective View of a Certain Cabinet Junto* (1773), BM Satires 5124

²¹ *A Retrospective View of a Certain Cabinet Junto* (1773), BM Satires 5124.

²² *The Assembly of the Grinders* (1773), BM Satires 5132.

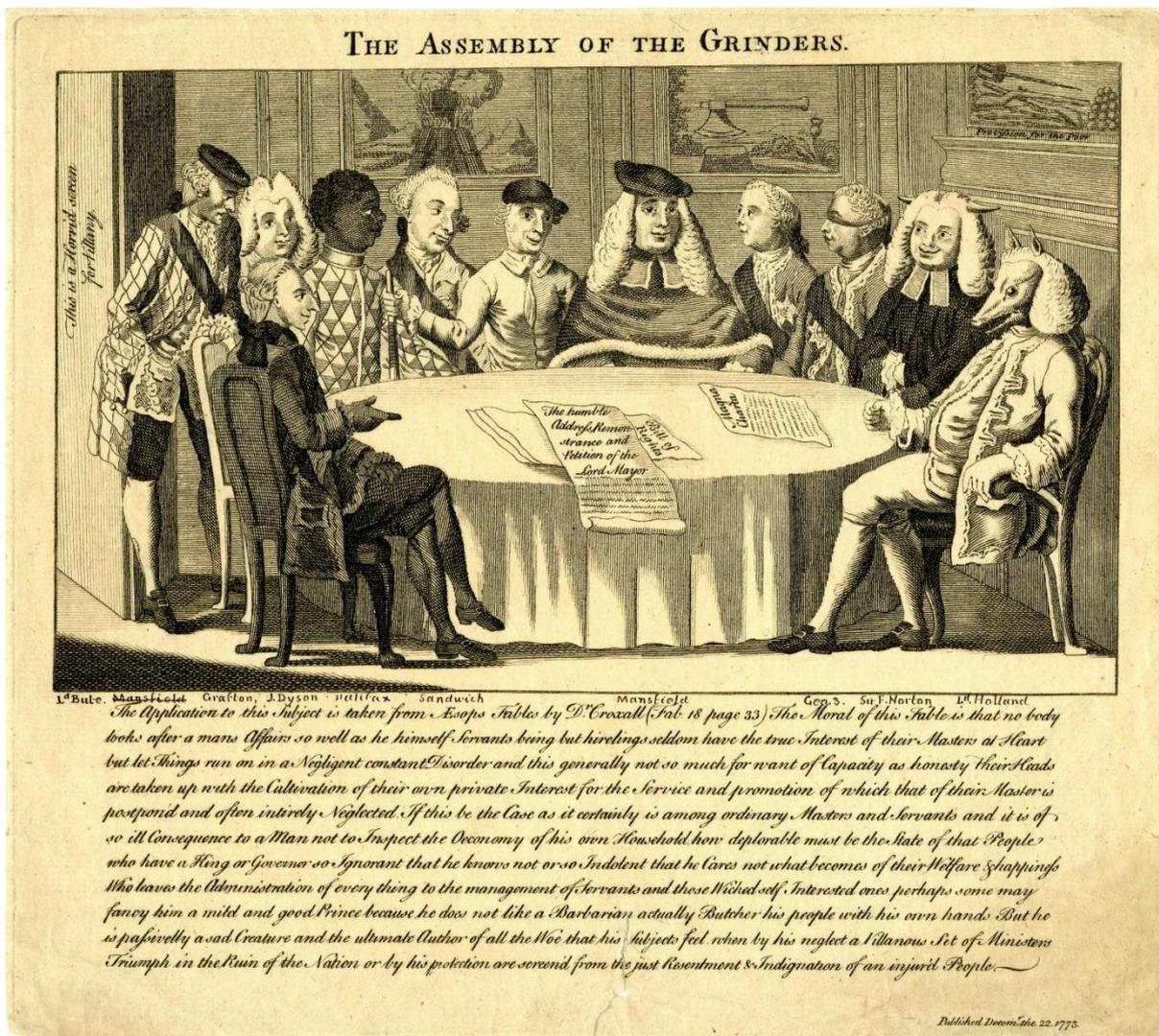


Figure 5.6 *The Assembly of the Grinders* (1773), BM Satires 5132

Satirical prints also show some contrasting images of Lord North’s perceived role within the Junto. In some prints North is depicted as the third member of a triumvirate featuring Bute and Mansfield, all three together plotting the downfall of the nation. In *A Tub to the Whale*, for instance, Bute, North and Mansfield sit together in a window throwing the coin act into the street below.²³ Most other satirical prints, however, align with the descriptions of North given by the previous extracts from the *London Evening Post* and *Hibernian Journal*. These portrayed the Prime Minister as a helpless lackey, unwilling or unable to refuse Bute and Mansfield’s commands. *The Premier Distributing the Loaves and Fishes* (figure 5.7) shows North propped up on two stilts held by Bute and Mansfield, clearly indicating that the Prime Minister is simply the puppet of the two

²³ *A Tub to the Whale or the Retort Courteous to City Remonstrances* (1774), BM Satires 5234.

Scots.²⁴ *Time and Truth Bring Stranger Things to Pass* (figure 5.8) carries North's subjugation even further. Bute rides astride North's back with a leash around the Prime Minister's neck. This print also shows what Bute hopes to gain from the machinations of his secret Junto. From his pocket protrudes a 'plan to enslave K[in]g, L[or]ds, & C[ommo]ns', whilst North stands upon legs formed of lust for power, fraud, hypocrisy, arbitrary power and tyranny.²⁵ North, as the *London Evening Post* describes him, is simply 'a spawn of that detested *Thane*' rather than the true head of the government.²⁶ Yet the print simultaneously expresses hope that Bute's power was not unconquerable; time will cut away Bute's hypocrisy, fraud and lust for power, forcing him to drop the sword of 'military law'.

²⁴ *The Premier Distributing the Loaves and Fishes to the Laborers in his Vineyard* (1772), BM Satires 4955.

²⁵ *Time and Truth Bring Stranger Things to Pass* (1773), BM Satires 5135.

²⁶ *London Evening Post*, June 25th - 28th 1774, issue 8,152.



Figure 5.7 *The Premier Distributing the Loaves and Fishes to the Laborers in his Vineyard* (1772), BM Satires 4955



Figure 5.8 *Time and Truth Bring Stranger Things to Pass* (1773), BM Satires 5135

Wilkite Scotophobia and images of Scottish power can therefore be said to have undergone a significant transformation between the 1760s and the 1770s. As chapter two showed, English fears of Scottish power in the 1760s were implicitly tied to ideas of

gender roles. Scottish power supplemented the cuckolding of England by the Princess Dowager, whilst Bute's gratuitous rod or staff portrayed the Prime Minister's overexertion of masculine power. The overt fear of female power diminished in the 1770s, however, following the death of the Princess Dowager. Bute's disappearance from the central stage of British politics also transformed the perceived nature of Scottish power. Bute's power had previously been visible, overt and overbearing; now it was subtle, hidden and mysterious. The 'Scotch Junto' encapsulated English fears of an unstoppable threat to their constitution and empire, invisible and therefore unconquerable. Hidden away out of sight, its existence could not be proven, but Wilkite propaganda thrived on the fact that neither could it be disproven.

5.2 Continuing English resentment

Conspiracy theories of a Scotch Junto manipulating government policy from behind the curtain reflect only a partial element of anti-Scottish sentiment in the 1770s. As with the previous decade, English Scotophobia in the 1770s was also fuelled by continuing English resentment towards social change and the position of Scots within the Union. This section will explore these continuing national tensions within Britain, and discuss differences and similarities between these and commentaries from the 1760s. In particular it will discuss English resentment towards perceived Scottish favouritism and networks of patronage, both within Britain itself and within the wider business of the British Empire overseas. It will also revisit the Scottish stereotypes first discussed in chapter one to examine the ways in which these ideas developed over the course of the previous decade.

English newspapers from the 1770s reveal a significant level of resentment towards Scots in positions of power. As chapter two demonstrated, Scots played an increasingly prominent role in the British government from the accession of George III in 1760. Although power in Westminster remained largely Anglocentric, Scots were becoming much more visible in government than they had been in former decades. This image was supplemented by increased levels of Scottish migration to England.²⁷ English privilege within the Union remained largely invisible to the English themselves, whilst perceived Scottish privilege and power provoked a fierce reaction. In March 1773, the *Public Advertiser* reported that a leading member of the ministry came under fire for 'the shameful Partiality to the Scotch in the Disposal of Places and Offices.' When the minister

²⁷ Colley, *Britons*, pp.120-127.

attempted to argue that the Scots were the only people fit to serve their King and country, his adversary responded ‘how do you know? . . . for the English in this Reign have never been tried’.²⁸ Although far from the truth, the article shows how some English people believed that they and their countrymen were losing power and control over Britain in favour of Scots.

A lengthy diatribe in the *London Evening Post* from November 1773 illustrates typical English Scotophobia in the years preceding the outbreak of the American Revolution. The paper spoke bitterly of the many wounds which the English constitution had suffered under the reign of George III, and of the large strides taken towards the adoption of absolute power. The reason for these unhappy developments, the paper claimed, was ‘because England was never before greatly over-run with Scotchmen; nor were they ever in such favour with the Crown of it as at this period’. The writer initially singled out Bute (‘the Thane’) as ‘the ruling favourite’ and a tyrant, who had ‘planned and directed every measure of government’ from behind the curtain, yet the full force of their attack was reserved for the Scottish people as a whole:

Scotchmen are, of all the people upon earth, the most national. They are ever in a confederacy to assist and support each other. A Scot will not even deal with, or employ any but a Scot. They always join together, and make one common interest of it to promote one another. With such a nationality, and under a Scotch ruler, is it to be wondered at, that the rights and liberties of Englishmen are contemned, and that such a number of the highest places in the state are in the hands of Scotchmen?²⁹

Aside from displaying typical English resentment towards Scottish patronage networks, the article also shows how some English writers still viewed the Scots as a wholly different people from themselves. The writer clearly believed that the problems within Britain resulted from the different temperaments of the two nations, particularly introverted Scottish ‘clannishness’ hampering cooperation and obstructing English power.

Accusations of favouritism and clannishness amongst the Scots continued to pour forth in the press throughout the early 1770s. In March 1774 the *Middlesex Journal* claimed that ‘The Scotch are undoubtedly become the favourite people. Preferments in

²⁸ *Public Advertiser*, March 26th 1773, issue 11,851.

²⁹ *London Evening Post*, November 6th-9th 1773, issue 8,053.

every department are singled out for them; and they alone are provided for'.³⁰ The *Morning Chronicle* agreed only a few days later:

Such favours have been conferred on the Scotch, that the English will sweat for; ten thousand a year given away to a Scotchman; privileges granted to a Scotch bank, that will injure certain English subjects more than ten times ten thousand.³¹

When a Scottish artist named 'Finlayson' was awarded 30 Guineas by the Society of Art, Manufactures and Commerce in recognition for his engravings accompanying John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, the *Middlesex Journal* attacked the society for their national partiality. 'We are credibly informed', they wrote, 'that Mr Finlayson's success, was owing to the influence of the Scottish [sic] members, who assembled in great numbers to support their countryman on this *important* occasion.' The paper went on to claim that Finlayson was a former Jacobite rebel who had previously produced an insulting caricature of the Duke of Cumberland.³²

English resentment was directed most strongly towards the Scottish presence in the expansion and administration of the British Empire. Scots had indeed been extremely successful in the imperial arena during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Following the Seven Years' War, the British Empire expanded rapidly in both America and Asia, and subsequently required a greater number of workers to maintain it. Scots in particular readily took advantage of the opportunities available in imperial administration, the East India Company and the armed forces. This was mostly due to a greater motivation amongst Scots to engage in the imperial enterprise than amongst their English counterparts. The confiscation of Jacobite estates, the Highland enclosures and various other social changes in Scotland deprived many members of the Scottish aristocracy of a traditional source of income and power. As a result, Scots were far more willing to engage in the risky enterprise of empire than the English, who had a greater range of opportunities within Britain itself.³³

³⁰ *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, March 26th- 29th 1774, issue 780.

³¹ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, April 1st 1774, issue 1,515.

³² *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser* December 25th-28th 1773, issue 741.

³³ Colley, *Britons*, pp.126-130; Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, p.10; Andrew Mackillop, *More Fruitful than the Soil: Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp.131-33.

English newspapers soon picked up on the increasingly Scottish nature of the British Empire. In a letter to the *London Evening Post*, ‘A Tyrant Hater’ furiously attacked the number of Scots in positions of imperial management:

Is there an Ambassador scarce abroad but is Scotch, a Governor or Consul but what are Scotch? Look at home, you will see them in the most lucrative employes, and the navy and army filled with them. Is there a command in the navy given but a Scotchman has it; the same likewise in the army?³⁴

These comments were reprinted and circulated in America by several colonial newspapers.³⁵ The *St James’s Chronicle*, meanwhile, reported the comments of a French gentleman on the peculiarity of giving all the posts of profit in the East and West Indies to ‘the Natives of Scotland’. ‘If a Man is made a Governor, a General, or Commander in Chief, I always found, said he, he was a Stuart, a Murray, a Johnston, or a Lindsey’. The Gentleman’s English companions informed him that imperial partiality towards the Scots was a Royal policy to keep the King’s Scottish friends happy. ‘To preserve this Union as compleat [sic] as possible,’ they advised him, ‘throw all places among the Scotch for a scramble’.³⁶

Comments on Scottish imperial partiality were not confined to London newspapers, but also made their way into the provincial press. In October 1773, the *Bath Chronicle* reported an anecdote taken from some English officers who had recently arrived home from Asia:

Dining one day with the Nabob, among other enquiries he asked them “whether England was not a prodigious large country, and Scotland an exceedingly small one?” upon being answered in the affirmative, he said “that the reason of his asking the question was, because the English in India seemed to be entire strangers to each other, whereas the Scotch were immediately acquainted at first sight, which led him to conclude that the country was small, and that they were all relations”.³⁷

³⁴ *London Evening Post*, June 23rd-25th 1774, issue 8,151.

³⁵ *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy*, August 15th 1774, issue 887; *Boston Evening Post*, August 22nd 1774, issue 2030; *Connecticut Journal*, August 25th 1774, issue 358; *Massachusetts Spy*, August 25th 1774, vol.IV, issue 186; *Norwich Packet*, August 25th 1774, vol.1, issue 47.

³⁶ *St. James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, January 29th-February 1st 1774, issue 2,022.

³⁷ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, Thursday 28th October 1773, issue 680.

A similar though separate story appeared in the *Shrewsbury Chronicle*. The paper printed the story of an ‘East India Nabob’ who had made some ‘shrewd remarks upon the Scotch, who are extremely powerful in that part of the world’. The Nabob told his English companions that Scotland must certainly be a very powerful country, ‘because all that came from it pretended to the highest distinctions’.³⁸

Pervading these many diatribes against Scottish success is a sense that the Scots were reaping rewards which by rights belonged to the English. Although the nation was now Great Britain and the empire was supposedly the ‘British’ Empire, English commentators still believed that they should occupy a superior position within the Union. Scots, in short, were no more than common thieves stealing English bounty. This attitude is demonstrated in a satirical print from 1770 entitled *The Frenchman at Market* (figure 5.9).³⁹ The print is primarily an attack on the French, as it shows a fight between a French fop and an English butcher, but the inclusion of a Scottish highlander stealing the butcher’s meat during the confusion is extremely telling. Both the butcher and the meat were well-known national symbols in eighteenth-century prints; the butcher was the bluff, manly Englishman, and his meat (particularly beef), represented British prosperity.⁴⁰ The Scottish Highlander stealing the Englishman’s meat represents English fears of Scots devouring British prosperity, and continues Charles Churchill’s portrayal of Scotland as famine in the 1760s, consuming all in its path.⁴¹

³⁸ *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, Saturday 14th August 1773, vol. II, no. 32.

³⁹ *The Frenchman at Market* (1770), BM Satires 4476.

⁴⁰ Hunt, *Defining John Bull*, pp.91, 160.

⁴¹ Churchill, *The Prophecy of Famine*.



Figure 5.9 *The Frenchman at Market* (1770), BM Satires 4476

Other visual satires also capture the atmosphere of English resentment towards the improved place of Scots within the Union. *A View of the Origins of Scotch Ministers and Managers* (figure 5.10) showed Scots pouring from a sack held in the air by demons proclaiming ‘There’s a plentiful stock of Scotch caterpillars for poor England!’⁴² The bubbles in the print are a reference to Alexander Fordyce and the Bank of Ayr. Following a mania for financial speculation in Scotland, the Bank of Ayr collapsed leading to a financial crisis which threatened the entire nation.⁴³ A number of prints subsequently attacked the Scots for growing rich by putting the nation’s finances at risk. In one (figure 5.11), a kilted Scotsman riding a broomstick throws paper currency to the English whilst other Scots row across the water carrying British gold.⁴⁴

⁴² *A View of the Origins of Scotch Ministers and Managers* (1772), BM Satires 4947.

⁴³ Jacob M. Price, ‘Fordyce, Alexander (bap. 1729, d. 1789)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9876, accessed 6 July 2015].

⁴⁴ *A View of the Deluge of Scotch Paper Currency for English Gold* (1772), BM Satires 4961.



Figure 5.10 A view of the origins of Scotch ministers and managers (1772), BM Satires

4947

An article in the *Craftsman* perfectly encapsulates this new canny stereotype whilst simultaneously placing the Irish at the other end of the spectrum as stupid, fulfilling Davies' binary model of ethnic stereotyping. The article compares Irish and Scottish 'impudence', which it argues are very different from one another. The writer viewed Irish impudence as a mixture of absurdity and ignorance, which served primarily to make Irishmen ridiculous. 'In short,' they concluded, 'Irish impudence is of the downright, genuine, and unadulterated sort', whilst 'the Scotch impudence is of a different species':

A Scotchman, when he is first admitted into a house, is so humble that he will sit upon the lowest step of the stair-case. By degrees he gets into the kitchen, and from thence, by the most submissive behaviour, is advanced to the parlour. If he gets into the dining-room, as ten to one but he will, the master of the house must take care of himself, for in all probability he will turn him out of doors, and by the assistance of his countrymen, keep possession for ever.⁴⁷

The *Craftsman*'s description of Scotch impudence shows how attacks on Bute, Mansfield and the Scotch Junto were transplanted onto all Scots in the early 1770s. The Junto's scheming was depicted as an inherent component of their Scottish identity; Scots lower down the social scale would accordingly carry out similar schemes for power, be it by serving in a household or rising to the upper echelons of imperial management.

This is not to say that the Scottish stereotype changed entirely during these years. Indeed, as later chapters will show the American War of Independence witnessed a surge in accusations of Scottish barbarity and cruelty towards the colonists. Jacobitism too remained an integral component of the Scottish stereotype during the 1770s, forming the basis for a great many Scotophobic articles during this era. Articles criticising Bute's influence continued to attack him as 'a Stuart', an accusation extended to Mansfield in a letter of Junius in November 1770.⁴⁸ Like many attacks on Bute and Mansfield, Jacobitism tarnished the English perception of all Scots as well as those in the public eye. A letter in the *London Evening Post* claimed that to truly complete the Glorious Revolution, the English should banish 'the whole Scotch nation' alongside the Stuart monarchy. Any prince who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of Scottish advisers, the letter continued, would surely be tainted with 'slavish principles' and become as obnoxious to

⁴⁷ *Craftsman or Say's Weekly Journal*, March 5th 1774, issue 813.

⁴⁸ *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, January 27th-30th 1770, issue 130; *The Letters of Junius*, vol.II, pp.1-3.

the constitution as the exiled Stuart monarchy.⁴⁹ Although allusions to Jacobitism in satirical prints abated somewhat in the 1770s compared to the previous decade they did not disappear entirely. *Scotch Pride Humbled* (figure 5.12), for instance, commemorated the Duke of Cumberland's victory whilst simultaneously asserting a staunchly Scottish-Jacobite identity upon those he defeated.⁵⁰



Figure 5.12 *Scotch Pride Humbled or the Rebellion Crushed MDCCXLV* (1771), BM Satires 4896

These elements of the Scottish stereotype persisted because many English commentators continued to take a long view of Anglo-Scottish animosity. These writers saw Bute, Mansfield and the Scotch Junto as simply the present manifestation of England's ancient Scottish enemy. The writer in the *London Evening Post* who complained about

⁴⁹ *London Evening Post*, March 16th-18th 1773, Issue 7,052.

⁵⁰ *Scotch Pride Humbled or the Rebellion Crushed MDCCXLV* (1771), BM Satires 4896.

Scottish people being ‘the most national’ appealed to British history to frame their attack. ‘Scotland’, they claimed, ‘hath ever been a thorn in the side of England, and . . . Scotchmen are habitually and naturally implacable enemies to the rights and liberties, and happiness of this county’.⁵¹ Here, the writer appealed to the long history of national tensions between England and Scotland which over the centuries often broke out in war or rebellion. As well as asserting an insular identity upon the Scottish people, the paper was attempting to present Britain as a fractured nation with a long-standing history of aggression between its separate inhabitants. In this way, their attack is largely conservative; like Wilkes’ assertion of English liberty in the early 1760s, the writer was seeking to preserve these ancient animosities and maintain Englishness and Scottishness as separate entities incompatible with one another instead of working towards British unity.⁵²

The *London Evening Post*’s portrayal of the Scots as inherently alien to the English was mirrored by the staunchly-Wilkite *Middlesex Journal*. In May 1773 the paper published a letter commenting on the differences between the two nations, and claiming that the Scots owed their newfound success entirely to the influence of the English:

It cannot be denied but that our Scotch neighbours, with all the advantages of a cheap, though not very liberal, education, remained for many ages in extreme poverty, and a barbarous ignorance of the polite arts, till a fortunate union with this kingdom roused them from brutal sloth, and made them our rivals in every thing but sentiments of *generosity* and *freedom*.⁵³

Alongside displaying a number of typical English prejudices towards the Scots such as uncouthness and barbarity, the letter further reflects the conservative attitude of English Scotophobia. Although the Scots may try to emulate English manners and customs, the writer believed that the Scots remained fundamentally different from the English. These differences displayed themselves in political temperament, as the Scots were simply unable to emulate English ‘generosity and freedom’. The inability of the English and the Scots to reconcile their politics, the paper implicitly argues, would keep the two nations perpetually divided from one another.

More so than this, Wilkites feared that attempts to unite the English with a people they viewed as fundamentally ‘un-English’ risked the destruction of all that the English

⁵¹ *London Evening Post*, November 6th-9th 1773, issue 8,053.

⁵² Colley, *Britons*, pp.112-115.

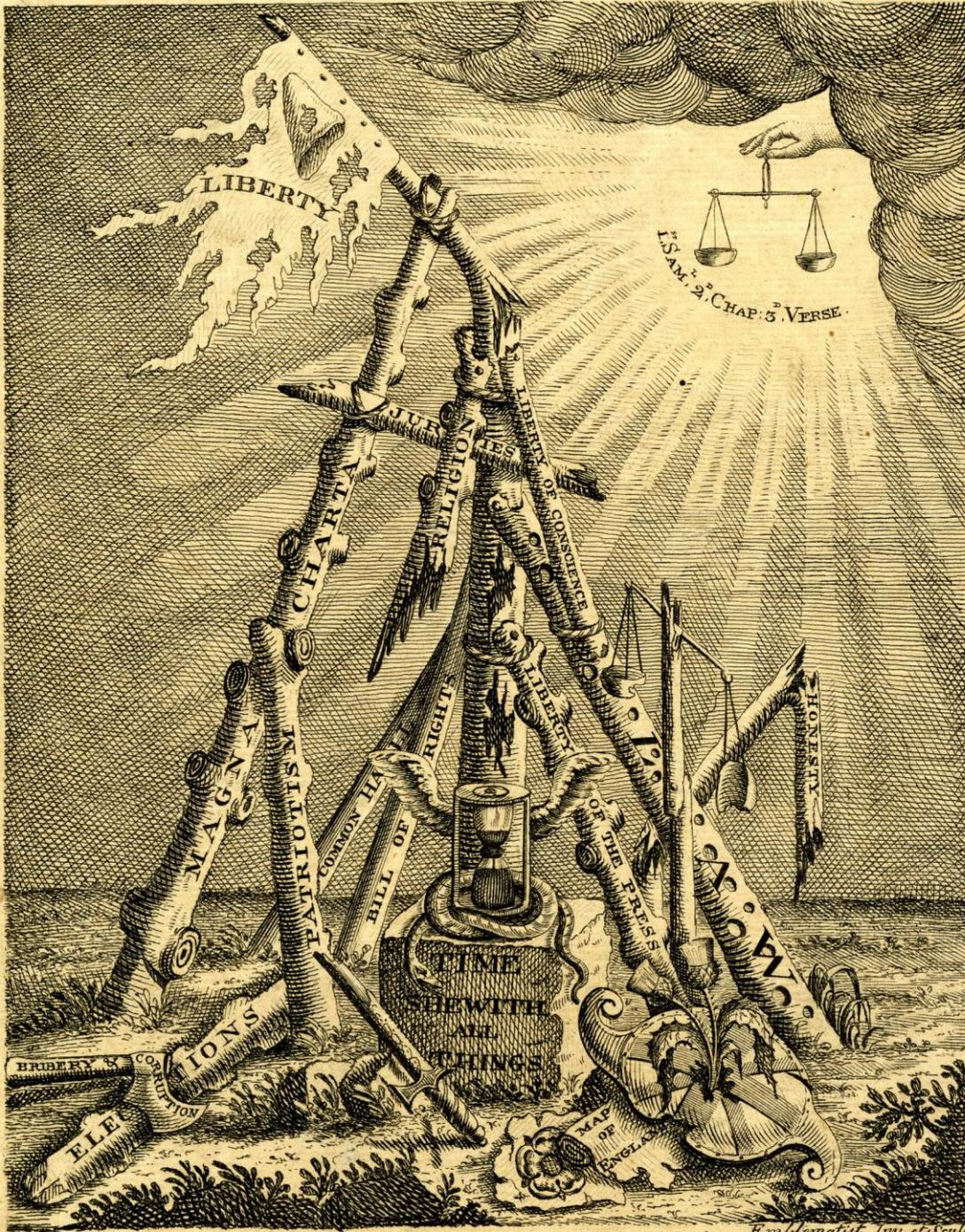
⁵³ *Middlesex Journal or Universal Evening Post*, May 6th-8th 1773, issue 641.

held most dear. A 1774 print entitled *An Emblematical Pile* (figure 5.13) shows English fears of Scottish influence decaying the pillars of the English nation. The ragged flag of liberty flies atop a pile of rotten timber. Each stick is named for the political and social foundations of Wilkite English identity: 'Magna Charta', Bill of Rights, elections, liberty of the press, liberty of conscience, patriotism, religion and law. The pillars of Englishness crumble into ruins whilst a Scotch thistle bursts forth through a broken British shield.⁵⁴ The image contrasts heavily with a print entitled *The Constitution of England* which showed the three pillars of government supporting the balanced scales of the British constitution (likely a pro-government response to *An Emblematical Pile*).⁵⁵

⁵⁴ *An Emblematical Pile* (1774), BM Satires 5239.

⁵⁵ *The Constitution of England* (1774), BM Satire 5240; Rauser, 'Death or Liberty', pp.161-62.

AN EMBLEMATICAL PILE



Published Nov: 7. 1774 Price 6, d

Emblematis Inv. et Sculp.

No. 523c

Figure 5.13 *An Emblematical Pile* (1774), BM Satires 5239

English Scotophobia, therefore, continued in much the same way as it had during the 1760s. Just as the Wilkites had resented a Scottish Prime Minister in 1762, so too did they resent the wider acquisition of power by Scots throughout Britain and the Empire during the 1770s. Although accusations of Jacobitism continued to hound Scots, their main threat was now seen to be their cunning exploitation of British enterprises to further their power

and that of their countrymen. The increased Scottish presence within imperial administration, however, fostered far more than mere English resentment. As the imperial crisis in North America worsened, English commentators ascribed the government's increasingly non-conciliatory coercive stance with powerful Scots manipulating events for their own inscrutable purposes. This is particularly apparent in English responses to the Intolerable Acts of 1774.

5.3 The Intolerable Acts

As we have seen, heavy Scottish involvement in the management of the British Empire struck a nerve with envious English writers in the early 1770s. Yet English animosity towards imperial Scottish endeavours was based on far more than mere jealousy. These years were also a period of impending imperial crisis, in which Britons on both sides of the Atlantic witnessed increasing attempts by the government to centralize their control over the Empire against the wishes of its inhabitants. In the wake of the Boston Tea Party, an American demonstration against the overexertion of government power in the Empire, the British government passed a series of laws in 1774 designed both to punish the American colonists who had resisted taxation and curtail any future resistance. These measures, dubbed the 'Intolerable Acts' by the colonists, included the Boston Port Bill, the Administration of Justice Act, the Massachusetts Government Act, the Quartering Act and the Quebec Act.

The Intolerable Acts, as Pauline Maier notes, simply seemed to prove the existence of a secret plot against the Americans, and further fuelled the fires of resistance which were to break out in Revolution a year later.⁵⁶ In America the acts evoked memories of the Glorious Revolution, when in 1688 the colonists rose up against the centralization of power and the assertion of parliamentary control over the colonies. The Intolerable Acts appeared to be a new plot to curtail the liberties of British subjects across the Empire, a plot which the legacy of 1688 taught was the duty of every Briton to resist. This section will examine English responses to the acts which attributed both them and the secret plot to the Scots and a scheming Junto led by the Earl of Bute and Lord Mansfield. It will focus on the first four acts which primarily affected the thirteen mainland North American colonies. A separate section will examine the Quebec Act, as the particularly anti-Catholic nature of Scotophobia surrounding this act warrants a more detailed study.

⁵⁶ Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution*, p.225.

Following the passing of the Intolerable Acts in 1774, opponents of the acts sought to ascribe them to the influence of the Junto. Writing to the *London Evening Post*, 'Brutus' lamented the passing of measures which suppressed the freedom of Britain's American colonies. 'The freedom of the people of England must be lost,' he wrote, 'if they suffer their fellow-subjects in America to be enslaved'. In a postscript, Brutus blamed the Acts on the Junto's Jacobite principles. 'It is well known', he wrote, 'that the Thane and Jefferies are the contrivers, and at the bottom of all the late arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings. The one calls himself a cousin to the Pretender, and the other hath a brother in his service'.⁵⁷ A later issue of the same paper continued to deplore how 'civil commotion in England, as well as America, is resolved upon by the Scotch.' The article attacked the Bedford faction in parliament for supposedly allying with the Scotch Junto, which was sure to result in the ruin of the British Empire. 'To Lord Bute and his creatures,' they wrote, 'as the Americans have very truly said, are owing all the misfortunes and grievances which they and we labour under. Further insults may entirely rouse that spirit which at present is only beginning to awaken, and call upon us, as well as them, to emancipate both countries from this accursed yoke'.⁵⁸

A print entitled *The Able Doctor* (figure 5.14) emphasized the barbarity of the Intolerable Acts. Mansfield pins down America, represented by a half-naked Native American woman, as North forces tea down her throat. Bute, in a Scottish cap and kilt, oversees the attack claspng a sword inscribed 'military law', whilst Britannia covers her eyes with horror. This print was copied by Paul Revere and distributed in the American colonies by the *Royal American Magazine*.⁵⁹ The violence of this imagery was mirrored by *America in Flames* (figure 5.15). Seated in the sky, Bute and Mansfield pump the flames engulfing America using the Massachusetts Bay and Quebec Act, whilst North stands to the side holding the Boston Port Bill.⁶⁰ These images employ gender in much the same manner as those discussed in chapter four. The helpless female figures of America and Britannia are the subject of ungallant abuse by male politicians. The Scots, Bute and Mansfield, are presented as the pinnacle of this barbaric overexertion of male power, masculine yet ultimately unmanly. Again we see a change in the use of female figures from the Wilkite prints of the early 1760s which portrayed female power as something to be

⁵⁷ *London Evening Post*, June 25th-28th 1774, issue 8,152.

⁵⁸ *London Evening Post*, December 20th-22nd 1774, issue 8,228.

⁵⁹ *The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught* (1774), BM Satires 5226.

⁶⁰ *America in Flames* (1775), BM Satires 5282.

feared. Instead, female figures are used to represent the powerless and the disenfranchised. The Americans, with no voice in parliament, were powerless to resist the imposition of the Intolerable Acts.



Figure 5.14 *The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught* (1774), BM Satires 5226

'AMERICA in FLAMES.'



Town & Country Mag. Dec. 1774 No. 5282.

Figure 5.15 *America in Flames* (1775), BM Satires 5282

Other commentators attempted to show the Junto's ruinous influence on the British Empire by contrasting the imperial situation of 1774 with earlier times. In February the *London Evening Post* noted:

It is a melancholy reflection. . . that when the present king ascended the throne, the whole empire was in unanimity, happiness, and prosperity; and that now every part of it is distracted, miserable and impoverished. This horrible reverse is accomplished in a very few years. . . by the accursed councils of an ignorant, despotic Scotch Favourite.⁶¹

This is, of course, a highly contentious comparison. At the accession of George III the British Empire was still gripped in the throes of the Seven Years' War, yet internally the Empire's citizens were united against the threat from other European imperial powers. Now, the British subjects across the globe were divided against one another, supposedly by the policies of a 'despotic Scotch favourite'. Unlike a great many commentaries published in the same paper, this article was unsure whether Bute still continued to dictate politics in secret. It concluded, however, that if Bute had lost his power it had simply been stolen from him by 'his own creatures' in the present ministry, who were continuing to assert all his policies and principles.⁶²

Later in the year, a postscript in the same paper again compared Anglo-American relations in the reign of George II and George III. Under 'that truly admired Prince' George II, the paper argued, American attachment to England was loyal and affectionate. The colonists adopted English manners and customs, and every year English milliners would send a doll across the Atlantic dressed in the latest English fashions for American ladies to copy. The British Empire, in short, was in a state of peace and prosperity. The paper made a point of mentioning that George II was 'warmly disliked by Lord Bute,' and the target of a 'Scotch' rebellion in 1745. Under George III, however, the situation was entirely reversed. 'The Scots,' the paper wrote, 'who were before in rebellion have been encouraged, till their pride and arrogance have so prevailed over good sense and prudence, they are become insolvent; yet, like beggars, they continue hungry, and are impertinently vain of the King's favour'. The Americans, meanwhile, were on the verge of revolution. The paper was perfectly clear that the two changes were implicitly connected. 'George, George,' the writer wailed, 'if thou hast sensibility, reflect upon what this alteration is

⁶¹ *London Evening Post*, January 29th – February 1st 1774, issue 8,089.

⁶² *Ibid.*

owing to. . . [thy grandfather's] ministers were Whigs and Englishmen. Thine are Tories and Scotchmen'.⁶³

This was certainly not the only article which alluded to Scottish Jacobitism and the Stuart monarchy to attack government policy towards America. In April 1774 the *London Evening Post* attacked the proceedings against Boston as 'a Jacobitical sketch of absolute power' by the Thane and his little Junto.⁶⁴ In May, the *Gazetteer* lavished scathing abuse on Bute as 'the Thane' whose lackeys and minions had been let loose to attack opposition Westminster politicians 'because they refused the specious offers held out to them, to assist in enslaving America.' The paper, however, also laid the blame partly at the door of the King. Although patriotically naming him 'the best of Princes', they condemned 'the barefaced part he takes with the SCOTCH in palliating the crimes of the STUARTS, and loading their enemies with every species of calumny'.⁶⁵ The 'crimes of the Stuarts' which the paper accuses the King of glossing over are likely a reference to the overexertion of Royal prerogative by Charles I and James II, including the latter's attempt to bring the American colonies under the control of royal agents.⁶⁶ The *Public Ledger* from the very same day made this allusion far more brazenly. 'James the Second,' they wrote, 'did the very thing which the Scotch cabinet are now meditating; he abrogated the Charter of the Colonies, and this more than anything contributed to excite in the minds of men a longing expectation of a revolution.'⁶⁷ Rather than mere commentary, the words of the *Public Ledger* should really be seen as a warning to the King and the government; just as the people in 1688 saw the necessity of 'discrowning' their monarch for his abuse of power, so too will the Scotch Junto's policies drive the Americans to revolt.

Newspapers and prints blaming the Intolerable Acts on the 'Scotch Junto' rather than the British government show a prevailing English attitude which viewed Scots not as Britons but as foreigners. This image was reinforced by other attacks which accused the Junto of collaborating with the Germans for political power in Britain. The Royal Family, after all, was still very much German, and the presence of Hanoverian troops in Britain prior to the 1760s had led to fears of foreign occupation and a not-insignificant level of

⁶³ *London Evening Post*, November 1st–3rd 1774, issue 8,207.

⁶⁴ *London Evening Post*, April 26th–28th 1774, issue 8,126.

⁶⁵ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, May 4th 1774, issue 14,099.

⁶⁶ Dunn, 'The Glorious Revolution and America', pp.445-466.

⁶⁷ *Public Ledger*, May 4th 1774, issue 4,481.

Germanophobia.⁶⁸ Despite George III's adoption of Britishness, some of this anti-German sentiment persisted through the following decades, fuelled in part by the unpopularity of the German Princess Dowager. The conspiracy of collaboration between the German Princess and the Scottish minister now took a more general form of a Scotch-German Junto masterminding coercive measures in America.

A letter to the *London Evening Post* in December 1774 lambasted 'the tyranny of Scotchmen and German Britons' which, through tyranny and corruption, was tearing the British Empire apart. The author, 'A Plain Dealer', particularly condemned the 'diabolical' Boston Port Bill, which would torture the Americans with hunger and oppression, and eventually drive them to rebellion out of sheer desperation. The writer claimed that this 'will justify the *insidious Junto*, and their *instruments of slaughter* in letting loose upon them with the havock [sic] and desolation of war.'⁶⁹ A separate issue of the *London Evening Post* printed a postscript advising 'the way to restore union between England and America'. They recommended that the King should 'dismiss the Junto', and 'listen no more to his Scotch and Germans', believing there to be as much 'mischief' amongst the Germans as the Scots. Their final recommendation was to behead Bute and Mansfield, for 'when the Americans are informed their enemies are no more, and that the King is undeceived, they will receive with open arms the manufactures of Great Britain; and pour all their treasures into the lap of this country'.⁷⁰

These commentaries show a clear tendency amongst English writers to treat Scots as outsiders rather than fellow British citizens. We can see echoes of this attitude in other unrelated newspaper articles. A report of the 1774 general election in Westminster listed the voters for Hugh Percy (the King's candidate and Bute's son in law standing against the Wilkites) as 'Germans, Scotch, and unnaturalised foreigners'. By portraying the Scots as outsiders and attributing the Intolerable Acts to a Scotch and sometimes German Junto, Wilkite and opposition writers were attempting to disavow themselves and the English of any responsibility for coercion towards America. The alienation of the Scots was accompanied by inclusive language towards the Americans, describing them as Britons or Englishmen. In an article lambasting Bute, the Junto and 'Scotch scribblers', the *London Evening Post* claimed that the Americans 'have true English blood in their veins'. Their

⁶⁸ Gould, *The Persistence of Empire*, pp.35-37, 50.

⁶⁹ *London Evening Post*, December 24th-27th 1774, issue 8,230.

⁷⁰ *London Evening Post*, November 1st-3rd 1774, issue 8,207.

resistance to the intolerable acts, the paper maintained, was simply proof that their English blood ‘do not run quite so cold as in the veins of those in Britain’.⁷¹

As chapter six will show, attacks on the Scots as England and America’s true enemy were employed to an even greater extent at the outbreak of war in 1775 by both the English opposition and the American patriots. Transatlantic unity within a period of imperial civil war required a common enemy to both unite against and explain the circumstances which had led to war. The Scots provided this common enemy. Their association with Jacobitism explained George III’s perceived overexertion of power and influence over the ministry, whilst the prospect of civil war seemed less horrifying for a people who had been in open rebellion only thirty years before. English ideas of Scottish barbarity, meanwhile, explained the harshness of the Intolerable Acts against the Americans. In 1774, the passing of the Quebec Bill completed this picture, bringing English Scotophobia together with the power of English anti-Catholicism.

5.4 The Quebec Act

As the North American imperial crisis developed in the early 1770s, English antipathy towards Scotland remained widespread. Although jibes at Scottish favouritism, cunning and Bute’s continuing influence received regular space in the press, certain events could trigger a more popular and topical outbreak of Scotophobia. Public reaction to the Quebec Act of 1774 represents one of these occasions, and is particularly useful for demonstrating the nature of anti-Scottish sentiment on the eve of the American Revolution. Popular commentaries in newspapers and prints expose English fears of Scots in imperial administration, of resurgent Catholicism and, above all, the decay and destruction of the British Empire.

Since the acquisition of Quebec from France following the Seven Years’ War, British administration of their new North American territories had been difficult. French Catholics still accounted for a large proportion of the population, and although the government had hoped that English migration would soon anglicize the colony their hopes were frustrated by a lack of English settlers. In 1774 Quebec remained, as Peter Marshall puts it, ‘a French society under British military occupation’.⁷² The local government had

⁷¹ *London Evening Post*, April 26th-28th 1774, issue 8,126.

⁷² Peter Marshall, ‘British North America, 1760-1815’, in Marshall *The Oxford history of the British Empire: Volume II*, p.375.

attempted to directly impose English civil and criminal law, managing Quebec as if it were any other colony in the British Empire, but this proved problematic with a French Catholic society rooted in French law. The Quebec Act of 1774 attempted to fix these problems by establishing French civil law with English criminal law and removing many of the legal restrictions placed upon Catholics. The English opposition, however, denounced the bill, attacking elements such as the lack of a people's Assembly to rule alongside a Governor and Council as a French Catholic victory over English liberties. Opposition to the bill was even more vehement outside of Parliament, as ordinary men and women protested against the establishment of 'Popery and Slavery' in America.⁷³

Many of the commentaries on the Quebec Act carried a distinctly Wilkite tone. Given the issues at stake (the right to elected representatives and the threat to 'English liberty') this is unsurprising. As they had done for many years before, these writers framed their attacks on the Quebec Act within their ongoing campaign against the supposed Scottish threat to English liberty. This scheme, they maintained, was masterminded by the Earl of Bute and assisted by Mansfield. A letter to the *London Evening Post* described the Quebec Act as the culmination of a plot to deprive all Englishmen of their liberties. 'The despotic plan of power contrived by the detestable Thane', they argued, '. . . is nothing less than *high treason against the constitution of this Kingdom*'.⁷⁴ A letter to the same paper some weeks later signed 'A Tyrant Hater' claimed that by giving his Royal assent to the 'obnoxious Quebec bill' King George had broken his coronation oath to uphold the Protestant religion. The writer's full fury, however, was reserved for the Scots who had supposedly 'framed and advised' the act. Singling out Bute in particular (referred to as 'the Thane'), the writer claimed that the Scots in general were 'prone to tyranny and absolute power'. By holding the ear of the King and the government, Bute and the 'weasel-like' Scots were supposedly 'sapping, undermining and subverting this once happy constitution'.⁷⁵ These comments on the Quebec Act soon made their way across the Atlantic, and were circulated in the colonies by several American newspapers.⁷⁶

⁷³ Marshall, 'British North America', pp.375-77; Wilson, *Sense of the People*, pp.251-252.

⁷⁴ *London Evening Post*, June 11th-14th 1774, issue 2,846.

⁷⁵ *London Evening Post*, June 23rd-25th 1774, issue 8,151.

⁷⁶ *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy*, August 15th 1774, issue 887; *Boston Evening Post*, August 22nd 1774, issue 2030; *Connecticut Journal*, August 25th 1774, issue 358; *Massachusetts Spy*, August 25th 1774, vol.IV, issue 186; *Norwich Packet*, August 25th 1774, vol.1, issue 47.

Most of these anti-Scottish attacks on the Quebec Act agreed that Bute was planning to Catholicize the British Empire. Writing to the *Morning Post*, 'Brecknock' claimed that Bute had made a secret deal with the Pope to establish Catholicism in Canada. In exchange, the Pope would recognise King George as the British monarch instead of Charles Edward Stuart. Brecknock argued that although Bute held the despotic political principles of a Jacobite, he had no wish to see the Pretender restored to the throne, as he himself was an illegitimate descendant of the Royal Stuart line. Bute's control over King George, however, would allow him to ascend to the throne in secret. Brecknock further supplemented his Scotophobia and anti-Catholicism with Francophobia, arguing that Bute's Quebec Act would establish 'the *despotic* laws of France all over that wide-extended region'. This was all part of Bute's plan to gain power with the assistance of the French. A French, Catholic Canada, he argued, 'makes that province a more acceptable present to the French King, in case of a Revolution here, and will pay him amply for his assistance in placing the British diadem on the head of the Thane'.⁷⁷ Brecknock's letter shows that anti-Catholicism and Francophobia were still an integral component of Scotophobia in the 1770s just as they had been in the 1760s; Scottish politics, personified by Bute, were no different from French Catholic principles. Brecknock and his fellow writers still feared the Jacobite threat to their precious English liberty, just as they had for decades past. This threat, however, no longer took the form of a Jacobite army led by Bonnie Prince Charlie, but was instead an invisible conspiracy by a Scottish politician and his Junto to subvert the King and government from within, and establish arbitrary power in secret.

A letter to the *Gazetteer* drew further comparisons between Scottish and French principles surrounding the Quebec Act. The writer claimed that the Quebec Bill would enable the laws of Canada to supersede those of England. 'Whence are those laws derived?' they asked: 'from the constitution of the city of Paris. Whence are the Scotch derived? From the same source'. The writer went on to list numerous comparisons between French civil law operating in Quebec and Scottish civil law. Both, they argued, were designed 'to oppress the weak; and to authorise and protect with impunity the rich, strong, and powerful in their oppressions.' Neither French Canadian nor Scottish law, they claimed, allowed trial by jury, whilst the Scottish heritable jurisdictions and French Canadian Seignories were essentially the same thing. 'What is the state of such as live under those tenures?' they asked: 'that of *absolute slavery*'. The writer further claimed that the heritable

⁷⁷ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, June 8th 1774, issue 1,573.

jurisdictions had been ended in Scotland by the English Lord Hardwicke due to his ‘detestation of slavery and love of personal liberty.’ The imposition of French law in Canada, however, was due to ‘a love of arbitrary power’ within the government.⁷⁸ A similar attitude was displayed by the *Public Advertiser* in October 1774. A brief notice promised its readers the publication of a list of the MPs who had voted in favour of the Quebec Bill, whom it described as ‘those who Poll in Favour of Popery, arbitrary Power, a vile Ministry, and a Scotch system of Laws’.⁷⁹

Satirical prints remained a valuable weapon of Wilkite writers during the 1770s, and were readily employed against Bute and Mansfield in the attack on the Quebec Act. In *The Mitred Minuet* (figure 5.16), Bute, with the devil looking over his shoulder, plays the bagpipes as four bishops dance around the Quebec Bill.⁸⁰ This print was copied in America by Paul Revere and recirculated in the *Royal American Magazine*.⁸¹ In *America in Flames*, Bute pumps the bellows of the Quebec Act to burn America, assisted by Mansfield and a demon sitting in the clouds.⁸² Both of these prints used Scottish symbolism such as tartan plaid and the bagpipes to associate the Quebec Act with Scotland, a tactic which reached its pinnacle in the 1775 print *The Thistle Reel* (figure 5.17). Bute, Mansfield and North dance around a gigantic Scottish thistle marked ‘the Pretender’ whilst the devil plays the bagpipes. An explanatory text sold alongside the print claims that the devil is playing the tune ‘Over the water to Charlie’, a famous Jacobite song. Mansfield holds a roll of paper inscribed ‘Quebec Bill’, and dances above the words ‘Nemo me impune Lacessit’, the motto of the Scottish Order of the Thistle.⁸³ Although many of the commentaries on the Quebec Act attack English politicians such as Lord North as well as Bute and Mansfield, the exaggerated Scottish imagery of these prints creates an overt connection between the Quebec Act and Scotland.

⁷⁸ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, June 21st 1774, issue 14,140.

⁷⁹ *Public Advertiser*, October 24th 1774, Issue 14,061.

⁸⁰ *The Mitred Minuet* (1774), BM Satires 5228.

⁸¹ M. Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. V, 1771-1783* (London: British Museum Press, 1935), p.167.

⁸² *America in Flames* (1775), BM Satires 5282.

⁸³ *The Thistle Reel* (1775), BM Satires 5285.



Figure 5.16 *The Mitred Minuet* (1774), BM Satires 5228

Lond. Mag. 1775 Feb



over the water: to Charley

Noli me tangere

Nemo me impune lacepsit

Butc

Pretender

North

Mansfield.

The Thistle Reel.

Figure 5.17 The Thistle Reel (1775), BM Satires 5285

Although English opposition to the Quebec Act generated a large level of Scotophobia, not all responses were entirely negative. Some voices in the press spoke out against the Quebec Act whilst simultaneously denouncing popular Scotophobia and defending the Scottish people. One such letter responded directly to the earlier accusations made by ‘A Tyrant Hater’ in the *London Evening Post*. The writer, ‘Diogenes’, was outspoken in their opposition to the Quebec Act, describing it as an ‘attempt to destroy the inestimable privileges which we inherited from our glorious ancestors.’ However, they also rebuked ‘A Tyrant Hater’ for blaming the act on the Scottish people in general, arguing that it did not matter whether the act was framed by an English politician or a Scottish one. ‘I will ask the *Tyrant hater*’, they wrote, ‘. . . whether there is a majority of Scotch or English in the list of its supporters, and how many Scotchmen there are among the *immaculate* Bishops, who gave their *silent* vote so *unanimously* on that occasion?’⁸⁴

Diogenes even went so far as to attack the Wilkite and opposition writers for dividing and weakening the nation. ‘These pretended friends of the people’, they wrote, ‘have done more towards establishing the popish religion and arbitrary power, than all the schemes of *the present treasonable junto at St. James’s*.’ For Diogenes, the only way to counter the spread of Catholicism and arbitrary power in the British Empire and the wider world was for Britons to unite against it: ‘Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, and Americans, should unite in the common cause of Freedom; all are in the same danger; and such union alone will ever relieve their country from tyranny and oppression’.⁸⁵ Diogenes’ attitude here shows the powerful role of anti-Catholicism in Anglo-Scottish social relations. Whilst most Scotophobic attacks on the Quebec Act focused on Scots as supporters of Catholicism, Diogenes’ defence places all Britons (including the Scots alongside the English, Irish and Americans) as one people united against the Catholic threat.

A similar call to British unity came from a Scottish writer. In a letter to the *Public Ledger*, a correspondent signing themselves ‘A Scotchman’ spoke out against the Quebec Bill as an unconstitutional plot to establish popery and slavery. The writer did not attempt to defend Bute and Mansfield, or deny the existence of a secret government Junto. In their eyes, however, the enemies were not the Scottish people in general, but simply scheming politicians, ministers and ‘the detestable minions who at present surround the Throne.’ They spoke of an English history defined by the ‘manly resistance of the people’ to

⁸⁴ *London Evening Post*, June 25th-28th 1774, issue 8,152.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

perfidious princes, evoking the legacy of the Glorious Revolution which would have appealed to the Wilkites and opposition writers. Their letter ended with an assurance that British liberty would triumph over arbitrary power. ‘Britons dare and will be free’, they wrote, ‘and if either a Brunswick, a Bute, or a Mansfield should make a diabolic attempt to enslave them – should they establish Popery and French laws in any part of the English dominions. . . there are three vacant spikes on Temple Bar’.⁸⁶ The Scottish writer’s letter is notable for its attack on Bute and Mansfield and appeal to a British legacy of resistance. This rhetoric matched the Wilkites’ almost word for word, but unsurprisingly refrained from attacking the Scots as the enemies of British liberty. Instead of trying to counter the threat to liberty by dividing the English and the Scots, the writer instead believed that only British unity could save British liberty.

Public reaction to the Quebec Act shows that anti-Catholicism remained an extremely potent force in Britain. Whilst many of the attacks on the Quebec Act also attacked the Scots as its instigators, there is also evidence that this anti-Catholicism could unite English Wilkites together with Scots. A particularly noteworthy example of this can be seen in the *Middlesex Journal*’s praise of George Johnstone for opposing the Quebec Act. Johnstone, a former Scottish naval officer, established himself as an enemy of the Wilkites in the early 1760s. He had benefitted heavily from Bute’s patronage, the latter appointing him governor of West Florida when he took office as Prime Minister. When the *North Briton* printed some disparaging remarks about Bute’s appointment of numerous Scots to important positions (including Johnstone’s appointment as governor), Johnstone personally sought out a writer for the *North Briton* named Brooks and attacked him with a cudgel.⁸⁷

Clearly, Johnstone was no friend to the Wilkite cause. In light of Bute’s patronage and his history of anti-Wilkite violence it therefore comes as a considerable surprise to see the *Middlesex Journal* showering him with praise in 1774. The *Middlesex Journal*, like the constituency from which it took its name, was inherently Wilkite from its foundation in 1769. Its first issue included an introduction extolling the importance of English liberty and

⁸⁶ *Public Ledger*, July 20th 1774, issue 4,547.

⁸⁷ Robin F. A. Fabel, *Bombasts and Broadides: the lives of George Johnstone* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1987), pp.14-17; Robin F. A. Fabel, ‘Johnstone, George (1730–1787)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14960>, accessed 25 June 2015]; *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle Volume XXXIII, For the Year MDCCLXIII* (London, 1763), pp.475-76; *Boston Evening Post*, December 26th 1763, issue 1477.

a commitment to its defence against those ‘who hold principles incompatible with freedom’.⁸⁸ In July 1774, however, the paper applauded Johnstone for opposing the Quebec Act, praising his speeches in parliament and great powers of reasoning. The article included a brief biography describing his governorship of West Florida, but made no mention of his patronage from Bute or his assault on Brooks. The *Middlesex Journal* even forgave his Scottish nationality. ‘The Governor’s manner is harsh and ungraceful, and his pronunciation Scotch’, they wrote, ‘but these inelegancies are well made up by the strength and solidity of his matter’.⁸⁹ Because Johnstone had opposed the Quebec Act and supported the primacy of Protestantism in the British Empire, the staunchly Wilkite and often Scotophobic *Middlesex Journal* set their anti-Scottish ideals aside and gave Johnstone their support.

Johnstone was not the only Scot whose stand against Catholicism endeared him to the Wilkites in spite of a questionable past. In 1769 the *Middlesex Journal* praised the governorship of Robert Melville in the West Indies. Melville, a Scot, had served as an officer in the Caribbean during the Seven Years’ War, and in light of his commended command he was appointed governor of the Ceded Islands (Grenada, the Grenadines, Tobago, Dominica and St Vincent). As these colonies had been ceded from France, each contained a significant number of French Catholics settlers. His governorship of these islands was considerably autocratic. He bypassed a law limiting the governor’s land to three hundred acres by owning several separate plots, acquiring a thousand acres of land worth over £33,000. He also appointed a disproportionately high number of Scots to the Dominica council using networks of patronage to strengthen his hold on power.⁹⁰ Further scandal erupted in 1768 when Melville clashed with the constituent assembly of Grenada. The assembly had arrested and imprisoned Walter Robertson, a returning officer who had refused to accept votes from certain citizens because he believed them to be voting in the interests of the colony’s French Catholic citizens. Melville and the council soon intervened, overruling the assembly and freeing Robertson. The embittered assembly petitioned the King, complaining of Melville’s ‘strong imposition’ over the elected assembly, the ‘virulent and abusive resolutions’ he passed over them, the ‘violence and intrigues’ of

⁸⁸ *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, April 4th 1769, issue 1.

⁸⁹ *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, June 30th- July 2nd 1774, Issue 821.

⁹⁰ Douglas J. Hamilton, *Patronage and Profit: Scottish Networks in the British West Indies, c. 1763-1807*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Aberdeen, 1999), pp.95-96; Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean, and the Atlantic World 1750-1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p.147.

Melville's council, the 'wanton and caballing spirit of those in power', and particularly 'the partiality of returning officers who are always named by the Commandere [sic] in Chief'.⁹¹ Melville continued to clash with the constituent assembly over the rights of Catholics in the ceded islands for several years.⁹²

As with Johnstone, we would expect the Wilkite press to attack Melville as an ambitious, autocratic Scot seeking power through patronage and overruling the democratic will of the people in favour of his own personal prerogative. Instead, the *Middlesex Journal* praised Melville's conduct and governorship. In December 1769, the paper published a letter by 'Pliny Junior' denouncing the threat of Catholicism to the British Empire in the Caribbean due to 'the admission of Roman Catholics to offices of trust, and to the enjoyment of legislative rights and powers'. Pliny's praise of Melville for opposing Catholicism in the Ceded Islands was gushing, describing him as

The sensible, resolute, active Governor Melville, who could not behold, with indifference, the sacrifice intended to be made of the protestant interest in the island, and who actually took some vigorous and laudable measures to prevent it, finding himself obnoxious to the Popish faction for his zealous attachment to the true interests of his Protestant sovereign, and to the excellent constitution of his country[.]⁹³

Other issues of the *Middlesex Journal* also commended Melville's tenure as governor.⁹⁴ Like Johnstone, Melville's stand against Catholicism within the British Empire thoroughly redeemed him to the Wilkite press. In this instance as well, the threat of Catholicism to the British Empire was a force powerful enough to unite Wilkites with Scottish political figures they would have otherwise detested.

The Quebec Act and the anti-Catholic responses from the British public show some of the boundaries of anti-Scottish sentiment in England. Many commentators attacked the Scots as Catholics or friends to Catholics, and as the framers of the Quebec Act, with particular vehemence reserved for Bute and Mansfield as the arch-conspirators of a plot to establish popery across the British Empire. Those Scots who appeared to oppose

⁹¹ Minutes of the Assembly of Grenada and the Grenadines, Friday 15th January 1768, TNA CO 104/3.

⁹² Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean, and the Atlantic World*, pp.154-156.

⁹³ *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, December 28th-30th 1769, issue 117.

⁹⁴ *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, August 30th-September 1st 1770, issue 222; *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, October 4th- 6th 1770, issue 236.

Catholicism, however, received high praise and commendation from the same Wilkite newspapers and journalists who would otherwise vigorously oppose their politics and actions. Such contrasting attitudes support Linda Colley's argument concerning the primacy of Protestantism and anti-Catholicism in the formation of British national identity.⁹⁵ Recent studies of Protestantism and British national identity have rightly argued for greater focus on the positive elements of identity formation, of the inclusiveness of Protestantism rather than negative Othering of Catholicism.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, British responses to the Quebec Act make it difficult to deny the strength of anti-Catholicism in fostering both national division and national unity. The threat to the British Empire from the French Catholic 'Other' could sometimes overshadow English resentment towards Scottish advancement and patronage within the Empire, as long as the Scots were not seen as contributing to this threat. As chapter eight demonstrates, the popular image of Scots began to change as the 1770s progressed and a new image of Scots as staunchly anti-Catholic defenders of Protestantism emerged. During the early 1770s, however, English popular opinion in newspapers and prints was weighted more heavily towards Scots as supporters of Popery rather than its enemies.

Conclusion

It is clear that anti-Scottish sentiment did not disappear in the years between popular Wilkite radicalism in the 1760s and the outbreak of the American War of Independence. Although it did not reach the fever-pitch levels of the 1760s, attacks on Scots in the press and in prints remained constant and visible. The most substantial changes in the nature of Scotophobia during this period revolved around perceptions of Scottish power. Whilst anti-Scottish sentiment in the 1760s was inherently tied to fears of female power and the mid-eighteenth-century English crisis of masculinity, the death of the Princess Dowager led to the decline in these gendered fears. Instead of the Boot and the Petticoat working in tandem, the Scots alone were now singled out as England's internal political enemy.

The general atmosphere of Scotophobia produced by the Quebec bill and the Intolerable Acts, meanwhile, reveals an extremely fragile English perception of nation, empire and identity. Whilst external forces threatened the frontiers of the British Empire, internal forces also threatened Englishness itself. By this I do not mean the threatening

⁹⁵ Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness'; Colley, *Britons*, p.17.

⁹⁶ Claydon & McBride, *Protestantism and National Identity*, p.7.

erasure of 'Englishness' in favour of 'Britishness', which for Linda Colley characterised Wilkite Scotophobia during the 1760s.⁹⁷ Instead, English Scotophobia was an attempt to protect the nature of eighteenth-century Englishness. The Intolerable Acts against America, the granting of civil freedom to Catholics in Quebec, and the atmosphere of perceived ministerial hostility towards the rights and liberties of people all stood in stark contrast to the legacy of English liberty. English national mythology emphasised the special freedom enjoyed by Englishmen encapsulated by the Glorious Revolution, a mythology which English citizens across the empire clung on to tightly. Government policy seemed to be so set against these characteristic liberties that there is a sense amongst opposition writers that such policies simply could not have sprung from English minds. As English identity was so entwined with liberty, no true English person, it was believed, could attack it so brazenly.

So how could Whig and Wilkite polemicists explain the ministerial attack on English liberty? By maintaining that the policies of an English government were being directed in secret by foreign Others, by Germans and especially by Scots. Scottishness, after all, was heavily associated with Jacobitism and arbitrary power, and the relative advancement of Scots within British politics in the latter half of the eighteenth century would have made the connection seem plausible. In this vision, those English politicians at the centre of government, such as North and Jenkinson, were merely the lackeys of the Scotch Junto, subject to their every whim. In reality of course there was no Scotch Junto and no conspiracy to destroy English liberty. Changes were coming from a British government in which a few Tories were beginning to defy the Whig oligarchy, and in which George III admittedly played a heavier role than his Hanoverian predecessors.⁹⁸ Yet power was still largely Anglocentric. The conspiracy of the Scotch Junto simply reinforced Whig and Wilkite ideas of English identity, providing assurance that to be English was still to love liberty. The attack on English liberty, this belief maintained, was an attack by Scottish outsiders rather than a sign that the spirit of liberty was beginning to decay amongst the English themselves.

⁹⁷ Colley, *Britons*, pp.112-117.

⁹⁸ Colley, *Britons*, p.110.

Chapter 6: Transatlantic Scotophobia and the outbreak of the American Revolution, 1775-1777

This chapter examines Scotophobia in England and America during the early years of the American Revolution from 1775 to 1777. Anti-Scottish sentiment was strong on both sides of the Atlantic at the outbreak of the American Revolution and the months following it, with many commentators accusing the Scots of pushing the Americans into Revolution. I argue that popular Scotophobia in England and America highlights the role of ethnicity in the Revolution. In addition to political and economic grievances, ethnic tensions also contributed to the outbreak of the war, specifically resentment towards the perceived nature and balance of power between those who saw themselves as English or of English origin and the Scots. I also argue that Scotophobia served two useful purposes during the early years of the war, firstly by providing a common enemy for Americans and their English supporters to unite against, and secondly by creating an image of a Scottish foe that the colonists would be willing to take up arms against.

In order to demonstrate that Scotophobia was truly transatlantic during the early years of the war, this chapter examines both England and America. Radical and opposition English newspapers attacked the Scots in order to show the Americans that the English people were not to blame for the government's policy of coercion. American newspapers likewise attacked the Scots in order to show that they did not necessarily wish to completely sever ties with Britain. Their attitudes towards the Scots consequently converged, with common prejudices, conspiracies and stereotypes developing in both Britain and America. This was fuelled by an active transatlantic newspaper culture which communicated both radical political ideology and national myths of ancient Anglo-Saxon liberty across the British Atlantic world.¹

The American Revolution also raised numerous questions about identity in both Britain and America. As Dror Wahrman has shown, the war caused a crisis of identity amongst those involved; there was no clear division between friend and foe, no 'Britons' and 'Other', no 'us' and 'them'.² Eventually the war helped to clarify new ideas of British and

¹ Warner, 'Communicating Liberty', pp.339-361; Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*, pp.80-84, 110-112.; Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism*, pp.191-95.

² Dror Wahrman, 'The English problem of identity in the American Revolution', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 106, No. 4 (Oct., 2001), p.1238.

American identity, but not until the conflict was nearing its end.³ Identity in the British Empire remained in a state of flux during the tumultuous years surrounding the outbreak of the war, as numerous ideas of where the nation began and ended competed against one another. This chapter will argue that Scotophobia in England and America reveals a strong Anglo-American identity shared by a significant proportion of the English and American peoples. This was built around an idea of liberty strongly associated with English ethnicity, which was broad enough to incorporate both the Americans and the English, yet narrow enough to exclude the Scots.

Previous studies of anti-Scottish sentiment surrounding the War of American Independence have focused solely on one side of the Atlantic. Andrew Hook presented the war years as ‘a time of discord’ in an otherwise harmonious cultural relationship between Scotland and the American colonies. Although commenting on the similarities between the Scotophobia of the American colonists and Wilkite Scotophobia in London, Hook’s study concentrated only on anti-Scottish sentiment within the American colonies themselves.⁴ William R. Brock likewise examined the breakdown in connections between America and Scotland during the Revolution. Brock focused particularly on trade and economics rather than culture, but nevertheless described how the disruption of the Revolution and the preceding years caused tension between the American colonists and Scottish merchants. Like Hook, Brock did not seek to connect Anti-Scottish sentiment amongst the American colonists with the Scotophobia of their contemporaries in England.⁵ Other works have taken a narrower focus, examining Scottish-American relations in particular colonies or districts. These works often briefly discuss American Scotophobia in relation to the structure of the local economy, or as a product of Scottish loyalism during the Revolution.⁶

Historians have also discussed English Scotophobia during the War of American Independence. In his study of the war’s impact on the British Isles, Stephen Conway presented the conflict as a turning point in Anglo-Scottish social relations. Although the Scots faced considerable public hostility, Conway argued that the war also strengthened ties of Britishness as it progressed. The raising of Highland regiments provided evidence of Scottish loyalty to the crown, dispelling the seemingly indelible English suspicions of

³ Colley, *Britons*, pp.134-137.

⁴ Hook, *Scotland and America*, pp.47-70.

⁵ Brock, *Scotus Americanus*, pp.127-147.

⁶ See for example Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia*, pp.10-13; Ragsdale, *A Planters’ Republic*, p.36-8; Hook, ‘Troubling Times’, pp.215-223.

Scottish Jacobitism. The alliance between America and European powers, meanwhile, encouraged a sense of Britishness as opposed to Englishness in both its national and transatlantic form, a feeling supplemented by the growing threat of invasion.⁷ Conway's arguments largely support Linda Colley's theories concerning the primacy of war in the formation of Britishness. In *Britons*, Colley too argued that the American Revolution saw Britishness triumph over other national distinctions, whilst Wilkite radicalism (together with its inherent Scotophobia) became much less vocal as the tide of public opinion began to turn against America.⁸ Responding to Colley's critics, who pointed to resurgent nationalism, provincialism and localism, Conway took a nuanced view of Britishness that allowed for a multiplicity of identities to co-exist alongside one another.⁹

What is missing, however, is a discussion of anti-Scottish sentiment from a transatlantic perspective. In this chapter I argue that English Scotophobia and American Scotophobia were strongly connected during the early years of the war. An Atlantic study of Scotophobia not only reveals these connections, but also shows the purposes Scotophobia served by providing a common enemy to unite against. The works on America by Hook and Brock also focus on anti-Scottish sentiment only during the war itself without placing it within the wider context of ongoing anti-Scottish sentiment both in America and across the British Empire. This chapter will show that American Scotophobia in the war years grew out of similar discontent present in America during the 1760s, and was similarly influenced by the views of those outside America as well as by antipathy within its own shores. Examining Scotophobia within this Atlantic, imperial context also reveals some important English and American ideas of nation, empire and identity during this turning point in English and American history. Their antipathy exposes their fears for their collective imperial enterprise, and shows what kind of people they believed themselves to be – a people defined by a liberty inherent to *English* ethnicity. As the war progressed pro-independence American writers such as Thomas Paine attempted to break the bonds of this Atlantic English identity by arguing that America's true parent was Europe as a whole rather than England.¹⁰ Yet Paine had to argue so strongly precisely

⁷ Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.166-202. See also Stephen Conway, 'A Joy Unknown for Years Past': The American War, Britishness and the Celebration of Rodney's Victory at the Saints', *History*, Vol. 86, Issue 282 (April, 2001), pp.180-199.

⁸ Colley, *Britons*, pp.141-143.

⁹ Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.167-168.

¹⁰ Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (Philadelphia, 1776), p.19.

because Americans had hitherto appealed heavily to this identity - an identity which obliged them to oppose the internal threat of arbitrary power which they saw in the Scots.

6.1 Transatlantic connections

As historians have demonstrated, English public opinion concerning the war was divided. Loyalist addresses and petitions for peace poured into the halls of government and St James' Palace from across the country, whilst opinion in the English press was similarly varied.¹¹ English attitudes towards the Scots were not divided along the lines of loyalism and opposition, yet much of the English Scotophobia during the war came from those who supported or sympathized with the American cause. Scotophobia amongst the opposition movement can be attributed partly to its close association with the Wilkite movement of the previous decade. Wilkes' success in politics, first in his election for Middlesex and then Lord Mayor of London in 1774, actually led to a sharp decline in his political importance; no longer persecuted by the government, he became a politician rather than a rallying symbol for crowds and radical politics.¹² Yet the ideology of Wilkitism still echoed amongst radical and opposition groups. John Sainsbury has shown the close connection between pro-American organisations such as the London Association and prominent Wilkite political figures.¹³ The values and sentiments of popular Wilkitism also continued to hold sway amongst the ordinary men and women who had supported Wilkes throughout the 1760s. The relative decline in the importance of their figurehead did not lead to these people abandoning their political sentiments.¹⁴

The Wilkite movement in England still maintained close connections with the Patriots in America. Shortly after the outbreak of war Londoners elected William Lee, brother of Arthur Lee discussed in chapter three, as the Alderman for Aldgate with a

¹¹ James Bradley, *Popular Politics and the American Revolution in England: Petitions, the Crown, and Public Opinion* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer, 1986), pp.207-216; John Sainsbury, *Disaffected Patriots: London Supporters of Revolutionary America, 1769-1782* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987); Colley, *Britons*, pp.137-141; Wilson, *Sense of the People*, pp.238-252; James E. Bradley, 'The British public and the American Revolution: Ideology, Interest and Opinion', in Dickinson, *Britain and the American Revolution*, pp.124-154; Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.129-165.

¹² George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, vol. V, p.178.

¹³ Sainsbury, *Disaffected Patriots*, pp.109-113.

¹⁴ Sainsbury, *Disaffected Patriots*, p.82.

mandate pledging to resist the government's American policies.¹⁵ These connections continued on the other side of the Atlantic as well, principally through the transatlantic press. American newspapers frequently printed extracts from English newspapers long into the war, often to demonstrate the level of support they enjoyed amongst English radicals.¹⁶ The American congress actively spearheaded a public relations campaign in English newspapers in an attempt to raise support in Britain, ensuring that original American articles, letters and documents were widely distributed across the country.¹⁷ These connections allowed popular political ideology in both Britain and America to continue to develop alongside one another, each influencing and being influenced by the other in turn. With converging political ideology, however, came converging attitudes and prejudices. Attacks on the Scots or descriptions of Scottish politics were a common feature of British and American newspapers during the war; sometimes the same anti-Scottish articles or letters were reprinted in papers on either side of the Atlantic. Stereotypes and conspiracies concerning the Scots consequently grew in common in both Britain and America. Whilst these attacks were highly prejudiced and xenophobic, they also served some useful purposes by providing a scapegoat for the imperial crisis and a common enemy which both Americans and their English supporters could unite against.

6.2 A Scottish enemy for a Civil War

Scotophobia was particularly useful for solving some of the problems which arose from the American and English opposition tendency to describe the conflict as a civil war. Historians have long debated whether this term is a suitable description for the war of American independence, but there is no doubt that many of those writing at the time wished to portray it as such.¹⁸ Many Americans saw themselves (or at the very least portrayed themselves) as English or British citizens on the eve of the American Revolution. This identity largely formed the basis for their arguments against taxation and government coercion.¹⁹ Many in Britain itself regarded the American colonists in the same way. Their

¹⁵ Sainsbury, *Disaffected Patriots*, p.88.

¹⁶ Humphrey, *The American Revolution and the Press*, p.137.

¹⁷ Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society*, p.156.

¹⁸ Colley, *Britons*, p.137; J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty 1660-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.296-303, Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self* (London: Yale University Press, 2004), p.224.

¹⁹ Greene, 'Empire and Identity', pp.227-230.

sympathisers tended to view them as British citizens whose national rights and liberties were being threatened by the series of coercive measures imposed upon them from the mid-1760s onwards.²⁰ Even those who supported taxation emphasized the Americans' status as British citizens in order to justify their contribution to British revenues.²¹ The decade or so of debate preceding the Revolution therefore served to heighten perceptions of the Americans as British.

Once war began, the term 'civil war' was frequently employed by the Americans and their English supporters. From the beginning of 1776 onwards, the weekly pro-American pamphlet *The Crisis* carried the subtitle 'To be continued every Saturday, During the Present Bloody Civil War in America'.²² In Parliament, MPs from both the government and the opposition frequently referred to the conflict as a civil war, both before and after the outbreak of violence.²³ They were accompanied in their rhetoric by a number of English and American pamphlets, as well as the many petitions calling for peace.²⁴

Both the Americans and their English supporters employed the term 'civil war' to emphasize the tragedy of the conflict. It was a war which had set Englishmen against one another, and which most had wished to avert through peaceful negotiations. As the Connecticut *Norwich Packet* reported just after the outbreak of war,

It was the wish of every generous mind that the unhappy contest with the mother country would have been compromised without the shedding of blood; and the time when it would become necessary to enter into an unnatural civil war with those, with whom we are connected by the tenderest ties, has ever been deprecated as the most horrid calamity.²⁵

²⁰ Stephen Conway, 'From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners: British Perceptions of the Americans, circa 1739-1783', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol.59, No.1 (January, 2002), pp.84-85.

²¹ Gould, *Persistence of Empire*, pp.119-20.

²² *The Crisis*, January 6th 1776, issue 51 to October 6th 1776, issue 90.

²³ *The Parliamentary Register; or History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons*, vol.1 (London, 1775), pp.118, 121, 163, 180, 399.

²⁴ See for example *An Enquiry Whether the Guilt of the Present Civil War in America Ought to be Imputed to Great Britain or America* (London, 1775); *A Genuine Letter from a Well-Known Patriot at St. James's, to his Friend in Boston, Relative to the Present Distracted State of American Affairs* (Boston, 1775); Richard Price, *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America* (London, 1776), p.27; Paine, *Common Sense*, pp.117, 121; Bradley, *Popular Politics*, pp.76, 216.

²⁵ *Norwich Packet*, May 11th 1775, vol.II, number 84.

This left the Americans with a problem: how could they continue to describe their struggle as a civil war, complete with the tragic overtones of such a conflict, yet still encourage Americans to fight? With so much propaganda describing the horrors of fighting against their fellow countrymen in England, most of whom (according to popular literature) supported their cause, the prospect of taking up arms appears quite unappealing. Indeed, as Gary B. Nash has shown, many Americans were rather reluctant to fight after the initial *rage militaire* had died down.²⁶ So how could the Americans decry the horrors of a civil war but still sway public opinion in favour of armed resistance against the mother country?

The solution to this problem lay in Scotophobia. Although Britons themselves, the Scots were marginalized and looked down upon by a significant proportion of Americans, not to mention the English. Within America most Scottish migrants at this point were relative newcomers. Roughly 40,000 Scots travelled to America during the 1760s, a vast increase from previous decades which reached its peak in 1774-1775.²⁷ Many of these men, women and children came from the Scottish Highlands, and tended to settle in relatively isolated communities.²⁸ A combination of factors consequently came together to set Scots up as the ideal enemy for American propaganda to attack – their strange Highland culture, their poverty, their increasing numbers, their failure to integrate, and all built upon long-standing stereotypes of Scottish barbarity, cunning and untrustworthiness. Once the war started these new Scottish migrants in America overwhelmingly sided with the loyalists, and although they did not pose a great military threat it was enough to secure their image as America's enemies.²⁹

By focusing on the Scots as the primary adversaries in the early years of the War, the Americans could continue to employ civil war rhetoric without discouraging their troops from taking up arms. The Scots, both in America and in Britain, were 'British' enough to support the image of a civil war, but still alien enough to provide a seemingly 'foreign' enemy who could be hated, demonized and fought against. American newspapers consequently embarked on a sustained campaign to portray the Scots as America's most inveterate enemies. In this they were supported by English commentators who wished to disassociate themselves from the government's coercive policy. This took the form of a three-pronged attack which focused on the Scots in three sectors: the 'Scotch Junto' in the

²⁶ Gary B. Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution* (London: Pimlico, 2007), pp.216-223.

²⁷ Brock, *Scotus Americanus*, p.68; Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, p.26.

²⁸ Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, pp.605-642.

²⁹ Hook, *Scotland and America*, p.50.

government, Scottish soldiers in the British army, and Scottish loyalism and support for the government amongst the general public.

The Scottish enemy 1 – leadership

As discussed chapter five, rumours emerged of a sinister ‘Scotch Junto’ secretly controlling the British government during the furore over the Intolerable Acts in the early 1770s. These rumours spread and became increasingly popular at the outbreak of war in 1775. They also made their way across the Atlantic to America. The *New York Journal* warned its readers in early 1775 that this Junto was deliberately delaying discussions of the American crisis in parliament:

The ostensible, or official Ministers will be ordered, by the Scotch and German Junto, to say they have received no intelligence, and therefore they have no plan nor measure to propose. Delay will accumulate distress; and distress may produce violence on both sides. This will be agreeable to the Junto, as it will forward their wicked scheme of mischief.³⁰

The ominous connotations of the term ‘Junto’ in Britain and America are worthy of closer examination. Johnson’s dictionary defined it as a cabal: ‘a body of men united in some design’ or ‘intrigue’.³¹ Although Benjamin Franklin adopted the name for his improvement society in 1727, the term’s use in the eighteenth century was often negative. Commentators in the 1730s for example used it in reference to the traders responsible for the South Sea Bubble crisis of the previous decade.³² The term’s most frequent usage however was in discussions of arbitrary power or treasonous plots, especially those against liberty. In 1732 the *Weekly Miscellany* reported that a Junto in Naples was arresting people ‘for speaking too freely of the new Government’, whilst the *Daily Gazetteer* described the anti-Reformation movement during the reign of Edward VI as ‘a motley Junto of Papists and pretended Protestants, working the downfall of a great and good Minister’.³³ Similarly in 1748 James Ralph’s anti-ministerial pamphlet the *Remembrancer* used the term to attack the government’s ‘new and strange Dispensation of Power’.³⁴ In Boston the term was used

³⁰ *The New-York Journal*, 26th January 1775, issue 1673.

³¹ Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, fifth edition (London, 1773).

³² *Daily Journal*, December 16th 1735, Issue 5556.

³³ *Weekly Miscellany*, February 7th 1736, Issue 165; *Daily Gazetteer*, March 18th 1736, Issue 226.

³⁴ *Remembrancer*, February 27th 1748, Issue 12.

in the 1760s to attack the Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson and his supporters for attempting to demolish the traditional town meeting.³⁵

During the 1760s and 70s, the term became increasingly used against Bute and the Scots. A letter supporting Pitt and the Colonies in the *Boston News Letter* in 1765 maintained that ‘before next Christmas it will be as dangerous in South-Britain to scribble and harangue against the colonies, as it is now to attempt a Vindication of Lord [Bute], and his Junto’.³⁶ In 1766 the *New York Mercury* reported that the Commons had repealed the Stamp Act despite the efforts of ‘Lord Bute and his Party’. The Act’s repeal, the *Mercury* maintained, provided ‘the finishing Stroke to that Junto’.³⁷ This latter opinion, however, proved a little too optimistic (in popular perception at least). As the crisis between Britain and America grew in the early 1770s, Bute’s Junto once again received the blame. The ‘Scotch and German Junto’ described by the *New York Journal* is most likely a reference to the apparent alliance between Bute and King George. Both men were accused of exerting undue and unconstitutional influence over government affairs as the crisis unfolded.

English newspapers too did not relent in their attacks on the Scotch Junto. On the eve of the Revolution, the *Westminster Journal* lamented ‘It must strike every man with horror, when he reflects but a moment on the subject of dispute; nothing but the prerogative of one man, manifestly managed by a Stuart and his Junto, a set of low, despicable wretches, whose existence is a disgrace to human nature.’ The *London Evening Post* claimed that the Americans and their ancestors had always been ‘loyal and affectionate subjects, until a *traitorous conspiracy* of Scotch Jacobites and their tools governed this country’.³⁸ When reports began to circulate that Bute was planning to leave the country, the *Public Ledger* called for his immediate detention on the grounds that ‘Whoever has been the SECRET cause of the calamities that are upon us, ought not to be suffered to depart the kingdom, but to atone for his guilt as STRAFFORD did’.³⁹ The ‘Strafford’ alluded to was Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford renowned for his authoritarian governorship of Ireland and support of Charles I in the period leading up to the English Civil War. He was eventually impeached and executed amidst accusations that

³⁵ Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*, pp.20-21.

³⁶ *Boston News Letter*, August 8th 1765, issue 3207.

³⁷ *New York Mercury*, May 19th 1766, issue 760.

³⁸ *London Evening Post*, July 20th-July 22nd 1775, issue 8,321.

³⁹ *Public Ledger*, July 19th 1775, issue 4,860.

he advised the King to use Irish soldiers to suppress the English people.⁴⁰ The *Public Ledger* saw in Strafford a good parallel for Bute, who was accused of using Scottish soldiers to suppress the ‘English’ people in America.

The composition of the mythical Junto during the war remained largely unchanged from the descriptions seen earlier in the decade. Most agreed that Bute and Mansfield led the Junto, and exercised complete control over Lord North. Although Charles Jenkinson had settled into a period of relative political obscurity during the early years of the war, the *London Evening Post* claimed that he remained ‘*Prime Minister* over Lord North, and *chief agent* to the Lords Bute and Mansfield, as before.’⁴¹ Other commentators were less willing to deny North’s power. A writer styling themselves ‘True-Blue’ wrote an open letter to Lord North castigating him for his many failings, whilst still maintaining the influence of the Scotch Junto:

. . . though Bute and Mansfield, and their Junto, may have planned and directed, still you are the open, avowed minister, and have been the chief supporter in Parliament of all these mischievous acts, which have brought on this dreadful disorder in America, and gradual decline at home.⁴²

American newspapers agreed on the Junto’s composition. The *Pennsylvania Evening Post* reported that the cabinet were ‘but the ostensible puppets of Bute and Mansfield. These lay the egg, Jenkinson puts it into the nest, and the puppets hatch it.’⁴³ Whatever the Junto’s composition, however, its true power and threat remained rooted in its mysterious nature. Bute’s power could not be overtly seen, and therefore neither confirmed nor denied. Jenkinson, the *Gazetteer* wrote, was the ‘confidential creature, and faithful slave of the *invisible Favourite*, and the Scotch Judge’.⁴⁴ ‘What are the qualifications of a *first Minister*?’ asked the *London Evening Post*: ‘Invisibility’.⁴⁵

Satirical prints continued to propagate the myth of Bute and the Scotch Junto’s secret influence. In *The State Blacksmiths* (figure 6.1) Bute stands in the shadows working the

⁴⁰ Ronald G. Asch, ‘Wentworth, Thomas, first earl of Strafford (1593–1641)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29056, accessed 30 July 2015].

⁴¹ *London Evening Post*, July 25th-27th 1775, issue 8,323.

⁴² *London Evening Post* August 5th-8th 1775, issue 8,328.

⁴³ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, September 14th 1775, vol.1, issue 101.

⁴⁴ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, July 28th 1775, issue 14,485.

⁴⁵ *London Evening Post*, August 22nd-24th 1775, issue 8,335.

bellows for Mansfield to forge chains for the colonists.⁴⁶ Bute and Mansfield take a similar position in *News from America* (figure 6.2), lurking malevolently behind North as the Prime Minister delivers news of the war.⁴⁷ As Troy Bickham argues, *News from America* can be interpreted as both an attack on Wilkes and the opposition as much as on Bute and the Junto; their hopes of an American victory have been dashed, and liberty sits despairingly on the ground.⁴⁸ If this interpretation is correct, it shows that it was not only Wilkes and supporters of the opposition who pointed to the secret influence of Bute and the Scotch Junto. Unlike newspapers, it is difficult to know whether English satirical prints circulated in America. As discussed in chapter three, Paul Revere replicated English prints with only slight modifications to attack the Stamp Act in the 1760s. These prints, however, do not appear to have been advertised in American newspapers, so it is likely that any American circulation would have been minimal if they did indeed cross the Atlantic at all.

⁴⁶ *The State Blacksmiths Forging Fetters for the Americans* (1776), BM Satires 5328.

⁴⁷ *News from America, or the patriots in the dumps* (1776), BM Satires 5340.

⁴⁸ Troy Bickham, *Making Headlines: The American Revolution as seen through the British press* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009), p.92.

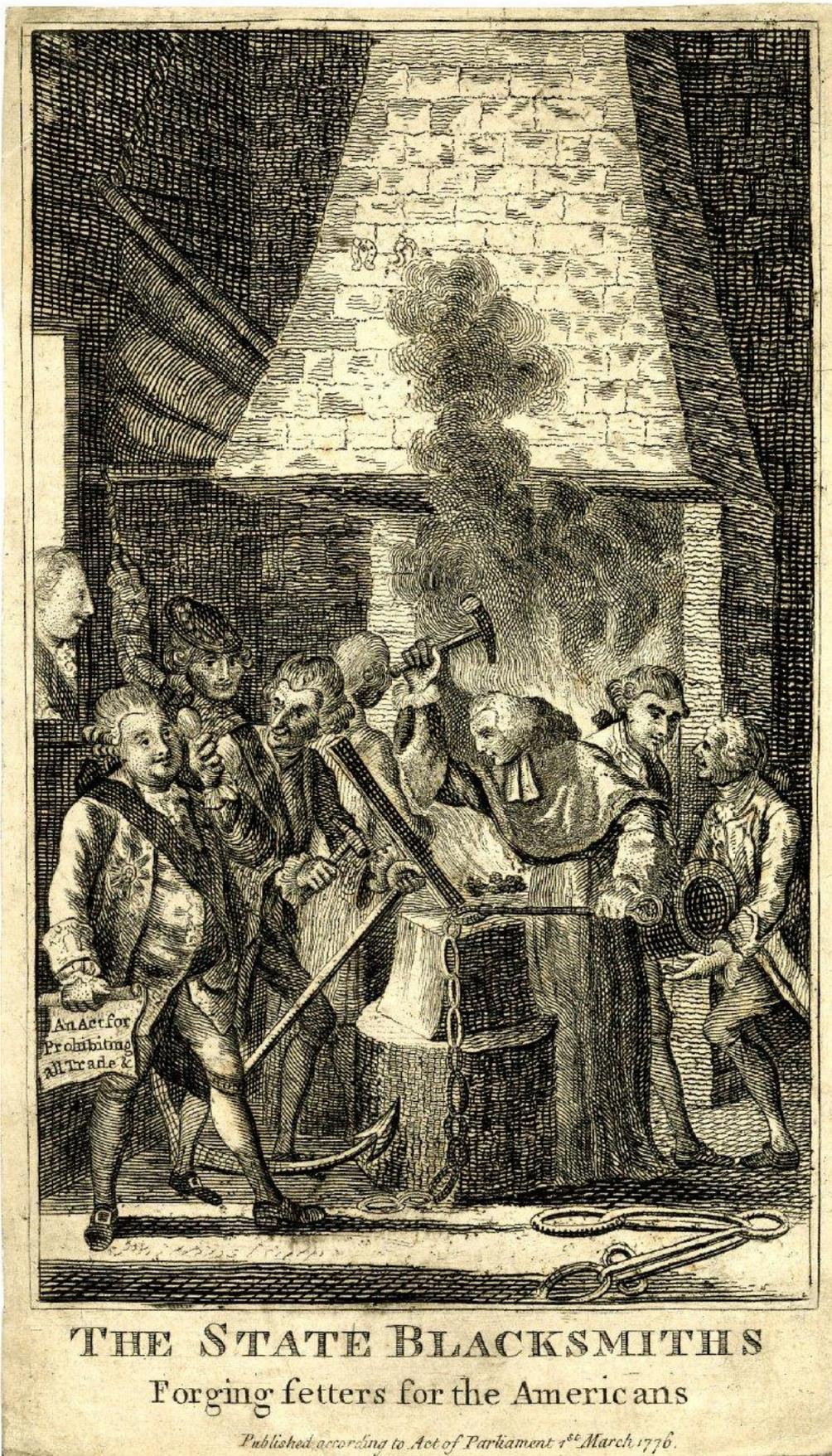


Figure 6.1 *The State Blacksmiths Forging Fetters for the Americans* (1776), BM Satires

5328



Willkes. Mansfield, North. Bute Geo. 3. I.P. Sandwiche
News from America, or the Patriots
in the Dumps.

Figure 6.2 News from America, or the Patriots in the Dumps (1776), BM Satires 5340

Although these anti-Scottish prints may not have made it to America, attacks on the Scotch Junto were often printed in newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic. In September 1775, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* reprinted a lengthy diatribe against the Junto taken from the *London Evening Post* a few months previously. After denouncing the patronage of Jacobite writers by Bute and the King, the article insisted that ‘while Bute and Mansfield, or any part of the Scotch tribe, remain about the King, there is no safety for any minister. No measure for the public good can be taken. If any minister attempts it, he will be betrayed. A minister, like North, devoted to the junto is the only one that can keep his place.’ The attack grew fiercer as it continued:

Till the present corrupt and slavish parliament is dissolved; and till the most solemn and absolute promise is given by the King, that he will never more see Bute nor Mansfield, nor their speaking trumpet, Jenkinson; nor any of that vile, detestable, and infamous Junto, who have made him prisoner on the throne to serve their purposes, we shall never see any other principle in the management of public affairs, but the same which has hitherto proceeded from bad to worse, from mischief to ruin.⁴⁹

A weekly pamphlet series entitled *The Crisis* similarly spread English Scotophobia concerning the Junto in the American colonies. Beginning in January 1775, *The Crisis* addressed itself ‘To the People of England and America’, and was widely circulated amongst both. Many of its issues carried staunchly Scotophobic material. Issue V spoke of ‘a despicable [sic] Junto, the REBEL, out-cast, and refuse of Scotland’ who were conspiring with the King to enslave America and destroy her trade.⁵⁰ Issue IX accused the King of sacrificing British and American prosperity to ‘the ambitious views, and pernicious designs, of your infernal minion Lord Bute, and his profligate abandoned adherents’.⁵¹ Such statements served to unite the causes of the American Patriots with their supporters in London. They firmly established that the enemy was not the ordinary British

⁴⁹ *London Evening Post*, June 26th-27th 1775, issue 8,310; *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, September 14th 1775, vol.1, issue 101.

⁵⁰ *The Crisis*, Saturday February 18th 1775, number V; reprinted in America in *New England Chronicle*, June 29th 1775, vol.VII, number 362; *Providence Gazette*, July 15th 1775, vol.VII, number 602.

⁵¹ *The Crisis*, Saturday March 18th, 1775, number IX; reprinted in America in *Connecticut Gazette*, July 28th 1775, vol.XII, number 611; *Norwich Packet*, August 7th 1775, vol.II, number 97; *Essex Journal*, August 11th 1775, vol.II, number 84.

people, but instead a set of diabolical Scottish ministers who were manipulating the king and controlling the government.

Other attacks on the Junto were more localized. In England a number of provincial newspapers spoke out against Bute's secret control of the government. The *Chester Chronicle*, for instance, called for Bute's head to be fixed above Temple Bar.⁵² A letter to the *Norfolk Chronicle* remonstrated against the King's ministers and all who supported them for continuing 'a wicked Scotch war'.⁵³ The *Newcastle Chronicle*, meanwhile, listed 'the Scotch Junto' foremost amongst those 'who promoted this unnatural war'.⁵⁴ American newspapers too offered their own original attacks on Bute. A correspondent to Pinkney's *Virginia Gazette* wrote a song satirizing the British government:

Lord Shipley is a man of sense,
Lord Chatham's acted brave,
But North and Bute, with impudence,
Wou'd make each man a slave.⁵⁵

Unlike *The Crisis* and other such publications, these articles did not achieve a wide transatlantic circulation. They do, however, show the strong impact of those letters and articles which did achieve a wide circulation. Rumours of Bute and the Junto clearly spread throughout England and America, and were not confined to the major newspaper and communication hubs in London and New England.

Attacks on the Junto had the effect of Scotticizing the British leadership. Coercive measures were attributed to the influence of Scottish ministers subverting the constitution. Partly this can be seen as an attempt to explain the crisis. Just as English commentators attempted to explain the 'un-English' attacks on liberty seen in the Intolerable Acts in the early 1770s, so too could a war which outraged all notions of English liberty be explained by tyrannical Scottish politicians overruling good English governance.⁵⁶ For the Americans, however, Scotticizing the leadership was also an extremely useful tactic. The myth of the 'Scotch Junto' allowed them to avoid directly attacking either the government or the King

⁵² *Chester Chronicle*, Monday, June 19th 1775, vol.8, no.8.

⁵³ *Norfolk Chronicle*, Saturday, March 14th 1778, vol.9, issue 468.

⁵⁴ *Newcastle Chronicle*, Saturday, September 21st 1776, vol.7, no.652.

⁵⁵ *Virginia Gazette* (John Pinkney), January 12th 1775, no.453.

⁵⁶ See chapter five, conclusion.

whilst still denouncing government policy. They could therefore maintain ties of loyalty and identity with Britain during the early stages of the conflict.

The Scottish enemy 2 – military

As well as Scotticizing the British leadership, pro-American commentators also attempted to emphasize the Scottish nature of the British army. This was achieved both through exaggerating the proportion of Scottish soldiers within the army, and by associating the army's aims and tactics with common perceptions of Scotland drawn from prevailing historical stereotypes and the images of Scots propagated by the Wilkites during the 1760s. In so doing, American perceptions of the British army transformed from the image of fellow English countrymen into an army of marauding, barbaric Scots. English commentators, meanwhile, could disavow responsibility for the violence and suffering which came with the war, instead claiming that these horrors were perpetrated by an overwhelmingly Scottish army.

One tactic was to compare the American Revolution with the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745.⁵⁷ This highlighted Scotland's recent history of Jacobite rebellions, and associated the modern British army with Jacobitism and the American cause with loyalist Hanoverian resistance against the arbitrary power of the Stuart monarchy. The American cause, they argued, was not a rebellion to usurp the monarchy, but an assertion of the liberties which were every Briton's birthright. In London, the *Public Advertiser* argued that the uprising in America was in fact the very inverse of the 1745 Jacobite uprising. The so-called 'rebels' in America, they claimed, should be styled 'the King's Army' because they were 'supporting the doctrines by which the present Family obtained the Crown'. The regular army, meanwhile, were simply fighting for 'Lord Bute and his Jacobite Junto, to subdue those Principles which expelled the whole Race of the Stuarts'.⁵⁸ The *London Evening Post* claimed that the Americans referred to the British army as 'Lord Bute's troops', and to their own forces as 'the King's troops'. They also dismissed the notion that American resistance was in any way comparable to the Jacobite rebellions earlier in the century. 'The Americans do not want to change the Sovereign, as the Scotch did in 1745', they wrote. 'Yet the Scotch are now called *loyal subjects*; and the friends of good George

⁵⁷ Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*, p.231.

⁵⁸ *Public Advertiser*, June 16th 1775, issue 14,262.

the Second, are called *Rebels*.⁵⁹ In America, the *Massachusetts Spy* hoped that ‘the Scotch projects of 1775 [may] meet the same fate as those of 1715 and 1745’.⁶⁰

Such statements lasted well into the war. In 1777 the *St James’s Chronicle*, denounced the hypocrisy of the Scots labelling the Americans as rebels in the light of the Jacobite uprisings. A correspondent with the paper questioned why there had emerged such a sudden frenzy of loyalty amongst the Scots towards Great Britain. ‘We heard of no such Instances in the year 1745’, he continued, ‘when [Scots] were at the Gates of the Capital, with a proclaimed Intention of dethroning your King, and overturning your Constitution in Church and State, for the Success of which Expedition we have heard of Prayers being offered on the bended knee?’⁶¹ After casting these serious aspersions on the motivations behind Scottish loyalty, the writer proceeded to ridicule any possible comparison between the American Revolution and the Jacobite uprisings. ‘Can any Man be hardy enough to compare the Struggle America is making, with this rebellion?’ they asked. ‘Does America bring a Pretender in her Hand for your Throne? Does she aspire to your Honours, your Dignities, or your Possessions?’⁶²

These letters, like many others, were attempting to question the very idea of what loyalism truly meant. As the Americans were fighting for the ‘Doctrines’ which brought the Brunswick line to the throne, they were in fact the true loyalists, the successors of the Glorious Revolution and the champions of English liberty. The Scots, they argued, had all the appearance of loyalty on the outside, whilst their history showed them to be enemies to the defining principles of the British nation, namely the Protestant succession and the Revolution settlement. The Americans, meanwhile, had the appearance of rebels, but were in fact fighting a loyalist rebellion against Britain’s internal enemies (the Scots) who were seeking to destroy the political and social foundations of Britain and its empire. The principal theme of the Jacobite comparisons, therefore, was the reversal of power. In 1745 the rebels were the Scots, rising up against the legitimate government in order to re-establish the Stuart monarchy, reverse the Glorious Revolution, and deprive Britons of their rights and liberties. In 1775 the positions were reversed. The Scottish Jacobites were now supposedly in power, personified by Bute ruling from behind the curtain. The British forces, meanwhile, were now the armies of Scottish Jacobites ordered to suppress and

⁵⁹ *London Evening Post*, June 10th-13th 1775, issue 8,303.

⁶⁰ *Massachusetts Spy*, July 26th 1775, vol.5, issue 231.

⁶¹ *St. James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, December 18th-20th 1777, issue 2,616.

⁶² *Ibid.*

enslave the Americans, an army which most Americans would be much more willing to take up arms against than an English army supposedly protecting English liberty.

Allusions to Scottish Jacobitism not only helped justify American resistance, but were also used to strengthen the bonds between the Americans and their English supporters. Scottish Jacobites provided an enemy which could be strongly opposed by each people, and they emphasized the unity of a common political ideology based around the idea of liberty. In May 1775 the *London Evening Post* claimed that ‘the Jacobites under the term of Ministers, were carrying through the House of Commons, in February last, *the Declarations of War* against our fellow subjects the *Whigs in America*, in the form of an Address to his Majesty’.⁶³ The article was subsequently reprinted in America by the *Connecticut Courant*.⁶⁴ In January 1776, the *New York Gazette* claimed that the war being waged by the Scotch Junto was the ‘full grown monster’ of a long-running Jacobite conspiracy. Their scheme was failing, however, because in England ‘officers decline the service by dozens, and not one in twenty would go upon so bloody an errand, was he to follow his own inclination.’⁶⁵

Assertions that the English were refusing to fight against the Americans appear frequently in the English press, and were often subsequently reprinted in American newspapers. These claims were commonly framed within the context of fraternity; the English soldiers simply could not bring themselves to murder their brothers, their fellow countrymen. The Scots, however, were presented very differently. ‘We can venture to assure our readers from the best intelligence’ wrote the *Connecticut Gazette* in April 1775, ‘that no English or Irishmen will enter or list at this juncture, so general is their abhorrence to being sent on a *Scotch errand*, to butcher their countrymen and fellow soldiers in North America.’⁶⁶ The *London Evening Post* refuted claims of high enlistment which it ascribed to ‘low scribblers under *Scotch* direction’. ‘The real truth’, they claimed, ‘is that the numberless recruiting parties throughout every part of the kingdom, *north of the tweed excepted*, have not enlisted above 200 men within the last three months; in so execrable a light do the people look upon the American service, which they call *a Scotch plan for butchering our own countrymen*’.⁶⁷ The *Derby Mercury* reported that ‘recruiting Parties

⁶³ *London Evening Post*, April 27th-29th 1775, issue 8,283.

⁶⁴ *Connecticut Courant*, July 3rd 1775, issue 549.

⁶⁵ *New York Gazette*, January 15th 1776, issue 1266.

⁶⁶ *Connecticut Gazette*, April 28th 1775, vol.12, issue 598.

⁶⁷ *London Evening Post*, August 15th-17th 1775, issue 8,332.

were never known so industrious as they are at present in most Parts of Scotland. It seems the M[inistry] think that one Scotchman will do them more Service than ten Englishmen in the Business they are to be employed in'.⁶⁸

Reports emphasizing Scottish recruitment into the British army were a useful tool to maintain solidarity between the Americans and their English supporters, and were consequently published widely in American newspapers. In May 1776 the *Constitutional Gazette* published a letter from a correspondent in England claiming that 'every part of the army English, Irish, and Germans (Scotch excepted) are averse to the service', whilst the *Connecticut Journal* printed some very similar remarks a week later.⁶⁹ Issue XIII of *The Crisis*, meanwhile, argued that 'the Army will *relent*, when they find they must Wade through the *Blood* of their Countrymen . . . we shall find it to our Cost, in vain to send English Soldiers (none but Scotch will do the Business) against English Breasts'.⁷⁰ American newspapers ran stories which showed that the Americans were just as reluctant to take up arms against their fellow countrymen as the English soldiers appeared to be. The Scots, however, were another matter entirely. 'GREAT NEWS!' proclaimed the *Pennsylvania Packet* in September 1775. 'That the rifle-men resolve to take aim at the Scotch officers: it affords great diversion to the English to hear of the American rifle-men's resolve.'⁷¹ A letter from a correspondent in New York published in the *London Chronicle* claimed that due to the Scots' enthusiastic service against the Americans, 'the skill of the riflemen of Virginia is intended to be exercised particularly against them'.⁷² Such transatlantic reports helped to turn the Scots into the common enemy of the conflict, creating a myth that the English and the Americans were not really fighting against each other but against the Scottish enemies of English liberty.

Assertions of a great divide between Scottish and English participation in the war were of course not entirely accurate. Although the war divided opinions in Britain there were certainly many English people who supported coercion. The British army was formed of men from across England, Wales and Ireland as well as Scots, Germans and foreign mercenaries, while still more enlisted in local militia or volunteer regiments. Stephen

⁶⁸ *Derby Mercury*, February 10th 1775, vol.44, number 2235.

⁶⁹ *Constitutional Gazette*, May 29th 1776, issue 87; *Connecticut Journal*, June 5th 1776, issue 451.

⁷⁰ *The Crisis*, April 15th 1775, number XIII; reprinted in America in *Norwich Packet*, October 9th 1775, vol.3, issue 106 and October 16th 1775, vol.3, issue 107.

⁷¹ *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 25th 1775, vol.4, issue 205.

⁷² *London Chronicle*, August 10th 1776, issue 3070.

Conway has calculated that between one in seven and one in eight adult males served in some section of the armed forces during the war, a higher proportion than in any other conflict during the preceding century.⁷³ Militia and volunteer service, however, was much more a product of the later years of the war, a period during which the nature of the conflict transformed significantly.⁷⁴ These regiments were organized to guard against the possibility of a French invasion rather than fight in against the Americans themselves. Moreover, the Scottish presence in the British army was especially visible. Military recruitment concentrated heavily on the Highlands at the outset of the conflict, raising a considerable force of Highland regiments to fight the Americans.⁷⁵ As the conflict developed, the military service of the Highlanders would eventually help to rehabilitate their image away from Jacobite butchers to loyal soldiers of the British army.⁷⁶ In the early years of the war, however, it was certainly not heroism which English radicals and American patriots saw in the large number of Highland soldiers and their conspicuously Scottish appearance. They saw instead, in the words of the *Crisis*, ‘a body of HIGHLAND TRAITORS . . . distinguished by that becoming and Martial Garb, the REBEL HIGHLAND DRESS’.⁷⁷

In several instances, commentators portrayed Scottish soldiers as not only willing to fight the Americans, but positively enthusiastic. Continuing the long-standing stereotype of the barbaric, violent Scot, newspaper articles and satirical prints emphasized the bloodthirsty nature of Scottish soldiers. In one particularly long and venomous letter to the *London Evening Post*, an English writer claimed that ‘*Scotchmen, Hottentot-like, can rejoice in the midst of blood, can chaunt a Pebrugh, stained and bespattered with the blood of a yankee; and with their daggers fresh reeking from the sacrifice of freedom, can toss up their heels, caper, and dance a reel to the shrieks and yells of his innocent wife and helpless prattlers.*’⁷⁸ The comparison with Hottentots was undoubtedly an attempt to emphasize both the Scots’ savage violence and their alienism. The Scots, the writer argued, were not like the English, the Americans, and even white Europeans in general. Instead, their brutal warfare marked them out as barbarians, closer to Africans and other supposedly ‘savage’ people than to their English neighbours. The refined civilization and morality of

⁷³ Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.11-44.

⁷⁴ See chapter 8.

⁷⁵ Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, pp.157-159; MacKillop, *More Fruitful than the Soil*, pp.61-64.

⁷⁶ Conway, ‘War and National Identity’, p.875.

⁷⁷ *The Crisis*, January 13th 1776, number 52.

⁷⁸ *London Evening Post*, February 4th-6th 1777, issue 8,563.

the English, meanwhile, supposedly made them incapable of carrying out such acts of violence. A print entitled *The Scotch Butchery* (figure 6.3) ascribed responsibility for a bloody attack on Boston firmly to the Scots. Bute and Mansfield, backed up by Colonel Simon Fraser and Alexander Wedderburn (all Scots) direct a regiment of Highland soldiers labelled ‘Scotch butchers’ to attack Boston. In the background, ‘the English fleet with Scotch commanders’ bombards the town. On the left, a group of English riflemen drop their muskets in horror at the brutality of the Scottish attack.⁷⁹

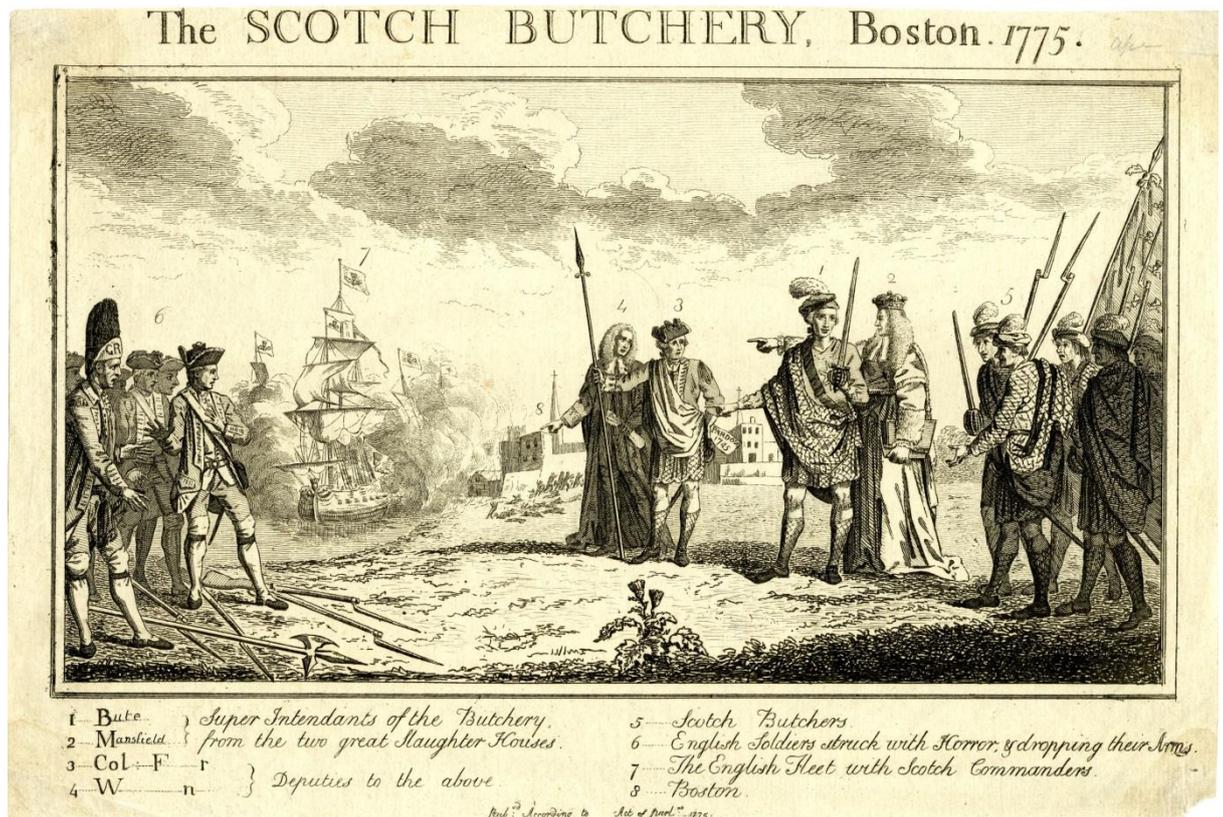


Figure 6.3 *The Scotch Butchery, Boston 1775* (London, 1775), BM Satires 5287

Newspapers published a number of stories of Scots blindly slaughtering American civilians. The *Chester Chronicle* carried a report of a Scottish officer and his troops who ‘forced open one or more houses, and put the inhabitants, being thirteen in number, to the sword.’⁸⁰ One widely-circulated story claimed that during the fighting in Charlestown a Scottish soldier forced his way into a house and attempted to rape a woman in front of her five-year-old daughter. When her husband rushed downstairs and stabbed the intruder, he

⁷⁹ *The Scotch Butchery, Boston 1775* (London, 1775), BM Satires 5287.

⁸⁰ *Chester Chronicle*, June 26th 1775, vol. VII, number 9.

realized it was in fact his brother who he had left behind in Scotland seven years ago.⁸¹ The story received a lot of attention and was generally acknowledged to be true, despite being debunked as apocryphal by the *Lloyd's Evening Post*.⁸² American newspapers too emphasized the violence of Scottish soldiers. In an allegorical tale of the war as an argument between two brothers over their father's estate, the Scottish army is personified as 'a huge wild Caledonian boar'. 'The monster,' continued the story, 'with a multitude of animals of the same mangy species ever following in its footsteps, trampled down the hedges, and spoiled the fields, rooting up the plants and vines.'⁸³ The emphasis of Scottish violence clearly carries echoes of the outcry against Scots in the wake of the St George's Fields Massacre of 1768. The epic poem 'A Prophecy of Ruin' published in issue 12 of the *Crisis* lamented that Bute and Mansfield planned to 'send the cruel Scots, their swords to wield / To gain fresh laurels in St George's field.'⁸⁴

Alongside evoking memories of Scottish violence in St George's Fields, the raising of Scottish troops evoked renewed fears of standing armies. The expansion of the army, and in particular the Highland regiments, was seen by some as a strategy for Bute and the Scotch Junto to increase their stranglehold over the nation in the manner of Roman Catholic European powers. Writing to the *London Evening Post*, 'Brutus' complained about a proposed government bill to construct barracks in every county to house these new soldiers. 'The erecting of barracks for the soldiery will compleat [sic] the Thane's tyrannic plan of power', he wrote; 'for it will on [sic] course render them a more distinct and separate body from the rest of his Majesty's subjects, and less conversant with, and friendly to them, and consequently more apt and ready to cut their throats, when power shall please to issue the cruel orders'.⁸⁵ Brutus' words reflected long-established English fears and suspicions of standing armies as the tools used by an absolute monarchy to enforce their power, fears which the Americans had also inherited.⁸⁶ Following the Massacre of St George's Fields, William Bingley had evoked images of an army of

⁸¹ *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, August 5th 1775, Issue 2258; *London Chronicle* August 8th 1775, Issue 2912; *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, August 8th 1775, Issue 993.

⁸² *Lloyd's Evening Post*, August 14th 1775, Issue 2828.

⁸³ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, April 13th 1776, vol.2, issue 192.

⁸⁴ *The Crisis*, number XII, April 8th 1775; published in America in *Norwich Packet*, July 31st 1775, vol.2, issue 96; *Essex Journal*, September 15th 1775, vol.2, issue 89.

⁸⁵ *London Evening Post*, June 3rd-6th 1775, issue 8,300.

⁸⁶ Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, pp.104-106; Langford, *Englishness Identified*, p.139; Colley, *Britons*, p.225; Bailyn, *Ideological origins*, pp.61-63.

Scottish soldiers used to enforce ministerial prerogative in the manner of France or Spain, and Brutus too made disparaging references to the ‘good services’ rendered by the army in St George’s Fields. ‘When barracks shall be built, and standing armies declared perpetual in the nation, a total end would be put to the essence of the English constitution,’ Brutus concluded. ‘The crown would be absolute, and the people slaves’.⁸⁷

The deployment of the army in America was seen by some as proof that their fears were being realized. The government, they argued, was mobilizing Scottish troops to subdue *English* citizens who were resisting the imposition of measures over which they had no say. ‘The American troubles are England’s troubles now’, wrote ‘The Free Citizen’ to the *London Evening Post* little more than a week after the publication of Brutus’ letter. ‘The Provincials are defending the liberties of America with those of the Mother Country’.⁸⁸ American newspapers too evoked the image of Scottish Catholic suppression in the form of standing armies to appeal for support in England. In 1775 the *Connecticut Journal* published a letter to the English people imploring them to oppose ministerial measures for the sake of their own freedom:

Be assured, if you can be prevailed upon to butcher, or enslave your fellow subjects, and to set up an arbitrary power on the ruins of public liberty, that your subsistence would soon be reduced to the miserable pittance of foreign troops; and you, with the surviving subjects of England and America, be reduced to the miserable condition of being ruled by an army of Scotch janizaries [sic], assisted by Roman Catholics.⁸⁹

Here, the *Connecticut Journal* used anti-Scottish sentiment to turn the English and the Americans into a single people with a common cause and a common enemy: arbitrary power embodied in and enforced by Scottish soldiers.

Scotticizing the British military served two principal purposes. Firstly, it strengthened the bonds between the Americans and their English supporters by promoting the myth that the English were refusing to fight against the Americans. Bonds of Anglo-American solidarity could consequently survive the outbreak of war. Secondly, it provided an enemy specifically for the Americans to oppose and fight against. The abundance of rhetoric decrying the horrors of civil wars pitching brother against brother risked turning

⁸⁷ *London Evening Post*, June 3rd-6th 1775, Issue 8,300.

⁸⁸ *London Evening Post*, June 13th-15th 1775, issue 8,304.

⁸⁹ *Connecticut Journal*, April 29th 1775, issue 393.

Americans away from the conflict. The image of a Scottish enemy who was ruthless, barbaric and bloodthirsty, however, dehumanized the British forces. The Americans were no longer fighting their fellow-countrymen, but instead a demonic, Jacobite enemy who if not resisted by force of arms would violently compel them to ‘tamely submit to a Scotch yoke’ of arbitrary power.⁹⁰

The Scottish enemy 3 – Public opinion and a ‘Scotch war’

Aside from masterminding the plots in government and carrying out the slaughter of the American colonists, it was widely believed that the Scottish people in general were set against the American cause. In the eyes of many pro-Americans, it was the Scottish nation as a whole which bore responsibility for the war; all Scots were enemies of liberties, and all Scots were to blame, not only those in positions of power. This mainly stemmed from a latent English tendency to see the Scots as one big clan, acting out of national self-interest to further the place of Scots in Britain. Wilkite prints of the previous decade show this attitude particularly clearly, such as the *Caledonian’s arrival in money-land*, where hordes of migrating Scots are catered for by Bute upon their arrival to England.⁹¹ Consequently, pro-American commentators assumed that the schemes of the Scotch Junto and their lackeys throughout the empire were part of a larger conspiracy involving the entire Scottish nation.

Research into British public opinion and the American Revolution suggests that these fears were supplemented by popular perceptions of Scottish support for coercion, perceptions which were in fact largely accurate. Whilst both loyalist addresses and petitions for peace competed for the King’s attention from most parts of England and Wales, Scotland sent over seventy loyalist addresses in support of the war and no petitions for peace. This is not to say that all Scots firmly favoured coercion. The Americans enjoyed a high level of support amongst Scottish evangelicals, whilst a significant proportion of Glasgow’s population feared that armed conflict would ruin their city’s tobacco-based economy.⁹² Although these men laid the foundations for a Glasgow peace petition, the attempt eventually proved abortive, and in contemporary popular perception

⁹⁰ *Constitutional Gazette*, November 29th 1775, issue 35.

⁹¹ *The Caledonians Arrival in Money-Land* (1762), BM Satires 3857.

⁹² James E. Bradley, ‘The British Public and the American Revolution’, in Dickinson, *Britain and the American Revoltuion*, p.152; Brock, *Scotus Americanus*, pp.45-67; Hook, *Scotland and America*, p.65.

Scotland appeared to be far more in favour of coercion than the rest of Britain.⁹³ This allowed newspapers such as the *London Evening Post* to claim (and subsequently reinforce the image of Scottish loyalism) that ‘the whole Scotch nation has treacherously acquiesced with Bute and Mansfield’s plans of tyranny, without a single murmur of reproach.’⁹⁴ The *Oxford Journal*, meanwhile, claimed that ‘not a Scotchman is to be met with, but wishes to cut the throat of every Inhabitant from Boston to Georgia.’⁹⁵

As with military service, the image of widespread support for coercion amongst the Scots was contrasted with widespread English support for America in an attempt to strengthen Anglo-American solidarity. In July 1775, for instance, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* published a story from London reporting that ‘the Scots yesterday talked loudly in the city, that it was the intention of the ministry to proscribe and proclaim as traitors those men in this country who have assisted the Americans’ through subscriptions or other means. The English author of the article, however, called upon the government to ‘put their threats into execution; for the instant that such an attempt is made, himself and thousands of determined Englishmen are resolved to make the experiment.’⁹⁶ This report used the idea of ‘the Scots’ as the embodiment of the loyalist section of British public opinion. Englishness, meanwhile, is used to represent opposition to ministerial coercion.

Common depictions of Scots as loyalist led to a new definition of the word ‘Scotch’. As the war unfolded, ‘Scotch’ became a byword for anything relating to support for the government, opposition to America, or simply ‘Tory’. Writers sponsored by the ministry or who produced material in their support were dismissed as ‘Scotch scribblers’. The *Hibernian Journal* claimed that ‘three Morning, and two Evening Papers, are constantly filled with Scotch Paragraphs, and Scotch Sophistry, to explain away our Rights, and impose on the plain good sense of the English Nation’.⁹⁷ The *London Evening Post*, meanwhile, berated both the *Gazetteer* and the *Public Advertiser* over a large number of ‘false paragraphs inserted daily by low scribblers under *Scotch* direction’.⁹⁸ They later claimed that the Americans were being labelled cowards and rebels by ‘Scotchmen and

⁹³ Colley, *Britons*, pp.138-139; Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.132-133.

⁹⁴ *London Evening Post*, July 27th-29th 1775, issue 8,324.

⁹⁵ *Oxford Journal*, January 14th 1775, number 1133.

⁹⁶ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, July 29th 1775, vol.1, issue 81.

⁹⁷ *Hibernian Journal; or, Chronicle of Liberty*, Friday 18th August 1775, vol. V, no.99.

⁹⁸ *London Evening Post*, August 15th-17th 1775, issue 8,332.

Tories'.⁹⁹ Several opposition newspapers also referred to the *London Gazette* (the official newspaper of the government) as 'the Scotch Gazette', often whilst accusing the paper of spreading misinformation concerning the war.¹⁰⁰ This was, of course an attempt to discredit the loyalist position. By labelling support for the government as 'Scotch', the opposition was claiming that these writers were simply government lackeys hired to spread ministerial propaganda. Their arguments were therefore insincere, as their motivation came not from moral or philosophical principles, but instead a thirst for cash.

Other papers insisted that Bute and the Scotch Junto themselves were deliberately spreading misinformation. Early in the war, the *Chester Chronicle* claimed that an account of the Battle of Lexington and Concord sent by General Gage had been 'so repeatedly darned with different material, that it is metamorphosed at last into black worsted'. According to the paper, 'Lord B[ute] objected to one word, Lord M[ansfield] to another, Lord N[orth] to a third, so that this miserable compound of half our body of Nobility was not sent to the press till past eight on Saturday evening'.¹⁰¹ These claims helped to compound English Scotophobia with support for America, simultaneously attacking the Scots and casting doubt over reports of the war itself. Discrediting official accounts of the war's progress was extremely important, as these often propagated an extremely negative image of the Americans.

The 'miserable compound' printed in the ministerial *London Gazette* previously referred to by the *Chester Chronicle* is one particularly poignant example of 'Scottishness' being used to discredit information. The *Gazette* portrayed the Americans as cowards, hiding in ditches to ambush the British troops and firing at them from behind walls and trees. They also accused the colonists of adopting the savage warfare customs associated with Native Americans. 'Such was the Cruelty and Barbarity of the Rebels,' they wrote, 'that they scalped and cut off the Ears of some of the wounded Men, who fell into their hands'.¹⁰² The *Chester Chronicle* discredited these reports by attributing them to Scots, who could not be expected to provide an unbiased account of the battle due to their supposed allegiance to the Scotch Junto. American newspapers adopted the very same tactic. The *Pennsylvania Evening Post* reported that there were two accounts of the battle

⁹⁹ *London Evening Post*, January 21st-23rd 1777, issue 8,557.

¹⁰⁰ *London Evening Post*, July 25th-27th 1775, Issue 8,323; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, July 28th 1775, issue 14,485; *London Evening Post*, August 5th-8th 1775, issue 8,328.

¹⁰¹ *Chester Chronicle*, Monday, June 19th 1775, vol.8, no.8.

¹⁰² *London Gazette*, June 6th-10th 1775, issue 11,568.

of Lexington in circulation, one American and the other Scotch, with ‘the Scotch account’ relating the myths of Americans scalping wounded British soldiers.¹⁰³

This tactic proved very effective during the early years of the war, and was widely used in English newspapers. The *London Evening Post* in particular dismissed all reports of American savagery as Scottish propaganda. ‘There have been many falsehoods propagated, chiefly by the Scotch’, they wrote in 1776, ‘that the Americans treat their prisoners with cruelty’.¹⁰⁴ By propagating the myth of a Scotch Junto fabricating and embellishing accounts of the war, opposition writers could discredit any reports which painted the Americans in a negative light. Scotophobia, in this instance, served as a defence against attempts to alienate the colonists from their English supporters.

The perception of a largely pro-war Scottish population combined with fears of the Scotch Junto and Scottish imperial administrators led to the labelling of the war as an inherently Scottish conflict. A letter to the *Caledonian Mercury* complained that the ‘unhappy contest with America . . . has been most impudently and unjustly held forth by the trumpeters of treason and sedition in our neighbouring kingdom, a *Scots war*’.¹⁰⁵ The author was undoubtedly provoked by the numerous negative commentaries in English newspapers circulated throughout many parts of Scotland. In February 1776, the *Public Advertiser* condemned ‘this ruinous Scotch contest with the *Anglo-Americans*’.¹⁰⁶ A multitude of English newspapers referred to the conflict as ‘this wicked Scotch War’, ‘the bloody Scotch war in America’, ‘this Scotch civil war’, or words to a similar effect.¹⁰⁷ As late as 1780 letters to the *London Evening Post* still claimed that ‘every day gives stronger proof . . . that the ruin of the British empire is merely a SCOTCH QUARREL with English liberty, a SCOTCH SCRAMBLE for English property’.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, August 12th 1775, vol.1, issue 87.

¹⁰⁴ *London Evening Post*, August 22nd-24th 1776, issue 8,492.

¹⁰⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 7th January 1778, no. 8787.

¹⁰⁶ *Public Advertiser*, February 7th 1776, issue 14,461.

¹⁰⁷ See for example *Public Advertiser*, May 11th 1776, issue 14,542; *London Evening Post*, May 8th-10th 1777, issue 8,603; *General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer*, February 26th 1778, issue 412; *London Evening Post*, March 7th-10th 1778, issue 8,733; *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, December 18th-20th 1777, issue 2,616; *Norfolk Chronicle*, March 14th 1778, vol. IX, issue 468; *General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer*, March 10th 1778, issue 422; *London Evening Post*, December 17th-19th 1778, issue 8,855.

¹⁰⁸ *London Evening Post*, May 23rd-25th 1780, issue 9,069.

The widespread use of the ‘Scotch war’ myth represents the Scotticization of the War of American Independence during the early years of the conflict. Scotticizing the British government, the British army, and all those who supported them provided a common enemy who could be opposed by both the Americans and their English supporters. This enemy could also be demonized and dehumanized by the American press, turning the British army into a force which the American public would be willing to take up arms against. The Scots, however, provided far more than a common enemy. The anti-Scottish language of the Americans and the English reveals much about their ideas of who they believed themselves to be. In the midst of this Scotophobic rhetoric lies an identity centred on the abstract ideas of English liberty, an identity which included the English and the Americans, but explicitly excluded the Scots. It is the nature of this identity that I now examine.

Conclusion – Anglo-American identity and ‘Greater Britain’

Popular Scotophobia during the early years of the War of American Independence reveals a strong sense of Anglo-American identity in the British Atlantic World. Both American and English rhetoric during the early part of the war emphasized their common identity, and explicitly excluded the Scots from the same fraternity. The *London Evening Post* heavily criticized the call to take up arms against the Americans:

It is not our natural enemy, it is not French or Spaniards, nor rebel Scots, that we are contending with – men endeavouring to make conquests on our dominions, or to overturn our free constitution. No my countrymen, it is not foreign foes, nor domestic parricides – it is our friends, our brethren, with whom we have this unhappy and unnatural contest – a people who have always borne us the most cordial affection, who have fought and bled at our sides, who have been the faithful companions of our danger and of our glory.¹⁰⁹

The *Connecticut Journal*, meanwhile, implored the English soldiers ‘who may be employed to BUTCHER their relations, friends, and fellow subjects in America’ to look to the wrongs they themselves had suffered. ‘You have been despised, neglected, and treated with contempt, while a parcel of beggarly Scotchmen only have been put into every place

¹⁰⁹ *London Evening Post*, December 30th 1775 - January 2nd 1776, issue 8391.

of profit and trust', the *Journal* informed them.¹¹⁰ Even Thomas Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration of Independence carries a clear statement of where the bonds of nationhood begin and end. Amongst the many wrongs Jefferson ascribed to King George and his ministers, one was that they had sent over 'not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade & deluge us in blood.'¹¹¹

Unwillingness amongst Americans to look upon the Scots as fellow Britons in the same manner as they did the English very likely stemmed from their roots as seventeenth-century English settlers. Separated by the Atlantic Ocean, some events in British history simply did not affect the American colonies to the same extent as they did Britain itself. Whilst the colonists enthusiastically celebrated (and indeed participated in) events such as the Glorious Revolution in 1688 which allowed them to share in an identity with those in Britain, they did not feel the same inclusion with the 1707 Act of Union. Even in Britain itself Britishness as an identity faced heavy resistance from many people across the country, so it is natural to expect similar or greater resistance to Britishness in America.¹¹² Even after the 1707 Act of Union a large proportion of migrants to America were those who did not fit comfortably into a British identity, or else were still suffering from the effects of internal British conflicts; the so-called 'Scotch-Irish' from Ulster or Scottish Highlanders seeking to escape poverty and the social changes wrought in the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite uprising.¹¹³

Migrants from the 'Celtic Fringe' often faced hostility from colonists who identified as of English descent. In a letter written to English newspapers just a few days after the declaration of independence, a member of the New York Council explicitly denied that Scotland and America shared any bonds of nationhood:

The uncommon forwardness of the Scotch in this unfortunate contest seems the more extraordinary, as they have no right to a connexion with America but what they were favoured with by the Union. America does not acknowledge Scotland as her mother country. We never heard of any original Caledonian settlements on this

¹¹⁰ *Connecticut Journal*, April 29th 1775, issue 393.

¹¹¹ Julian P. Boyd (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Vol. 1, 1760-1776*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), pp.243-247.

¹¹² Colley, *Britons*, pp.101-145; Pittock, *Inventing and resisting Britain*, pp.56-59, 128-135.

¹¹³ Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West*, p.26; Brock, *Scotus Americanus*, pp.68-76.

continent, but the one on the isthmus of Darien. We heartily wish that all their subsequent emigrations had been confined to that spot.¹¹⁴

For this American official, Scotland's only link with America was artificial. The Act of Union manufactured a sovereign connection which was simply not felt by many Americans themselves. The councilman felt bonds of national fraternity with the English based largely on his ancestry, but felt no allegiance to Britishness beyond a very Anglo-centric idea of Britain. Similarly, this is why the author of the *Connecticut Journal's* appeal to 'the Officers, soldiers, and seamen who may be employed to Butcher their relations, friends, and fellow subjects in America' addressed his 'countrymen' not as Britons but as 'Englishmen'. Scots were explicitly excluded as 'a parcel of beggarly Scotchmen' who had taken 'every place of profit and trust'.¹¹⁵

For the New York Council member, the *Connecticut Journal*, Thomas Jefferson and many others, national identity was not forged around Britishness but instead around a certain idea of Englishness which extended across the Atlantic world. This is very much the Englishness discussed in chapter one, built around the legacy of the Glorious Revolution and the idea of English liberty. The central feature of the Patriot's anti-taxation argument was that the colonists remained British citizens, and were entitled to the same rights and liberties which citizens of Britain itself enjoyed.¹¹⁶ Often these arguments referred to England or to Britain interchangeably, but it is clear that many colonists still felt ties of identity to England. It is also clear that Scotland was often excluded from their idea of the nation. Many in England, too, appear to have felt stronger bonds of nationhood with the Americans than with the Scots, hence the *Public Advertiser's* telling reference to the war as 'this ruinous Scotch contest with the *Anglo-Americans*'.¹¹⁷

The Americans' attitudes towards the English and the Scots respectively at the outbreak of the American Revolution suggest that we should reconsider the various ideas of 'Greater Britain' discussed by Pocock, Gould, Armitage and others. As Gould argues, the 'virtual nation' of the British Empire in the eighteenth century lacked the political organisation to hold itself together in the same manner that Britain itself did, relying instead on force, trade and common culture. The fragmentation of Greater Britain in the

¹¹⁴ *London Chronicle*, August 10th 1776, issue 3070; *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, August 15th 1776, vol. XVI, no.826; *Chester Chronicle*, August 16th 1776, issue 69.

¹¹⁵ *Connecticut Journal*, April 29th 1775, issue 393.

¹¹⁶ Greene, 'Empire and Identity', pp.208-230.

¹¹⁷ *Public Advertiser*, February 7th 1776, issue 14,461.

American Revolution shows the inherent weakness of the virtual nation.¹¹⁸ But the American Revolution also forced the Americans and English to re-examine their identities – to consider where Englishness began and where it ended, and ask who precisely was entitled to claim the rights and liberties with which it was so inherently associated. For a while at least, many Americans regarded themselves as English men and women living overseas. Whilst fracturing the political, legislative and administrative aspects of Greater Britain, the American Revolution simultaneously revealed the enduring strength of the virtual English nation as a mark of identity.

The term ‘Greater Britain’ is also problematic for describing this identity within the virtual nation. As I have demonstrated, many American colonists rejected the notion that they shared any bonds of fellowship with the Scots, arguing instead that they were the descendants of English settlers. The outbreak of the war intensified the English aspect of American identity through a wave of newspapers and pamphlets which presented the English as the Americans’ allies and the Scots as their staunch enemies. Historians have often discussed the American adoption of British identity and British liberty in an attempt to assert their rights in the years leading up to independence.¹¹⁹ Others have shown that the idea of English liberty transformed into a more inclusive British imperial liberty during the eighteenth century, ‘one in which Caledonians and Americans, as well as the English, could participate.’¹²⁰ The level of American Scotophobia, however, shows that many resisted the idea of imperial Britishness at the same time. The Revolution forced many American colonists to question their identity, and amongst those who still felt a connection with the mother country a significant proportion rejected multinational Britishness and instead favoured a far more exclusive Anglo-American identity.

¹¹⁸ Gould, ‘A virtual nation’, p.486.

¹¹⁹ See for example Greene, ‘Empire and identity’, pp.212-213.

¹²⁰ Kathleen Wilson, ‘Empire, Trade and Popular Politics in Mid-Hanoverian Britain: The Case of Admiral Vernon’, *Past & Present*, no.121 (November, 1988), p.104.

Chapter 7: Scotophobia in Revolutionary America

This Chapter examines anti-Scottish sentiment in revolutionary America. Unlike chapter six it examines the distinctly American dimensions of Scotophobia rather than its transatlantic themes. As a transatlantic force, Scotophobia served as a bond between the Americans and their English supporters, and reveals the extent and endurance of an Anglo-American identity in the early years of the war. The prevalence and power of Scotophobia in revolutionary America, however, gained strength from both local and wider colonial circumstances affecting the thirteen colonies. The conduct of Scottish colonial governors, Scottish loyalism at the outbreak of war, and resentment towards Scottish business practices in the Atlantic tobacco trade all prompted vehement reactions against Scots in a manner unrelated to transatlantic Anglo-American unity.

Previous studies of American Scotophobia during the Revolution have focussed overwhelmingly on politics. Anti-Scottish sentiment amongst Americans was discussed by Andrew Hook primarily in terms of perceptions of Scottish loyalism which marked them as enemies to the emerging American nation.¹ Whilst Scottish loyalism formed an important component of the Americans' Scotophobic rhetoric, this chapter examines two previously unexplored areas which, I argue, caused greater outrage amongst Americans than the Scots' loyalism. The first section examines the economic factors which motivated American Scotophobia at the outbreak of the war. Whilst Andrew Hook describes the years of the Revolution as a unique break in an otherwise harmonious relationship between the Americans and the Scots, this chapter argues that American Scotophobia during the war was the product of a longer period of economic tension.² During the latter half of the eighteenth century Scottish merchants grew particularly prominent in the Chesapeake tobacco trade, and many American planters came to rely heavily on Scottish credit in order to conduct business. The spiral of credit and debt caused tensions between Americans and Scots in the Chesapeake to steadily grow, providing material motivations for American Scotophobia.

The second section, meanwhile, examines ideas of ethnicity during the War of Independence. Central to this is a discussion of the Scottish Earl of Dunmore's so-called 'Emancipation Proclamation' which promised freedom to the slaves of rebels who left their

¹ Hook, *Scotland and America*, pp.47-70.

² Hook, *Scotland and America*, p.47.

masters to fight for the British. The furious response to Dunmore's proclamation provided many Americans with a platform to express their ideas about the inferior place of Scots within American society and remonstrate on the relationship between ethnicity, liberty and slavery. For others, it provided a new motivation to take up arms in a war which in their eyes had suddenly become a struggle to preserve white Anglo-American superiority against a Scottish scheme to upheave the foundations of plantation society.

7.1 Economics

This section examines the place of Scots in the American economy on the eve of the Revolution and shows how perceptions of Scottish business practices shaped American Scotophobia during the ensuing war. Previous studies of American Scotophobia during the Revolution have primarily focused on the politics of Scotophobia. This is likely because anti-Scottish diatribes in the press often concentrated on Scottish politics, or attacked Scottish political figures such as the Earl of Bute or Lord Mansfield. Consequently it has been assumed that American Scotophobia was motivated principally by perceptions of Scottish politics.³ Whilst propaganda painting Scots as loyalists or supporters of coercion was undoubtedly important, this section argues that these attacks resonated so strongly with Americans and endured throughout the war because they built upon a tangible foundation of economic resentment.

Consequently we must view the popular vitriol towards Bute and Scottish politics discussed in chapter six in relation to long-standing socio-economic tension between American colonists and Scottish merchants. The line between the two is very often indistinct. Colin Nicolson has shown how the mobbing of a Scottish merchant in Boston who defied the non-importation agreement reflected a deep-seated animosity towards Scots which connected their business practices with their support (or at least passive acceptance) of British coercive policies and taxation.⁴ Similarly, as this chapter will show, economic resentment towards Scots in revolutionary Virginia combined with perceptions of Scottish political sympathies to create an atmosphere of intense Scotophobia. Yet the line between American political and economic grievances in relation to the war itself is similarly

³ See for example Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), pp.149-50, 194-95, 391-92; Hook, *Scotland and America*, pp.47-70.

⁴ Colin Nicolson, "A plan to banish all the Scotchmen": Victimization and Political Mobilization in Pre-Revolutionary Boston, *Massachusetts Historical Review*, volume 9 (2007), pp.55-102.

indistinct. Historians have long debated whether it was primarily political or economic concerns which motivated the colonists to take up arms, or indeed a combination of wide-ranging factors such as emotions or the actions of the army or Royal Navy.⁵ American Scotophobia should, in much the same way, be viewed as the result of both political and economic resentment combined with xenophobia and ethnic prejudice. As chapter six has already discussed many of the political motivations of anti-Scottish sentiment in America, this section will reconsider the relationship between American Scotophobia and economics.

American attitudes towards Scots were strongly influenced by the rise of Scottish merchants in certain sections of the American economy, particularly the tobacco trade, and the business practices which some of these merchants employed. Tobacco was central to the Chesapeake economy during the eighteenth century. Its exportation to Britain not only generated a large proportion of the region's wealth but also cemented the cultural connections between the colonies and the mother country. Rather than purchase tobacco Atlantic merchants would directly trade it for commodities imported from Britain, often at a very inflated rate of exchange. So-called 'Scotch stores' sprung up across Virginia, providing colonists with all manner of British manufactures, as well as cultural imports such as books and newspapers.⁶ At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Chesapeake tobacco trade remained relatively open, but by the outbreak of the Revolution Scottish merchants based in Glasgow dominated the market. Tobacco accounted for 80 per cent of Scottish imports from North America in 1772, whilst half of Scottish exports to North America in the same year were sent to the Chesapeake in return.⁷ Scottish control of transatlantic trade in the Chesapeake had the unintentional consequence of emphasizing Scotland's role in the taxation crisis of 1775. As the vast majority of British goods imported to Virginia in the mid-1770s were of Scottish origin, non-importation agreements

⁵ For a discussion of the historiography of the political and economic motivations of revolutionaries see Kinkel, 'The King's Pirates', pp.4-6.

⁶ T. H. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.123; Brock, *Scotus Americanus*, p.45.

⁷ Jacob M. Price, 'The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707-1775', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Apr., 1954), pp.179-180. For studies of the colonial Chesapeake tobacco trade see Alan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: the development of southern cultures in the colonial Chesapeake 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986). For Glasgow tobacco merchants see T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: a study of the tobacco merchants of Glasgow and their trading activities, c.1740-90* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1975). For Scottish tobacco merchants in the Chesapeake see Brock, *Scotus Americanus*, pp.45-67; Alan L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp.81-117.

in the Chesapeake were in effect and appearance boycotts against Scotland rather than Britain as a whole.⁸

Scottish control of the Virginian tobacco trade undoubtedly created a great feeling of resentment amongst the Virginian planters. This was partly due to perceptions of Scottish ‘clannishness’ in their business practices (favouring their fellow Scots), and partly to the Scots dominance of the market and ever increasing presence in the colony – the key port of Norfolk in Virginia, for example, was said to be a predominantly Scottish town on the eve of the Revolution.⁹ Mostly, however, it was due to debt. Trade between Virginian planters and Scottish tobacco merchants operated overwhelmingly on the basis of credit, with planters debiting imports against their end-of-season harvest.¹⁰ Virginian planters in particular became heavily in debt due to a local culture which placed a heavy emphasis on spending rather than saving, valuing the display of wealth to demonstrate both economic success and the ‘liberal spirit’ of a gentleman. By the end of the War of American Independence, Virginian colonists owed roughly £1,400,000 to British creditors, almost half of America’s total debt.¹¹ Scottish creditors were usually willing to let planters’ debts roll over into the new year (with appropriate interest). Whenever the market took a bad turn, however, debts had to be called in, resulting in high levels of economic resentment towards the Scots.

In response to the climate of anti-Scottish sentiment in Virginia just before the outbreak of war in 1775, the noted Robert Burns biographer James Currie, then apprenticed to a tobacco factor in Cabin Point, penned a defence of his countrymen. In a letter to John Pinkney of the *Virginia Gazette*, Currie expressed his frustration towards ‘a time when the press in general, and your paper in particular, teems with abuse against the Scotch’. Alongside the dominance of Scots in the tobacco trade, Currie identified money-lending and credit as key factors in Virginian Scotophobia:

To which of the great estates in the colony have not the Scotch advanced sums of money? . . . to this, and to the extensive credit they have accustomed themselves to give, I in a great measure ascribe the popular odium which at present runs so high

⁸ Brock, *Scotus Americanus*, p.65.

⁹ Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia*, pp.9-11.

¹⁰ Brock, *Scotus Americanus*, p.45.

¹¹ Fischer, *Albion’s Seed*, pp.367-368; T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: the Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution* (Princeton, N.J.; Princeton University Press, 2001), pp.23-27, 30-32.

against them. . . Enquire into the circumstances of these men who are most violent in invectives against the Scotch, and you will find that many of them have got more indebt to them than they know how to pay, and that blinded by the most selfish motives, they abuse their benefactors.

As to the dominance of Scots in the tobacco trade, Currie believed it was simply due to their greater efficiency in business. Scots, he argued, simply imported goods at a cheaper rate than their competitors, and this was the source of their economic superiority in the Chesapeake. ‘Could the English undersell them’, he wrote, ‘it is impossible they could preserve it’.¹²

Scottish investment in Atlantic trade was often seen to be connected with Scottish support for coercion. In reality many of the Glaswegian tobacco firms favoured conciliation before the outbreak of war, having experienced first-hand the disruption to business from American trade embargoes and non-importation agreements. Once war was well underway the town’s mercantile community sent a loyal address to the King in January 1776, but this should not be construed as stalwart support for coercion amongst Glaswegian tobacco firms, nor amongst their Scottish business partners in Virginia.¹³ Yet the willingness of some Virginians to draw a connection between the two, to the extent of seriously exaggerating Scottish support for coercion, suggests that deeply embedded economic resentment towards Scots erupted during the Revolutionary crisis. Charles McCarty, for instance, was elected to the Fifth Virginian Convention in 1776 on a staunchly Scotophobic platform.¹⁴ McCarty gained notoriety during the previous year through a series of letters to the *Virginia Gazette* in which he cast aspersions on the politics of Scottish merchants in Virginia. Although the Scots had signed the association agreement which placed an embargo on trade with Britain (an overt display of support for America), McCarty argued that they had only done so through compulsion, and would surely claim that they had been forced to do so to the British at the first opportunity (‘what, in the name of God,’ asked James Currie, ‘would he have said had they not signed it?’).¹⁵ McCarty recommended that the Virginians should band together to ‘purge this our sickly colony of such filth’ by breaking off all commercial connection with Scottish merchants and ‘sending

¹² *Virginia Gazette* (John Pinkney), Thursday March 23rd 1775, number 463.

¹³ Hook, *Scotland and America*, p.65; Conway, *The British Isles*, p.272.

¹⁴ Michael A. McDonnell, *The Politics of War: Race, Class, & Conflict in Revolutionary Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), pp.202-203.

¹⁵ *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), Thursday March 23rd 1775, number 463.

them *from whence they came*'.¹⁶ To McCarty and the many Virginians who supported him, Scottish support for America was immaterial; indebtedness and resentment towards Scottish business practices had left them unwilling to count Scots amongst their allies.

Despite Scottish support for the association agreement in Virginia and other such movements, Scots still gained a reputation as supporters of coercion across America. Frequently these attacks referred back to Scottish mercantile interests to explain their supposed support for coercion. When Epsom, New Hampshire agreed to a non-importation agreement, its residents framed their grievances with particular reference to Scotland:

[W]e view the Scotch merchants and traders in general to be no friends to our country, and is altogether for self-interest and lucrative gain; and to accomplish their designs, has filled the country with hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen . . . which is a moth to our country, and damage to all honest merchants and traders, that are true friends to our country.¹⁷

The *Pennsylvania Evening Post* similarly railed against the vast profits which Scottish merchants enjoyed by cheaply exporting tobacco across the Atlantic and importing British goods at an exorbitant price. 'This,' the paper claimed, 'readily accounts for the sudden transition so frequently seen of a Scotch factor, not worth a groat, into a merchant of self-great importance.' It was the duty of every patriot, the article concluded, 'to exert his strongest efforts for rectifying this oppressive commerce'.¹⁸

In Virginia, a writer signing themselves 'A Citizen of the World' spoke up in the Scots' defence. After denouncing all national reflections as illiberal, the writer argued that it was only natural for the Scots to act in the best interests of their businesses.¹⁹ Such supportive voices, however, were very much a minority in American newspapers, most of which condemned Scottish merchants for precipitating taxation and ministerial coercion. Writing to the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 'A Virginian' wondered at Scottish support for coercion given their heavy involvement in the Atlantic economy:

If [living in Philadelphia and being well acquainted with mercantile business] was the criterion of Whiggism, we might conclude every Scotch factor who had resided

¹⁶ *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), January 19th 1775, issue 454.

¹⁷ *Essex Journal*, January 25th 1775, vol.2, issue 58.

¹⁸ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, September 28th 1775, vol.1, issue 107.

¹⁹ *Virginia Gazette* (Pinkney), January 26th 1775, issue 455.

any length of time in this commonwealth was a friend to America, the contrary of which we have experienced to be the fact.²⁰

The *Pennsylvania Evening Post* explained away loyalist victories in Norfolk, Virginia by pointing out that ‘the inhabitants were almost to a man merchants and mechanics, a majority of them Scotchmen and rank Tories’.²¹ The combination of a predominantly Scottish population with a vested mercantile interest, the paper argued, was bound to result in localized opposition to the American cause.

Other newspapers saw the outbreak of war as the culmination of a Scottish plan to dominate the American economy. The *Norwich Packet* reported in 1776 that the British government was planning to pay the debts of ‘Scotch factors’ in America by forfeiting American estates.²² A number of other newspapers throughout the war ran similar reports of schemes to confiscate American estates and hand them over to ‘Scotch favourites’ and ‘Scotch harpies’.²³ The *Providence Gazette* insisted that far from simply benefiting from military plundering, the Scots were propagating the war to ensure their own prosperity:

The Scotch, everybody knows, wish for no accommodation with America; they are not enriched enough yet. The Scotch, therefore, wish that such terms may be offered . . . that America will neither accept or receive . . . They will then have the more time to enrich themselves, which they want, reduce this country into as beggarly a state as their own was the last reign, and afterwards glory at what they have done.²⁴

In December 1776 the *Independent Chronicle* spoke of ‘the Scotch cabinet’s’ plans to plunder America ‘to feed their hungry countrymen’, whilst the *Virginia Gazette* claimed in 1778 that ‘grants of almost all the lands in America are now mouldering in the pockets of Scotchmen’.²⁵ In 1782 the *Boston Evening Post* informed its readers that it was the insatiable appetite of Scotland that had originally driven Britain to go to war with America:

²⁰ *Pennsylvania Packet*, May 8th 1779.

²¹ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, November 9th 1775, vol.1, issue 125.

²² *Norwich Packet*, May 27th 1776, vol. 3, issue 139.

²³ See for example *Independent Ledger*, June 29th 1778, vol.1, issue 3; *Continental Journal*, January 14th 1779, issue 138.

²⁴ *Providence Gazette*, June 27th 1778, vol.15, issue 756.

²⁵ *Independent Chronicle*, December 19th 1776, vol.9, issue 435; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), May 1st 1778, no.161.

The plunder of American possessions, and the dividing the spoils amongst rapacious northern favourites, were two great motives that induced our rulers to sacrifice the interest of millions to private rapacity and court despotism. The names of those men will stand for ever accursed in the black calendar of enemies to their country. . .²⁶

Like Charles Churchill's *Prophecy of Famine*, the Americans here linked the Scots' supposed monopoly on American trade with the popular stereotype of the Scot as the all-consuming savage, or the cannibal Sawney Bean.

Such diatribes against Scottish merchants and the influence of Scotland over British economic policies suggest that we should reconsider the weighting of political versus economic factors in motivating American Scotophobia. Whilst Hook's study gave primacy to politics, it is likely that conspiracy theories concerning Bute, Mansfield and the Scotch Junto only took such a firm hold amongst Americans because they were able to take root in a fertile ground of anti-Scottish sentiment motivated by more tangible economic concerns.²⁷ By itself, negative perceptions of Scottish politics were not enough to prompt widespread Scotophobia, as demonstrated by the largely apathetic response to the Wilkes/Bute affair in America in the early 1760s. It was not until the Stamp Act crisis in 1765 demonstrated the supposed impact of Scottish politics on the Americans themselves that popular Scotophobia on par with that of the Wilkites in England began to take hold in America. But it was not only economic or political concerns which prompted such ferocious attacks on Scots in the press. As the war unfolded, the tactics of a Scottish officer in the British army caused outrage amongst Americans by upsetting the balance of power between the different ethnic groups, and threatening to turn plantation society on its head.

7.2 Ethnicity, liberty and slavery – The Earl of Dunmore's emancipation proclamation

John Murray, the Earl of Dunmore and governor of Virginia at the outbreak of the Revolution provides a very useful case study for American Scotophobia during the war, both as a lens through which we can glimpse typical anti-Scottish sentiment and as a Scot whose own actions during the war further exacerbated hostility towards himself and his

²⁶ *Boston Evening Post*, December 14th 1782, vol.2, issue 61.

²⁷ Hook, *Scotland and America*, pp.47-70.

countrymen. This section examines Dunmore's emancipation proclamation which promised freedom to the slaves of rebels who left their masters to fight for the British. American responses to the proclamation reveal their underlying ideas of Scottishness as an inferior, savage ethnicity, more similar to that of Africans or Native Americans than to White English or American ethnicity. Attacks on Dunmore (which spread far beyond Virginia reaching newspapers throughout America) also reveal the intricate connection which many Americans saw between ethnicity and the ideas of liberty and slavery. These ideas were most prominent in the plantation societies in the Chesapeake, in which either European or African ethnicities carried connotations of freedom and slavery. Both the outbreak of the War of Independence (which from the outset was commonly trumpeted as a war for American liberty) and Dunmore's emancipation proclamation threw this relatively simple line of distinction out of kilter. Liberty and slavery were no longer demarcated merely by white or black ethnicity. Instead, it appeared to many that Dunmore and his fellow Scots were removing the bonds of slavery from blacks and extending them to white Americans, completely overturning the foundations of plantation society.

Dunmore himself was born in the Scottish Highlands in 1732. In the 1740s his family gave their support to Bonnie Prince Charlie, and many fought for the Jacobites in the 1745 uprising. Murray succeeded to the family title in 1756, becoming the 4th Earl of Dunmore, and in 1761 took a seat in the House of Lords. His support for the North ministry in the 1760s led to his appointment as governor of New York in 1770 and of Virginia in 1771. Upon the outbreak of war Dunmore remained in America and took command of Loyalist forces in Virginia.²⁸ Aside from his prominent position in American governance, Dunmore provides a useful case study due to the public image he maintained. Unlike other Scots who would often present an Anglicised self-image in speech and dress, Dunmore seems to have proudly flaunted his Highland origins. In his 1765 portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dunmore is bedecked in tartan plaid. The moody Highland scenery in the background would have reminded contemporary viewers of the sublime landscapes of ancient Caledonia found in James Macpherson's Ossian poems, which were enjoying

²⁸ Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: the loss of America and the remaking of the British Empire* (London: Harper Press, 2012), pp.47-49. See also John E. Selby, 'Murray, John, fourth earl of Dunmore (1732–1809)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Oct 2009 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19631>, accessed 16 Jan 2014; John E. Selby, 'Murray, John' <http://www.anb.org/articles/01/01-00242.html>; *American National Biography Online* (Oxford University Press, 2000). Access Date: Thu Jan 16 2014.

widespread popularity at the time.²⁹ With such overt imagery it is unsurprising that his Scottish nationality was often brought to the forefront of his discussion in the press.

Initial reports concerning Dunmore in American newspapers are largely positive. Upon news of his appointment, a letter in the *New York Gazette* described him as ‘a good-temper’d honest Man; a Soldier, brave and generous’.³⁰ The New York elite welcomed him to America with a celebration aboard the *Britannia*, ‘the finest vessel belonging to North America’, and according to the *New York Gazette* ‘nothing could equal the pleasure of the company’.³¹ A few years later the papers hailed the arrival of Lady Dunmore and the couple’s children in Virginia. One paper reported that Dunmore ‘has been addressed from all Quarters, to which were added Illuminations, and every other Mark of Congratulation’.³²

Some of Dunmore’s actions whilst in power reinforced this positive image. His successful military campaigns against various Native American tribes, for example, received praise in the press.³³ Any successful aspects of his governorship, however, were vastly overshadowed by the taxation crisis developing across the colonies. In May 1774 Dunmore dissolved the Virginia Assembly following their criticism of the coercive measures taken in Boston following the Tea Party. Immediately following their dissolution, the members of the Assembly met and proclaimed their commitment to continuing the struggle against taxation, lamenting that ‘a determined system is formed, and pressed, for reducing the inhabitants of British North America to slavery.’³⁴ As the situation worsened Dunmore took further precautionary measures, such as the removal of munitions from Williamsburg, an act for which he was widely criticised.³⁵ His decision to flee Williamsburg in June 1775 was mocked by the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*:

In story, we’re told,
That heroes of old,
Have fled from their enemies blows;
But Dunmore, for his glory,

²⁹ *John Murray*, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, oil on canvas, 1765 (National Galleries of Scotland).

³⁰ *New York Gazette*, February 19th 1770, issue 1416.

³¹ *New York Gazette*, May 28th 1770, issue 1430.

³² *New York Gazette*; and *the Weekly Mercury*, March 21st 1774, issue 1169.

³³ See for example *Boston Evening Post*, January 2nd 1775, issue 2049.

³⁴ *New York Journal*, June 9th 1774, issue 1640.

³⁵ Selby, ‘Murray, John, fourth earl of Dunmore (1732–1809)’.

Is the first in all story,
That fled without seeing his foes.³⁶

Although his actions had previously been criticised, it was not until Dunmore left Williamsburg that his opponents began to use his Scottish nationality against him. His family's Jacobite past, which the papers had previously ignored, was now widely discussed. The *Pennsylvania Evening Post* condemned Dunmore's father for his part in the 'execrable SCOTCH rebellion of 1745', and claimed that Dunmore had gained his position due to the patronage of Lord Mansfield.³⁷ The *Virginia Gazette*, meanwhile, derided the Earl's proclamation of the American Patriots as rebels, claiming instead that Dunmore's support for the ministry marked him as a traitor to the British constitution. 'The Earl of *Dunmore*', they wrote, '... may be called a *genuine rebel*. His father was in *two rebellions* . . . and he is now himself engaged in one of a more artful and dangerous nature'.³⁸ In public perception therefore, Dunmore embodied three of the major grievances directed against Scots during this period: he came from a family of Highland Jacobites; he had gained power due to the influence of another powerful and detested Scot; and lastly, once in power, he had enforced measures which were seen to undermine liberty and the power of a democratically elected assembly.

Previous studies of Dunmore's military campaign during the war have identified one particular element of his strategy which brought him near universal disapprobation from the colonists. This was his promise of freedom to escaped black slaves if they enlisted in the British army. The plan itself met a disastrous end; although many slaves did respond to Dunmore's offer of freedom, the majority died of smallpox aboard his ships.³⁹ The response to this scheme from the colonists was one of outrage. 'Hell itself could not have vomited any thing more black than his design of emancipating our slaves' ran the words of a Philadelphia correspondent in the *London Morning Chronicle*.⁴⁰ The *Virginian Constitution* of 1776 made explicit reference to Dunmore's plan of 'prompting our negroes to rise in arms among us' in their list of grievances against King George.⁴¹

³⁶ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, October 19th 1775, vol.1, issue 116.

³⁷ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, September 14th 1775, vol. 1, issue 101.

³⁸ *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), December 8th 1775, no.45.

³⁹ Benjamin Quarles, 'Lord Dunmore as liberator', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Oct., 1958), pp. 494-507.

⁴⁰ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, January 20th 1776, Issue 2080.

⁴¹ *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), July 6th 1776, no.1300.

But the responses which reveal most about some of the underlying attitudes towards Scots are those which emphasized an ethnic connection between Dunmore and the freed slaves. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson, for instance, Richard Henry Lee referred to Dunmore as ‘our african Hero’.⁴² The *Connecticut Journal*, meanwhile, mocked Dunmore as a new African chief:

On Monday the 8th instant, a lusty likely *Negro Wench* was delivered of a male child, who in memory of a certain notable *Negro Chief*, is named DUNMORE.

Hail! Doughty Ethiopian Chief!

Thou ignominious Negro-Thief!

This *Black* shall prop thy sinking name,

And damn thee, to perpetual fame.⁴³

These responses to Dunmore’s deployment of black slaves reveal a continuing tendency amongst Americans and the English to view Scots as barbarians or savages. As discussed in chapter one, the common ‘Sawney’ Scottish stereotype emphasized Scottish incivility. Roxanne Wheeler has demonstrated how English writers tended to draw similarities between Highland Scots and supposedly savage people.⁴⁴ The frontispiece to a mid-century compendium of English travel writing, for instance, grouped Highlanders together with Native Americans as part of an attempt to categorize various ethnic groups (figure 7.1).⁴⁵ During the Seven Years’ War, the lowland Scottish General John Forbes similarly described Highland Scots and Cherokee Indians as ‘cousins’ in a letter to William Pitt, a comparison frequently echoed by Samuel Johnson and James Boswell during their tour of the Scottish Highlands.⁴⁶

⁴² Richard Henry Lee to Thomas Jefferson, July 21, 1776, in *The letters of Richard Henry Lee, vol.1, 1762-1778*, ed. James Curtis Ballagh (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), p.210.

⁴³ *Connecticut Journal*, May 15th 1776, issue 448.

⁴⁴ Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race*, pp.17-19.

⁴⁵ ‘A Description of the Habits of most Countries in the World’, frontispiece to *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol.1 (London, 1745).

⁴⁶ *Correspondence of William Pitt, when secretary of state, with colonial governors and military and naval commissioners in America*, edited by Getrude Selwyn Kimball (London: Macmillan, 1906), p.279. For Boswell and Johnson’s comments on Highlanders and Indians see Wheeler, *Complexion of race*, pp.192-209. See also Colin G. Calloway, *White people, Indians, and Highlanders: tribal peoples and colonial encounters in Scotland and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), particularly pp.60-87; Matthew P. Dziennik, *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), pp.96-122.



Figure 7.1 'A Description of the Habits of most Countries in the World', frontispiece to *A collection of voyages and travels*, vol.1 (London, 1745)

The War of American Independence prompted new comments on Scottish incivility and savagery, many directed at Dunmore himself. His previously lauded campaigns against the Indians were now thrown against him. The *Pennsylvania Evening Post* claimed that Dunmore had commanded the Indians to attack the colonists in order to weaken colonial resolve against British coercion. They warned that Dunmore ‘could have called [the Indians] to his assistance, laid waste our frontiers, butchering innocent women and children, and perhaps thousands of poor souls who are utterly unacquainted with . . . the dispute with Great Britain’.⁴⁷ These stories, though implausible, earned Dunmore a reputation for savage butchery. Various papers described him as a ‘pirate and highwayman’, an ‘infernal monster’, and ‘the most atrocious criminal [who] ever appeared in America’.⁴⁸ The *Essex Journal* reported in December 1775,

A gentleman from the north was heard to say, at Drummond the Bankers, “Ah! If they had sent my countryman Jimmy Murry [sic] to New England he would not have left Man, Woman or Child among them by this time”.⁴⁹

Similar comments were extended to Scottish soldiers fighting for the British army in Virginia. A report about General Clinton in the *Hibernian Journal* claimed that he was soon to be joined in Virginia by ‘a great Number of Scotch, who pant for the happy moment they are to receive Arms. . . and be drawn out, to *kel aw the Reebels*’.⁵⁰

Criticisms of Dunmore’s savage military tactics consistently referred to ethnicity, predominantly the alliance of escaped slaves and Scots in his army. After Dunmore attacked and burnt the port of Norfolk, the Sussex County committee responded by condemning ‘the tyrannical, cruel, and destructive executioner of ministerial vengeance, Lord Dunmore, and his banditti of blacks, Scotch Tories and Jacobites’.⁵¹ Such statements, however, were far more than an expression of ethnic antipathy. They were (either intentionally or unintentionally) a means to dehumanize the enemy. Dunmore’s ‘banditti of blacks and Scotch Tories’ dispelled the image of the conflict as a civil war against fellow-Englishmen. Instead, the enemy was now ‘the *very scum* of the country’ (as the

⁴⁷ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, November 9th 1775, vol.1, issue 125.

⁴⁸ *Dunlap’s Pennsylvania Packet*, January 1st 1776, vol.5, issue 219; *Constitutional Gazette*, June 1st 1776, issue 88; *Thomas’s Massachusetts Spy or, American Oracle of Liberty*, December 15th 1775, vol.5, issue 251.

⁴⁹ *Essex Journal*, December 12th 1775, vol.2, issue 101.

⁵⁰ *Hibernian Journal*, April 17th 1776.

⁵¹ *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), February 10th 1776, no.1279.

Newport Mercury described Dunmore's troops), and was, above all else, an enemy to be feared.⁵² As Jack P. Greene has demonstrated, Chesapeake society was far more caste-based than other American colonies; the higher presence of the Other in the form of black slaves led to Virginians placing greater value on the superior position of white settlers within their society.⁵³ Simultaneously, this caste culture made white planters very aware of just how precarious their grip on power was. Virginian planters carried a deeply embedded fear of slave revolts, and now their greatest fears were being realized through Dunmore and the Scots.⁵⁴ This provided ordinary Virginians with a greater incentive to fight. The war was no longer just an assertion of constitutional rights, but could now be seen as a fight to protect the established social order in Virginia, namely the power and dominance of whites over blacks. Dunmore's emancipation proclamation consequently established an image of Scots as a threat to the very foundations of plantation society.

The emancipation proclamation led to a direct rift between the Virginian colonists who identified as of English descent and the Scottish settlers in the same colony. Early in 1775 many of the colony's Scots had collectively petitioned the Virginian convention expressing their wishes to support the Patriot campaign but refusing to take up arms against the British. Even at this point the Scots' lukewarm support had, in their own words, 'given rise to distinctions to their prejudice amongst the natives of the country', yet the assembly's response was relatively positive, promising to treat all those 'as did not shew [sic] themselves enemies to the common cause of America, with lenity and friendship'.⁵⁵ Dunmore's emancipation proclamation changed everything. Ridiculing the Scots' description of themselves as 'natives of Great Britain', the convention rescinded their former resolution promising the Scots protection. They condemned the Scots in general as allies of Lord Dunmore, as 'the most active promoters of all his cruel and arbitrary persecutions of the good people of this colony', and most of all for encouraging their slaves to rebel against them, sometimes leading them into battle themselves. Any Scot who was not prepared to offer the Americans their full support and take up arms against Britain

⁵² *Newport Mercury*, December 11th 1775, no.901.

⁵³ Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness*, p.84.

⁵⁴ For Virginian fears of slave revolts see McDonnell, *The Politics of War*, pp.21-22, 208-209.

⁵⁵ *The Proceedings of the Convention of Delegates held at the town of Richmond in the colony of Virginia on Friday, the 1st of December 1775* (Richmond, VA.: 1816), p.70.

was no longer permitted to remain in Virginia, and was instead instructed to leave the colony.⁵⁶

As the war progressed, further reports appeared highlighting the Scots' supposed plot against the planters. In July 1777, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* printed a letter claiming that the Scots intended to sell the Americans as slaves. The ministry, it claimed, had received a proposal from a group comprising of 'two Englishmen and eleven Scotchmen' to export sixty thousand barrels of black lamp oil to America. The oil would then be used 'to *paint* the faces, and every other part of the bodies of the Americans as black as Negroes; and that soon after this operation they shall be sold, as Negroes are, at public auction, twenty in a lot, to the Creole planters of Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, &c.' The profits, the letter continued, would be used for 'improving his Majesty's loyal but barren kingdom of Scotland', and the remainders put towards pensions for a set of ministers including Bute, Mansfield, and Dunmore.⁵⁷ Despite its fanciful nature, the underlying theme of the letter would have resonated strongly with many Americans; the Scots were driving forwards British military coercion in order to reduce the Americans to state of slavery.

Rumours of Scottish slavery schemes reinforced the Americans' vision of the Revolution itself; the assertion of those rights and liberties which formed an integral part of Anglo-American identity. Though particularly feared and abhorred among plantation societies such as Virginia, Dunmore's supposed scheme to raise slave armies to enslave the colonists in turn resonated as well with Americans in New York, Pennsylvania and New England who feared being made the vassals of an absolute monarchy or a parliament not of their choosing. Scots, this belief maintained, were the *constitutional* enslavers of the Americans, rescinding the principles of the Glorious Revolution which, as chapter one demonstrated, were cherished and valued as much in America as they were in Britain. When John Trumbull came to write his bestselling mock-epic satire on the Revolution, *McFingal*, he chose a Scottish squire to represent the American loyalists, and Scottish politicians as the allies of a despotic king:

With Bute and Mansfield swore allegiance;
And all combined to raze as nuisance,
Of Church and state, the constitutions

⁵⁶ *Proceedings of the convention of delegates*, p.70. The declaration was reprinted with comments identifying the Scots in Virginia as its subjects in the *Caledonian Mercury*, June 3rd 1776, no.8517.

⁵⁷ *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, July 19th 1777, vol.3, issue 380.

Pull down the empire, on whose ruins
They meant to edify their new ones;
Enslave th' American wildernesses
And tear the provinces to pieces.⁵⁸

References to a '*Scotch plot* of conquest and slavery' or schemes 'to make each *American* a Scotsman's slave' continued to pour forth from American newspapers over the coming years.⁵⁹ As the conflict progressed this fear of Scottish slavery prevailed, and the determination to resist it grew stronger. For some writers it seemed to embody the ideals against which they were fighting. 'There is no alternative,' an anonymous writer in the *New York Journal* maintained in May 1776, 'but an instant declaration of independence. . . or an humble submission to be slaves to Scotchmen'.⁶⁰

The mistrust and antipathy towards Scots shown in American newspapers and convention decrees also manifested in direct action against Scots in America. The Virginians, for instance, appear to have followed through on their resolution to expel Scots who refused to take up arms for America. In the year following the resolution, a number of British newspapers carry accounts of Virginian Scots arriving back in Britain or settling elsewhere in the empire, 'as all the Scotch houses in Virginia are destroyed by the Virginians.'⁶¹ Yet this mistrust was not confined to Virginia. When Major General Philip Schuyler captured Tryon County, New York in early 1776, the terms of surrender included an entirely separate clause directed at the county's Scottish residents:

The Scotch inhabitants of the said county shall, without any kind of exception, immediately deliver up all arms in their possession, of what kind soever they may be, and that they shall each solemnly promise, that they will not at any time hereafter, during the continuance of this unhappy contest, take up arms without the permission of the Continental Congress, or of their general officers; and for the more faithful performance of this article, the General insists, that they shall immediately deliver up to him six hostages of his own nomination.⁶²

⁵⁸ John Trumbull, *McFingal: a Modern Epic Poem. Or, The Town Meeting* (London, 1792), p.3

⁵⁹ *Independent Ledger*, December 7th 1778, vol.1, issue 26; *Essex Journal*, September 15th 1775, vol.2, issue 89.

⁶⁰ *New York Journal*, May 30th 1776, issue 1743.

⁶¹ *Kentish Gazette*, April 10th 1776; *Chester Chronicle*, April 11th 1776. See also *Hibernian Journal*, July 29th 1776.

⁶² *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, February 8th 1776, vol.2, issue 164.

Such demands were not made of the county's non-Scottish population, the terms stipulating only that those who had directly opposed the Americans must surrender their arms. The terms show that Schuyler assessed the Scots on the basis of their ethnicity rather than their principles or past actions, and their Scottish ethnicity was judged to be dangerous. In the eyes of the Americans all Scots were potential enemies and were not to be trusted.

Of course, American mistrust of Scottish allegiance during the war was somewhat justified. As a number of historians have noted, Scots living in America during the crisis tended to side with the loyalists, or else wanted no part in the conflict.⁶³ Scottish loyalism was by no means universal, yet the large number of Scottish loyalists coupled with the long-standing Wilkite image of Scots as government lackeys largely drowned out the prominent Scots in America who supported resistance. John Witherspoon's widely publicized appeal to his fellow Scots in North America who favoured coercion, for instance, had the dual effect of both emphasizing Witherspoon's own support for America whilst highlighting the loyalist tendencies of America's other Scottish inhabitants.⁶⁴ Yet it is not entirely clear whether American Scotophobia was a response to Scottish loyalty or in fact one of its principal driving forces. It is entirely possible that the relentless attacks on Scots in American newspapers in the years preceding the war and the Americans' strong links with the staunchly Scotophobic Wilkite movement in England served as a barrier between American colonists and Scottish migrants, creating a vicious circle of alienation and resentment.

7.3 The Fate of American Scotophobia

As the war drew to a close in the 1780s, the rampant Scotophobia which characterized the rhetoric of American newspapers in the early part of the war began to decline. Anti-Scottish sentiment had served a useful transatlantic purpose at the outbreak of war, providing a scapegoat for coercive government policy and a common enemy for Americans and their supporters in England to unite against. Following the Declaration of Independence in 1776, however, such a scapegoat became unnecessary. The Americans

⁶³ Hook, *Scotland and America*, pp.49-51; Charles H. Haws, 'Scots in colonial Virginia during the revolutionary war' in Owen Dudley Edwards and George Shepperson (eds.), *Scotland, Europe and the American Revolution* (Edinburgh: EUSPB, 1976), p.99; Hast, *Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia*, p.74; Devine, *Scotland's Empire* p.179.

⁶⁴ John Witherspoon, *An Address to the Natives of Scotland Residing in America* (London, 1778).

were no longer concerned about proving the justice of their cause in terms of the rights of English subjects, and leaving the English body politic naturally caused many Americans to abandon their Wilkite worries over the pervasive Scottish influence in the British government. The alliance with France and Spain in 1778, meanwhile, alienated English radicals from the American cause. As chapter eight demonstrates, the entry of France and Spain in the war caused a decline in English Scotophobia as the need for British unity against imperial enemies and the threat of invasion took priority. In America, this severance of ties with Britain heralded a period in which Americans began to define themselves as a new nation. This new American identity was ultimately constructed over many years, and American newspapers played an important role throughout this process.⁶⁵ But, crucially, it was not in the end a national identity forged against the Scottish ‘other’ which a great many Americans had used to define themselves during the early years of the Revolution.

Yet many Americans did not easily forgive or forget the wrongs they perceived the Scots to have inflicted upon them over the course of the war. Embittered Americans continued to remember Dunmore’s emancipation proclamation, Scottish loyalism to the crown, and stories of Scottish brutality and Scottish plots to deprive them of their liberty in American newspapers. In some areas, particularly the South, Scots remained one of the most hated ethnic groups in America.⁶⁶ Georgia, for instance, remained vehemently Scotophobic following the surrender of the British army at Yorktown in 1781. A statute of the Georgia state assembly passed in 1782 forbade Scots from entering the state intending to settle or conduct business. Any Scot who stayed in Georgia for longer than three days was to be imprisoned until arrangements could be made to transport them to British territory. ‘The people of Scotland’, the assembly maintained, ‘have in general manifested a decided inimicality to the civil liberties of America and have contributed Principally to promote and continue a ruinous war, for the purpose of subjugating this and the other confederated States’. Only those Scots who had fought for the American cause were permitted to remain.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Joseph M. Torsella, ‘American National Identities, 1750-90: Samples from the Popular Press’, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol.112, no.2 (1988), pp.167-188; Heyd, *Reading Newspapers*, p.65.

⁶⁶ Marilyn C. Baseler, *“Asylum for Mankind”: America, 1607-1800* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), p.147.

⁶⁷ Cited in Hook, *Scotland and America*, p.69; Baseler, *“Asylum for Mankind”*, p.147.

Whilst other states did not enact similar legislation, there were many Americans who supported the Georgia Assembly's actions. A writer in Massachusetts penned a letter to the *Salem Gazette* shortly after the signing of the Peace of Paris in 1783 arguing that America should learn a vital lesson from the actions of the Scots, 'our most inveterate enemies'. They spoke of America's 'great aversion to the Scotch people' due to their 'ferocious and malicious behaviour' during the war, treating the Americans with 'insults, inhumanity and more than savage cruelty'. The letter concluded with the recommendation that warning signs be put up at all American ports and landing posts warning the Scots to stay away:

The Scottish people is rejected,
The world besides will be accepted.
Jews, Infidels and Hottentots
We welcome here – but not the Scots.⁶⁸

Other writers, however, favoured reconciliation with the Scots over hostility. In a letter to the *Political Intelligencer* in 1784, 'Candidus' compelled the citizens of New Jersey to re-examine why Scots in America had tended to side with Britain rather than America. Scottish loyalism, they argued, could be explained partly by the material rewards the Scots stood to gain – the restoration of confiscated estates, civil and military offices, and future prosperity for their children. Yet the Americans, the writer continued, must acknowledge their own share of the responsibility for driving the Scots to the British cause through an embedded culture of anti-Scottish sentiment:

We contributed greatly in confirming the antipathy of the [Scottish] nation against us, we joined in all the party scurrility carried on against them at home; we publicly laughed at the pride, poverty and slovenliness of the people. Could we wish them to be our friends when we despised them?

America, Candidus concluded, should indeed learn a lesson from Scottish loyalism during the war, but that lesson was not the one of banishment and exclusion advocated by the Georgia Assembly. It was instead to reconcile peaceably with former enemies, to absorb those into America who wished to contribute to American trade and society, and not to look down upon people who could be potential allies, an act which served only to ensure

⁶⁸ *Salem Gazette*, May 22nd 1783, vol.2, issue 84.

that these alienated people were bound to become America's enemies rather than her friends.⁶⁹

Conclusion

Whilst previous studies of American Scotophobia during the war of independence have accorded primacy to perceptions of Scottish politics, anti-Scottish sentiment stemmed from a host of different factors. In much the same way that Americans were driven to go to war by a multitude of concerns (encompassing political and economic grievances alongside many others), so too was their antipathy towards the Scots rooted in a combination of political, socio-economic and ethnic anxieties. As chapter six demonstrated, political Scotophobia which focused on the mythical Scotch Junto and figures such as the Earl of Bute played an important role in maintaining transatlantic unity between the Americans and their supporters in England. American Scotophobia, however, was such a powerful force only because many Americans felt personally aggrieved towards or threatened by Scots in a far more concrete manner than rumours of Scotch Juntos could alone provide. Economic resentment towards Scots ran high in the Chesapeake and other colonies many years before the outbreak of the war, providing a fertile ground in which whispers of Scottish plots could take root and flourish. These whispers were only believed because the underlying socio-economic tensions between planters and Scottish merchants made the Americans want to believe them.

Whilst economic and political grievances kindled the fire of American Scotophobia, there is no doubt that ideas of ethnicity fanned its flames during the war itself. Dunmore's emancipation proclamation provided Americans with a platform to vent their fury towards the Scots, and reveal contemporary ideas concerning the place of different ethnicities within American society. Particularly telling is the American tendency to equate Dunmore and the Scots with barbarians and savages, or as compatriots to black slaves. Such assertions suggest that the Americans viewed Scots as a deeply inferior ethnic group, one which according to the social principles governing plantation society had no claim to exercise any sort of power or authority over the Americans. For many Americans, Dunmore's emancipation proclamation transformed the very concept of the war itself. What had begun as an assertion of British rights and liberties became for some a fight for

⁶⁹ *Political Intelligencer*, April 13th 1784, vol.1, issue 27.

plantation society itself: a struggle to maintain white ethnic superiority against a rampaging army of runaway slaves and Indians led by Scots.

Chapter 8: Scotophobia in England 1778-1783: change and continuity

This chapter examines English attitudes towards Scotland during the final stages of the War of American Independence. This is a period of particular importance for this study, as it serves as a point of transition in Anglo-Scottish social relations. Whereas the 1760s and early 1770s witnessed high levels of popular Scotophobia, the late 1770s and early 1780s saw a remarkable rise in pro-Scottish sentiment and Anglo-Scottish cooperation. As this change coincided with (and was indeed strongly impacted by) an important development in the war, namely the entrance of France, Spain and the Netherlands, many historians have pinpointed this period as a transitional phase in British identity, in which the animosities of the previous decade were largely overcome through the urgent need for British unity against imperial European foes.¹ In addition, these years were characterized by popular protests against Catholic Relief across Britain. Anti-Catholic riots gripped Glasgow and Edinburgh in 1779, whilst the Gordon Riots of 1780 caused hundreds of deaths and widespread destruction in London. The level of Anglo-Scottish cooperation in the campaign against Catholic relief undoubtedly contributed substantially to the decline of popular Scotophobia in the 1780s.

These two themes of anti-Catholic rioting and the changing nature of the war form the main points of focus for this chapter. The first section examines the impact of proposals for Catholic Relief on anti-Scottish sentiment in England, with particular reference to the Scottish riots of 1779 and the rise of the Protestant Association in England. Headed by a Scot, Lord George Gordon, the Protestant Association served as a joint exercise in British anti-Catholicism for English and Scottish Protestants, and presented a considerable challenge to the traditional image of Scots as Jacobite rebels. The second section, meanwhile, discusses Scottish military service during the latter half of the American War. The raising of Highland regiments to fight against France and Spain helped to rehabilitate the image of the Scots away from Wilkite connotations of imperial menace, establishing them instead as loyal and useful servants of the British Empire. Both anti-Catholicism and Scottish military service, I will argue, presented heavy and effective challenges to the Wilkite Scotophobia of the previous decades.

¹ Colley, *Britons*, pp.; Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.252; Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.179-186.

Yet these developments did not entirely eliminate anti-Scottish sentiment in England. Whilst challenging certain English prejudices towards Scotland, other prejudices remained unchallenged, and in some cases were even reinforced. Highland Scots, for instance, were still viewed as savage and dangerous warriors, whilst riots against Catholic Relief cemented some writers' image of the Scots as intolerant extremists. The final section of this chapter, therefore, examines the continuing prevalence of Scotophobia in England during the early 1780s, and addresses whether the endurance of Scotophobia during these years contradicts the view that the period saw a turn in English public opinion in favour of the Scots.

8.1 Anti-Catholic rioting 1778-1780

On June 2nd 1780, a crowd of 50,000 people gathered in St George's Fields in London. The crowd was formed of members of the Protestant Association, and many of them sported blue cockades in their hats or pinned to their breasts. At the behest of their leader, Lord George Gordon, the crowd marched to Westminster to deliver a petition to parliament. The petition demanded the repeal of the 1778 Catholic Relief Act, which granted limited civil rights to Catholics in order to raise much-needed troops to continue the fight against the Americans. Although Gordon fully expected his 'regiments' (as the crowd had been organised) to disperse after peacefully delivering their petition to parliament, the people were well beyond his control. After jostling politicians the crowd turned on London's Catholics, smashing their residences and destroying their places of worship. The destruction soon extended to houses of unpopular politicians; both the Lord Chief Justice Lord Mansfield and Sir George Savile, the sponsor of the Catholic Relief Act, had their houses burned by the mob. Within a few days London was in uproar. Alongside destroying the houses of Catholics and unpopular political figures, the rioters sacked Newgate prison and burned down a Catholic-owned distillery in Holborn, which blazed so fiercely that it illuminated the night sky over London. It was only the proclamation of martial law and the mobilization of the army which stopped the rioters from sacking the Bank of England and finally put an end to the rioting. By the 8th of June several hundred people had been shot dead by the army, and the rioting ceased. The final body count was estimated at over 700, and a further 25 men and women were convicted and hanged for their part in the riots.²

² Ian Haywood and John Seed, 'Introduction', in Ian Haywood and John Seed (eds.), *The Gordon Riots: Politics, Culture and Insurrection in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.1-7.

Although the Gordon Riots were undoubtedly the most violent riots against the Catholic Relief acts, they were by no means the only outbreaks of popular discontent. Concurrent attacks on Catholic chapels were made in Bath, Birmingham, Hull, Newcastle and Sheffield.³ One year earlier Scottish Presbyterians responded to proposals to extend limited Catholic relief to Scotland with assaults on Catholics and riots in Glasgow and Edinburgh.⁴ Historians have consequently recognized these as truly ‘British’ riots; they encapsulated a mood of popular anti-Catholicism which remained strong amongst entire swathes of the British population.⁵ They were also an exercise in Anglo-Scottish Protestant cooperation. The English Protestant Association had invited the Scottish Lord George Gordon to lead their campaign after witnessing his success at the helm of the Scottish campaign against Catholic relief, and many of London’s Scots also became active and visible members of the Protestant Association in the capital.⁶ The overtly Anglo-Scottish nature of the riots became a prominent theme of discussion in the months following the riots. For some, Scots were to be praised as the stalwart defenders of Protestant liberty, a marked contrast to the sinister Jacobite Catholic plotters which so heavily informed the Scottish stereotype of the previous decades. For others, however, the Scots had gone too far to the other extreme of intolerant, violent and vulgar Protestantism far removed from these commentators’ ideal standards of British decorum.

Whether the outcome was positive or negative, however, the anti-Catholic riots in Glasgow and Edinburgh cast aspersions on the long-standing English idea of the Scots as themselves lurking Catholics. As previous chapters have demonstrated, the vast majority of Wilkite propaganda in the 1760s and 1770s relied on the Scots as dormant Jacobites, in semi-hibernation for the time being but ready to rally for the Stuart cause at a moment’s notice. In the 1760s Wilkite propaganda frequently portrayed Bute and the Scots as the successors to the mid-century Jacobite rebels, still seeking to undo the Glorious Revolution of 1688, abolish the Protestant succession, and place a ‘Popish Pretender’ upon the throne. The furore over the Quebec Act in 1774 breathed new life into these old suspicions, reigniting English fears of a Scottish plot to spread popery and slavery throughout the British Empire. The Scottish riots against Catholic relief, however, presented a very

³ Colin Haydon, ‘The Gordon Riots in the English Provinces’, *Historical Research*, vol.63 (1990), pp.354-59; Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.265.

⁴ Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.252-53.

⁵ Colley, *Britons*, p.23.

⁶ Haywood and Seed, ‘Introduction’, pp.1-3.

different image of the Scots, not as subversive Jacobites supporting a Catholic king, but instead as active defenders of British Protestantism.

Throughout 1779 and 1780, several prints appeared celebrating Scottish opposition to Catholic relief. *Sawney's Defence against the Beast, Whore, Pope and Devil* (figure 8.1) is among the most noteworthy. On one side of the Tweed, a Highland soldier stands sword in hand beneath the beaming rays of the sun representing God's church as described in the book of Revelations. Various figures try to press the Catholic relief bill on him, including a magistrate and a bishop. King George, leading a seven-headed monster ridden by the Whore of Babylon, is being absolved by the Pope for breaking his coronation oath of upholding the Protestant religion. The contrast with depictions of Scots in prints from the 1760s and early 1770s is striking. Instead of pulling down the pillars of the constitution or destroying the bill of rights, Sawney brandishes a flag bearing the Articles of Union, and the Protestant Succession, while Sawney himself cries 'A Protestant Church and King I'll Defend!'⁷ Sawney is also overtly Scottish, but the symbols of his Scottish nationality are now positive attributes rather than marks of derision. Whereas Wilkite prints ridiculed tartan plaid and used the thistle to symbolize Scottish decay, *Sawney's Defence* presents both of these as beacons of Scottish defiance to Catholicism. Sawney's Highland garb and broadsword represent Scottish militant resistance to Catholic relief, whilst the thistle guards the banks of the Tweed. Scots and symbols of Scottishness are presented in an altogether positive light, no longer the enemies of English liberty but instead the defenders of its hall-mark institutions.⁸

⁷ For earlier contrasting prints see *Samson pulling down the Pillars* (1767), BM Satires 4179; *The joint stool* (1772), BM Satires 4949; *An emblematical pile* (1774), BM Satires 5239.

⁸ *Sawney's Defence against the Beast, Whore, Pope and Devil* (1779), BM Satires 5534.



Figure 8.1 *Sawney's Defence against the Beast, Whore, Pope, and Devil. &c &c* (1779), BM Satires 5534 © The Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 8.2 *The Times* (1780), BM Satires 5643 © The Trustees of the British Museum

The Times (figure 8.2) presents a very similar image of the Scots in the wake of the 1779 riots. In this print, the Pope has seized the British throne and all around him England suffers the horrors of a Roman Catholic regime. Superstition, ignorance and absolute power provide the foundations for Catholic power, which provides pardons for murder, adultery, robbery and beatings, all enforced with the burning of heretics and other marks of ‘Popish cruelty’. The only resistance comes from the Scottish figure on the far right of the print. Backed up by 150,000 muskets, this Highland soldier brandishes his broadsword at the King and his ministers crying ‘The Deel a ane o’ that Popish Crew shall come this way’. A sign above them bearing the message ‘The way to Scotland’ mirrors the scene below; a rampant Scottish unicorn fends off the Pope and the Devil. Again, tartan plaid and the thistle are now employed as symbols of the Scots defending British Protestant rights and liberties instead of undermining them.⁹ Both of these prints, along with several others, were produced by the Protestant Association as part of their campaign to repeal the Catholic relief acts in England. Throughout 1779 and 1780 the Protestant Association ran an ongoing campaign in prints, newspapers and pamphlets firstly to raise support for the association and opposition to Catholic relief, and later to disassociate itself from the violence and destruction of the Gordon Riots.¹⁰

Other prints produced by the Protestant Association featured Gordon himself as both the figurehead of the Association and as a representation of Scottish opposition to Catholic relief. In *Ecclesiastical and political state of the nation*, Gordon, clad in Highland dress, tries to restrain the bull being driven by North and the King from ‘plowing up the glebe of the constitution’.¹¹ *The Scotch St George* (figure 8.3) presents an even more powerful image. The heroic Gordon fights the dragon of Catholic relief from horseback, his Scottishness again emphasized through Highland clothing. Though a Scot, Gordon has been given the title of St George, one of the most iconic figures of Englishness.¹² His fight against the dragon also presents a striking contrast with Wilkite prints from the 1760s which depict Scottish influence as the true monster, and call for Britannia to slay the

⁹ *The Times* (1780), BM Satires 5643.

¹⁰ George, *English Political Caricature*, pp.159-160; Eugene Charlton Black, *The Association: British Extraparliamentary Political Organization, 1769-1793* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp.132-173.

¹¹ *Ecclesiastical and political state of the nation* (1780), BM Satires 5678.

¹² *The Protestant Association, or the Scotch St George and the dragon* (1780), BM Satires 5672.

Scottish beast.¹³ The Protestant Association's prints made some very real progress in redeeming the English image of the Scot (and particularly the Highland Scot) away from its monstrous Wilkite form; the dragon became the dragon slayer, and the villain the hero.



Figure 8.3 *The Protestant Association, or the Scotch St George and the dragon* (1780), BM Satires 5672 © The Trustees of the British Museum

The Protestant Association's use of Scottish figures in its prints was also part of a deliberate strategy to increase support for their movement in England. In many of these prints, Scottish action against Catholic relief is heavily contrasted with English inaction. Whilst the Scots protested heavily against the extension of relief into Scotland, popular opposition on a similar scale did not occur in England in 1778 or 1779. The Protestant Association was keen to correct this disparity. Their prints consequently focused heavily on Scottish opposition in order to rouse the English into similar action. In *Sawney's Defence*, John Bull lies trampled on the ground, helpless beneath the beast. 'For shame

¹³ See for example *The Vision or M-n-st-l Monster address'd to the Friends of Old England'* by *Sybilla Prophecy* (c.1762), BM Satires 3983; *The heroes of the times* (1763), BM Satires 4037; *The Scotch Monster Quell'd or Patriotism Triumphant* (1766), BM Satires 4149.

Brother John, arise!’ Sawney calls to him, but he is powerless to answer. *The Scotch St George*, meanwhile, shows a Scot fulfilling the role of England’s patron saint. The purpose of these prints was to challenge English inaction by emphasizing Scottish opposition and English apathy. England, the traditional defenders of Protestant liberty, they seem to say, should not be outdone by their Northern neighbours.

A similar message was also driven home by the press. A description of three mobs following the riots in Scotland contrasted Irish and Scottish resilience with English apathy. ‘A Scotch mob is more dreadful than any other,’ wrote the *Gazetteer* in July 1779; ‘They are sober, resolute and unconquerable; they drove the Bishops from Scotland; they rose in arms against Charles the First, and paved the way for bringing him to the block. They are the only powers our present Ministers are afraid of; to them they gave up the act in favour of Popery in North Britain.’ The Irish mob was similarly described as terrifying and formidable, but the same could not be said for the English. ‘The English mob were formerly the best reformers in the nation,’ the paper lamented. ‘Now they are as harmless as a flock of sheep. The parliament is not more void of wisdom and honesty, than the English populace are now divested of all spirit and feeling.’¹⁴ The creators of these works were relying heavily on the English people’s national pride and sense of self. In failing to oppose Catholic relief they are being outshone by the popular political movements of the Scots and the Irish. The depiction of Scottish action against the horrors of popery in particular was designed to shame the English into action. England, the traditional defender of Protestant liberty, they claim, has laid down the sword only to see it taken up by the Scots, those former Jacobite enemies of liberty. There is ample evidence to suggest that this tactic was indeed successful. Bombarded with Protestant Association propaganda calling for the English to emulate the Scots’ spirited opposition, the outbreak of rioting at the climax of the Association’s march on Westminster (as well as the simultaneous but small-scale violence in other towns across England) can be seen at least in part as a reassertion of English national pride, and a defiant answer to accusations that they no longer cared about protecting the bulwarks of English liberty.

Whilst the materials produced and circulated by the Protestant Association challenged the English image of Scots as the enemies of liberty, the movement itself reflects even greater progress in Anglo-Scottish social relations. Indeed, the Protestant Association’s greatest impact lay not in its depiction of Scots in prints and pamphlets, but

¹⁴ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, July 20th 1779, issue 15,736.

instead in the manner in which it drew together English and Scottish Protestants from all levels of society into an organized, cooperative and thoroughly British protest movement.¹⁵ According to Gordon's private secretary and later biographer Robert Watson, the Scots' collective action against Catholic relief served as a catalyst for similar action in England, providing anxious Protestants south of the border with the motivation to form association movements of their own. 'When the English Dissenters, with their numerous adherents, saw, that the Scotch, by their unanimity, had been successful,' he wrote, 'they became more bold, [and] formed societies, all over England'.¹⁶ In a discussion of the origins of the London Protestant Association, the *London Mercury* meanwhile gave full credit to the capital's Scots for creating a united British force against Catholic relief:

The Scotch, residing in this great city, animated by the spirit and encouraged by the example of their countrymen at home, promoted a Protestant association, in which they were joined by numbers of English dissenters, and Protestants of various nations. This association was united, by means of a regular correspondence, with others in different parts of Britain and Ireland.¹⁷

Anglo-Scottish cooperation within the London Protestant Association is reflected in the society's choice of leader. At the behest of the London Protestant Association in November 1779, the society's secretary James Fisher wrote to Gordon offering him the position of President of the Association. Both Fisher's letter and Gordon's response accepting the post were framed in terms of Anglo-Scottish cooperation. The Protestant Association's appeal to Gordon was not merely a request to lead the association in England, but an invitation for Gordon to act 'as President of the united Associations of England and Scotland', which together would form 'a national bulwark for the defence of the Protestant succession in the illustrious House of Hanover'. Fisher spoke of the 'spirited opposition made by our Protestant brethren in Scotland against Popery', and speaking in relation to Scottish success against Catholic relief wrote that 'we cannot conceive any reason as England and Scotland are united, why the Papists should be entitled to greater privileges and favour in England, than in the other part of the kingdom of Great Britain.' In his reply,

¹⁵ Colley, *Britons*, p.23.

¹⁶ Robert Watson, *The Life of Lord George Gordon: with a Philosophical Review of His Political Conduct* (London, 1795), p.12.

¹⁷ *The London mercury; containing the history, politics, and literature of England, for the year 1780* (London, 1781), p.43; John Seed, "'The Fall of Romish Babylon anticipated': plebeian Dissenters and anti-popery in the Gordon riots", in Haywood and Seed, *The Gordon Riots*, p.73.

Gordon stressed the importance of a united British opposition to Catholic relief, calling for a ‘compearance’ (an appearance of many together) of English and Scottish Protestants, as ‘[the Scot’s] support might prove of effectual service to the cause at the present crisis’.¹⁸ Fisher and Gordon’s appeals for Anglo-Scottish unity to combat Catholic relief were widely circulated in newspapers as part of the Protestant Association’s vigorous press campaign.¹⁹

The Anglo-Scottish enterprise of the Protestant Association was certainly not confined to London. In the North, one of the leading figures in the campaign against Catholic Relief in Newcastle was a Scot, the Independent minister James Murray, who oversaw the organization of Newcastle’s petition to parliament against Catholic relief. Amongst its 7,661 signatories were a large number of Scottish and English dissenters as well as Anglicans. Kathleen Wilson has consequently argued that anti-Catholicism provided Newcastle’s Scots with a door through which they could enter into Britishness. Kept at bay by the Wilkites as supporters of arbitrary power, participation in the Protestant Association allowed Scots and other marginalized groups to display their loyalty, patriotism and commitment to British liberty against the threat of the Catholic ‘Other’.²⁰

The scale of co-operation between English and Scottish Protestants remained high during the Protestant Association’s petitioning campaign in London. When the 50,000 petitioners gathered in St George’s Fields on June 2nd, they were divided into four divisions representing their origins. The divisions were London, Westminster, Southwark and Scotland. The Scottish division was led by a Highland soldier ‘in his country dress, with his sword drawn, and followed by two excellent performers on the bagpipes’.²¹ In the 1760s the broadsword and bagpipes were widely employed by Wilkite print makers as symbols of subversive Scottish influence threatening the destruction of English liberty; now, these very same symbols were defending Protestant liberty. The petition which the marchers presented to parliament, meanwhile, emphasized the unity of England and Scotland against Catholicism. Describing themselves as ‘Protestants and Britons’, the Protestant Association argued that ‘as England and Scotland are united, your petitioners cannot but think it a hardship upon the people of England to have Popery countenanced

¹⁸ Watson, *The Life of Lord George Gordon*, p.16.

¹⁹ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, November 22nd 1779, issue 3279; *Public Advertiser*, November 22nd 1779, issue 14079; *Public Ledger*, November 22nd 1779, issue 6107.

²⁰ Wilson, *Sense of the People*, pp.366-370.

²¹ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, June 8th 1780, no.1025.

among them by law, when their brethren in Scotland have been officially assured, that no law shall be made to favour Popery in that country'.²² The assured survival of traditional 'English liberty' against the threat of encroaching Catholicism, in this sense, depended on the idea of the English and the Scots as one British people, and of Britain as a united nation.

Some critics of the Protestant Association and the rioters made similar appeals to Anglo-Scottish unity in order to argue in favour of Catholic relief. One anonymous pamphlet now attributed to Ignatius Sancho compared the condition of British Catholics with traditional English fears of Scots:

That it is an alarming circumstance, for Protestants to be indebted in these days to the arms of Papists for support, is as ridiculous as to say, that England should not be indebted to North Britons for their assistance: there was a time when it might have been dangerous, that time is past; they are an inferior power, if considered separately; and were it otherwise, their interests are so blended with our own, that the support of each becomes a common cause: the comparison will appear obvious to everyone, and therefore needs no animadversion.²³

Anti-Catholicism, the author argues, has taken over the place previously occupied by Scotophobia during the 1760s and 1770s. As traditional enemies to England, Scots had been feared and hated as a potential internal threat lurking in the shadows. Those fears had proved groundless; the Scots were firstly too weak to present any sort of credible threat, and had secondly proved themselves loyal servants in the imperial enterprise of Britishness. The author believed that British Catholics would likewise show themselves to be good and faithful servants in the common cause of Empire if only the law would grant them the opportunity to do so.²⁴

Besides showing themselves to be good and loyal Britons, the Scots' campaign against Catholic relief also reveals a transformation in the English image of Scottish violence. As chapter one demonstrated, mid-eighteenth-century depictions of Scots focused on the wildness of their warfare, its lack of proper organization and discipline in comparison to English order. It was this barbaric wildness which prompted the harshest

²² *London Courant and Westminster Chronicle*, January 8th 1780.

²³ *A reply to An appeal from the Protestant Association to the people of Great Britain, &c. : wherein the fallacious arguments of that pamphlet are sufficiently exposed and candidly refuted* (London, 1780), p.20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.18-20; Dana Rabin, 'Imperial disruptions: city, nation and empire in the Gordon riots', in Haywood and Seed, *The Gordon Riots*, pp.108-109.

criticism from English commentators rather than the violence itself. Gordon's leadership of the Protestant Association alongside descriptions of the 'sober, resolute and unconquerable' Scottish mobs in the Glasgow and Edinburgh riots, however, presented a very different image of Scots in the late eighteenth century. Gordon's petitioners (including the Scottish division) were organized and regimented, a disciplined army gathered to oppose the Catholic threat rather than a wild, Jacobite rabble fighting to establish Catholic power. Whilst still violent and powerful, their violence (in the eyes of zealous English Protestants) was now being employed for a good and noble purpose, an image strengthened all the more by Scottish military service in an imperial war.

8.2 Scots as imperial servants

Ignatius Sancho's appeal to imperial service as a mark of British loyalty was made in the light of a changing image of Scotland's relation to the British Empire. For much of the 1760s and 1770s, newspapers, pamphlets and satirical prints identified Scots as an internal threat to Britain's imperial power and prosperity. The unpopular 1763 Peace of Paris, the Stamp Act of 1765, the Townshend Duties, the Quebec Act and the outbreak of war with the American colonies – all were attributed to a subversive Scottish influence within the government seeking to undermine Britain's empire of liberty and remould it into the form of the despotic empires of France and Spain. As chapter six demonstrated, Scottish military service coupled with widespread support for the war in Scotland itself provoked hostility from sections of the English population who sympathized with the American cause. During the later stages of the war, however, English hostility towards Scottish involvement in the war began to diminish. This was partly due to a change in English perceptions of the Scots and their politics. Gordon did much to challenge the popular view of Scots as anti-American when he spoke of his alarm 'to see with what eagerness and joy the Papists were willing to add their mite in support of an unhappy civil war against the Protestants in America'.²⁵ Mostly, however, it was due to a dramatic change in how the British people saw the war itself.

Until (and arguably beyond) 1776, the war could be framed as a civil war fought between Britons on two sides of the Atlantic Ocean. The Americans, it was frequently argued, were merely fighting for the same rights enjoyed by their fellow subjects in Britain. They remained Britons themselves, and the war was a tragic civil war. Those who

²⁵ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, November 22nd 1779, Issue 3279.

supported North's ministry and the war could therefore be attacked in the press as tyrannical and cruel enemies to British liberty, those who 'endeavour to destroy our oppressed friends and brethren, the great and faithful supporters of our national strength, wealth and glory', as one newspaper put it.²⁶ In the months and years following the Declaration of Independence, however, commentators became less keen to employ the civil war metaphor. The Americans had rejected Britishness in favour of their own independent identity, leaving their English supporters uncertain of how strong the connection between the two peoples truly was.

Prior to 1776, English newspapers commonly carried lists of toasts in support of the Americans drunk at public meetings (many of which simultaneously attacked the Scots for bringing about the war).²⁷ Following the Declaration of Independence, pro-American toasts became far more muted. They spoke in vaguer terms of Revolution Principles, wicked counsellors and peace with America, and most no longer included insults and invectives against the Scots.²⁸ At the same time, a greater number of anti-American toasts began to appear in newspapers, often celebrating British victories over the Americans, sometimes accompanied by the burning of leading Americans in effigy.²⁹ Some newspapers also reported that a great number of merchants were beginning to toast 'a continuance of the American War' in order to protect their trade interests.³⁰ Scottish toasts against America, meanwhile, began to be published as serious news items rather than propaganda designed to inflame anti-Scottish sentiment amongst English supporters of America. In 1775, the *Kentish Gazette* had published a series of (undoubtedly inauthentic) 'anti-American toasts' in order to attack the Scots as supporters of coercion. Alongside condemnations of the

²⁶ *London Evening Post*, December 30th 1775 – January 2nd 1776, Issue 8391.

²⁷ See for example *London Evening Post*, January 28th-31st 1775, Issue 8245; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, July 28th 1775, issue 14,485; *Hampshire Chronicle*, Monday January 15th 1776, vol.IV, no.178. For the significance of toasting as a means of political expression in the eighteenth century see Martyn J. Powell, 'Political toasting in eighteenth-century Ireland', *History*, vol.91, issue 304 (2006), p.509; Martyn J. Powell, *The politics of consumption in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp.17-28.

²⁸ See for example *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, December 14th 1776, issue 14,919; *London Evening Post*, November 12th-14th 1776, issue 8,527; *London Evening Post*, December 31st 1776 - January 2nd 1777, issue 8548.

²⁹ See for example *Public Advertiser*, October 23rd 1776, issue 13,112; *Lloyd's Evening Post*, November 15th-18th 1776, issue 3,026; *London Chronicle*, January 11th-14th 1777, Issue 3,137; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, January 15th 1777, issue 2,389; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, January 24th 1777, issue 2397.

³⁰ *Northampton Mercury*, 10th November 1777, vol.58, issue 35.

colonists, the toasts included ‘Popery and slavery, and arbitrary power’, ‘the Earl of Bute, Lord North, and Lord Mansfield, the three great pillars of prerogative!’, ‘Down with the Whigs, up with the Jacobites!’, and ‘Scotch Law, Scotch Lawyers, and Scotch Politics for ever!’³¹ Contrastingly, The *Public Advertiser* in October 1776 reported that an assembly of Dalkeith farmers toasted ‘May the English Howes (Hoes) root out the American Weeds’, with no suggestion of propaganda, satire or ulterior motive.³² Such toasting at this point in the war was regarded as patriotic rather than despotic.

Historians have consequently identified the late 1770s as a turning point in British public opinion concerning the war. Although support for the Americans had been far from universal during the mid-1770s, it was certainly not uncommon. By 1778, however, this widespread vocal sympathy diminished significantly. Where a great number of English people had once identified with an imperial English identity strongly influenced by the British Empire in the Atlantic, they now became more insular. Many began to view Britishness as something consigned to the people within the British Isles themselves rather than those scattered across the Empire, whilst others sought to reimagine Britain’s place within Europe rather than the Atlantic.³³ Whatever the case, many English people no longer felt bound together with the Americans as they had at the beginning of the decade. By far the greatest blow struck to the American cause in Britain came from the Franco-American alliance of 1778. America’s alliance with France, Britain’s greatest enemy and imperial rival, dispelled many people’s notions of the war as an American struggle for the rights and liberties of Britons; how could the Americans possibly claim to be fighting for British liberty whilst allying themselves with the embodiment of Catholic despotism? When Spain and then the Netherlands followed the French into the war against Britain, the conflict could no longer be feasibly viewed as a civil war between Britons. Instead, as Stephen Conway argues, the British people increasingly began to view the Americans as an enemy in an imperial struggle against their traditional European rivals.³⁴

So what did this mean for the Scots? Firstly, the perception of widespread Scottish support for the war became a far weaker tool in the arsenal of radicals and American sympathizers. In supporting the war, the Scots were no longer necessarily subjugating

³¹ *Kentish Gazette*, Saturday January 14th 1775, no.692.

³² *Public Advertiser*, October 26th 1776, issue 13,115.

³³ Colley, *Britons*, pp.143-145; Eliga H. Gould, ‘American Independence and Britain’s Counter Revolution’, *Past & Present*, No.154 (February, 1997), pp.107-141.

³⁴ Conway, ‘From Fellow Nationals to Foreigners’, p.68.

Britons in America, but instead fighting against the extension of the despotic empires of Europe. Scottish military officers who won great victories for the British army fighting in Europe could be celebrated as British heroes. James Murray, the Scottish general who successfully defended Minorca against the French and Spanish in 1781, was praised in song as

The prop of BRITAIN'S sinking name,
The bulwark of her falling fame,
Who mad'st thy Country's good thy noblest, only aim.³⁵

The emergence of a new heroic image of Scotland can be seen in a print from 1779 entitled *The Present State of Great Britain* (figure 8.4). In very much the same style as its contemporaries attacking Catholic relief, the print features a gruff Highland soldier fighting off the allied powers of France, America and the Netherlands. The Highlander struggles to maintain his grip on the cap of liberty, whilst a sleeping John Bull provides no support.³⁶ The image contrasts heavily with prints from outbreak of the war. In prints such as *Bunkers Hill* and *America in flames*, America is depicted as a helpless female subjugated and abused at the behest of a tyrannical Scot, the Earl of Bute.³⁷ Now, the plucky Highland soldier fights off a male America who, like France and the Netherlands, seeks only to deprive Britain of its liberty. The change in America's gender from female to male signifies that America is no longer in need of protection against the abusive and overbearing masculine power of Scotland, and has instead become one of Britain's external enemies.

³⁵ *Ode on the Taking of Minorca. Addressed to the Honourable James Murray* (London, 1782), p.7; Conway, *The British Isles*, p.181.

³⁶ *The Present State of Great Britain* (1779), BM Satires 5579.

³⁷ *Bunkers Hill, or the Blessed Effects of Family Quarrels* (1775), BM Satires 5289; *America in Flames* (1775), BM Satires 5282.



Figure 8.4 *The Present State of Great Britain* (1779), BM Satires 5579

Some of the prints produced by the Protestant Association during their campaign against Catholic relief also presented the Scots as Britain’s imperial defenders. The theme of empire and imperial threat within *The Times*, for instance, makes it stand out from its contemporaries *Sawney’s Defence* and *Ecclesiastical and political state of the nation*. The Pope’s fearsome Catholic regime in England is bolstered by the King of France, the King of Spain and the Habsburg emperor who are seated around the Pope’s throne clutching imperial symbols. As Dana Rabin notes, supporters of repeal held the imperial implications of Catholic relief at the forefront of their concerns. It was not enough that Britain should have its empire; its defining features of Protestant liberty must be fiercely protected in order to distinguish it from the European empires of tyranny.³⁸ These fears and desires were nothing new – as chapter five demonstrated, English fervour for a truly Protestant empire became readily apparent in the furore over the Quebec Act. The role of Scots in relation to the Protestant British Empire, however, has changed. Whilst prints and papers in 1774 accused Scots of masterminding the Quebec Act in order to subvert British

³⁸ Dana Rabin, ‘Imperial disruptions: city, nation and empire in the Gordon riots’, in Haywood and Seed, *The Gordon Riots*, pp.93-114.

liberties across the empire, *The Times* in 1780 shows them as Britain's last remaining defence against the despotic Catholic empires of Europe.

Scottish military service in defence of the British Empire also became far more visible in the late 1770s. France, Spain and the Netherland's entry into the war dramatically transformed the geographical scope of the conflict. The army now required not only a greater number of soldiers to fight in North America, the Mediterranean and India, but also regiments to guard Britain and Ireland against a possible French invasion.³⁹ The ministry consequently looked to Scotland in search of new troops. The impact of Scottish military service on Anglo-Scottish social relations during the War of American Independence has been well documented by Stephen Conway. Whilst some people initially resented the Scots for their new, heightened role within the British army (many decried the proportion of Scottish to English officers as evidence of favouritism), Conway argues that military service fostered a sense of Britishness amongst soldiers, sailors and local militias. Many regiments consisted of troops drawn from across Britain and Ireland, providing soldiers with the opportunity to make new friendships with those whom they previously had little experience, and encouraging a spirit of British camaraderie with all united against the European imperial menace. Even those regiments whose recruits were drawn from specific regions would still camp and train in close proximity to their more diverse counterparts. The same was true of local militias, who were often brought together to train and drill.⁴⁰

The raising of Highland regiments certainly helped to rehabilitate the general image of the Highland soldier. No longer a Jacobite rebel, the Highland soldier had become a loyal servant of the House of Hanover fighting for the British Empire against Britain's imperial rivals.⁴¹ We should be cautious, however, about viewing service in the war as a watershed moment in the Highland Scot's public image. Firstly, the War of American Independence was not the first time in recent memory that the British army raised Highland regiments to fight for the Empire. Ten Highland regiments were raised between 1756 and 1763 during the Seven Years' War, seven of which saw action in either Europe or North America. Ten Highland regiments were also raised during the War of Independence, but this figure includes two small bands of volunteers drawn from local

³⁹ Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.16-17.

⁴⁰ Conway, *The British Isles*, pp.179, 186-192.

⁴¹ Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*, pp.157-59; Conway, *The British Isles*, p.181; Conway, 'War and National Identity', p.875.

loyalists which were soon either disbanded or amalgamated into other regiments.⁴² Despite their visible presence in the British army during the Seven Years' War, the Highland Scots' military service did little to combat the Wilkite Scotophobia which erupted in the 1760s. Upon their return to London in 1762, two Highland officers who served in the West Indies during the Seven Years' War were mobbed by a crowd of angry London theatre-goers who pelted them with apples and cried 'No Scots! No Scots!'⁴³ Neither did Scottish military service in the Seven Years' War help to combat the charges of Jacobitism and disloyalty hurled against Scots in newspapers, pamphlets and satirical prints as discussed in chapter two.

Secondly, whilst military service helped to foster a sense of Britishness amongst those who served, the raising of Highland regiments often highlighted the very un-British characteristics of the Highlands themselves. Andrew Mackillop argues that the disproportionately large number of Highland Scots as compared to lowland Scottish or English soldiers deployed in America during the War of Independence was both indicative of the region's poverty, and a reminder to the government of the Highlands' failure to contribute to the commercial enterprises of Britishness during peacetime. Whilst the Highlanders may have fought for Britain against France and Spain, the region's poor agriculture and lack of commerce, production and trade served as a reminder that social systems on par with those commonly associated with these very nations existed within Britain itself:

In a conflict dominated by the rhetoric and ideology of liberty and property – a very 'English' war in many respects – it was easy to see the alien characteristics of commercial underdevelopment, poverty and arbitrariness underpinning disproportionate Highland recruitment. By such means, Highland soldiers could be easily portrayed, not as Britons, but as foreigners.⁴⁴

This image of the Highlands was reinforced during the 1770s and 1780s by a new surge of Scottish travel writing, and an English tourist invasion of the Highlands during the late eighteenth century, guided by a longing for 'noble primitivism, sublime landscapes and

⁴² Matthew P. Dziennik, 'The Fatal Land: War, Empire and the Highland Soldier in British America, 1756-1783' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2011), pp.366-370.

⁴³ *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763*, edited by Frederick A. Pottle (London: Yale University Press, 2004), p.71.

⁴⁴ Mackillop, *More Fruitful than the Soil*, p.221.

heightened feeling'.⁴⁵ Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, and responses to it by writers such as Mary Ann Hanway emphasized the Highlands' strangeness and separateness. Though each wrote in varying degrees of the Highland Scots' positive attributes such as hospitality, their accounts still emphasize the poverty of the Highlands and their inferiority of civilization when compared to England.⁴⁶

The debate over the legalization of Highland clothing in 1782 likewise revealed lingering English fears of Scottish sexuality. Banned in Scotland after the 1745 Jacobite uprising, tartan plaid and other Highland clothing had become synonymous with the Highland regiments, the only form in which it remained legal. In response to Scottish military service during the War of Independence, the Marquis of Graham put forward a bill to repeal the ban.⁴⁷ Most MPs had little objection, except for one: Sir Philip Jennings-Clerke. Sir Philip's opposition stemmed from deep concerns about the impact of Highland clothing on English ladies. Speaking to the House, he related the story of a Hampshire innkeeper who on one occasion catered for a number of Highland officers:

He remembered that there were six highlanders once quartered in a house in Hampshire, who were really as well-behaved soldiers as any he had seen, but still the singularity of their dress had put the man of the house to very great inconvenience; for finding that his wife and daughter could not keep their eyes off the Highlanders, he was obliged to take a lodging for them both.⁴⁸

Sir Philip's anxieties over the Highlanders' sexual allure echoed attacks on Bute and primal Scottish sexuality during the 1760s. They also reveal continuing English male insecurities regarding English women, who it was believed were more susceptible to degenerate into savagery than English men.⁴⁹ Although his comments were mocked in a print entitled *Hampshire Story* (figure 8.5), they still received a wide circulation in the press.⁵⁰ Many newspapers carried a rather different wording of the quote which

⁴⁵ John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland and Literature, 1720-1820* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp.65-66.

⁴⁶ Glendening, *The High Road*, pp.90-91, 99; Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (Dublin, 1775); Mary Ann Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* (London, 1776), p.162.

⁴⁷ Conway, *The British Isles*, p.181.

⁴⁸ *Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England, Volume 23, from the tenth of May 1782, to the first of December 1783* (London, 1814), p.115.

⁴⁹ Wilson, *The Island Race*, p.6.

⁵⁰ *Sir P.J.C. Esq. Hampshire Story* (1782), BM Satires 6016.

exaggerated the explicit dangers posed by Scottish Highlanders rather than the seductive allures of bekilted Scotsmen to English women. In this version, Sir Philip expressed concern that ‘the Highlanders might, by law, come in their country dress into England, where they might attack the wives and daughters of Englishmen’.⁵¹ The association of the Scottish Highlands with sexuality and violence remained firmly embedded in the minds of many.

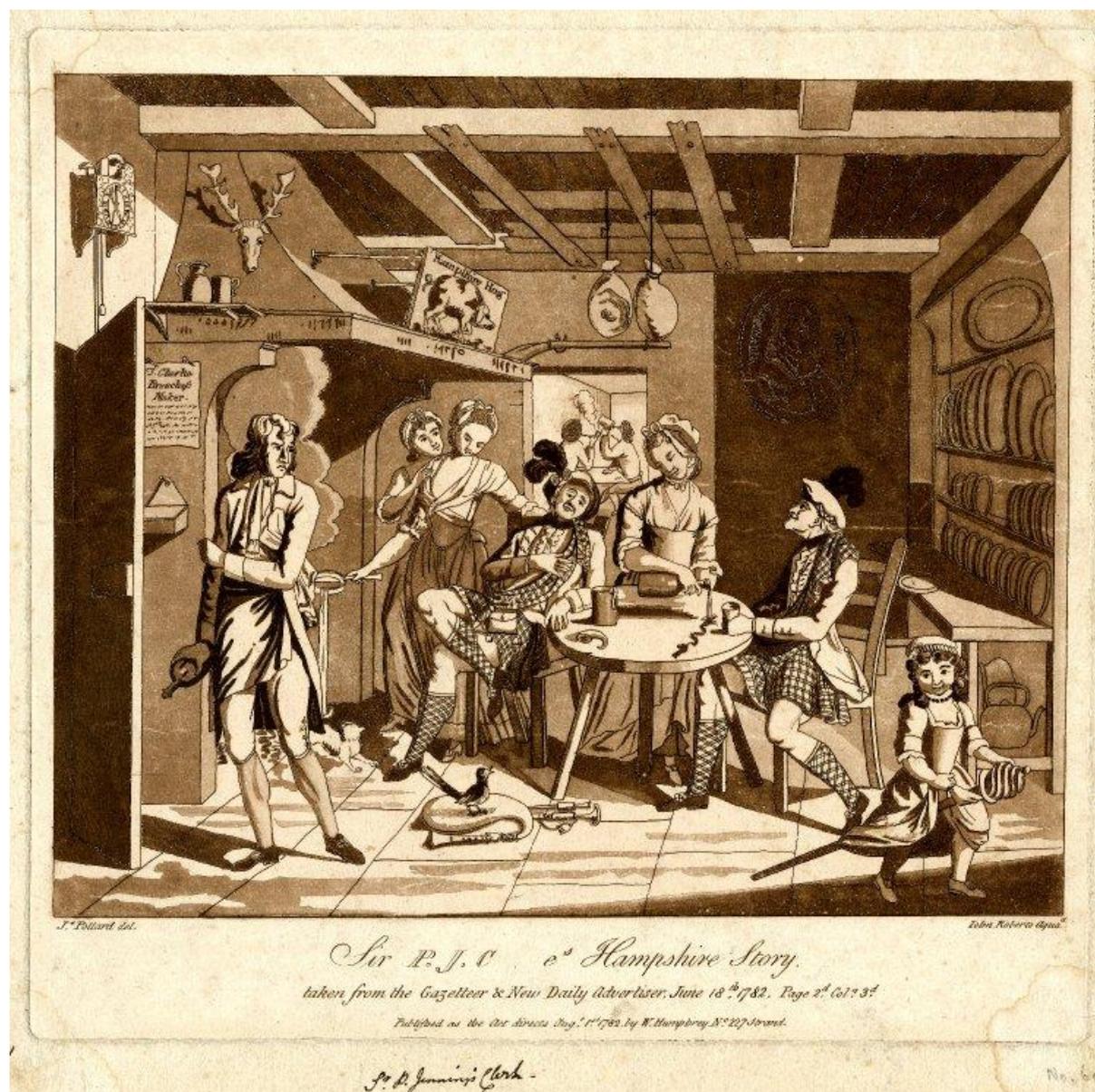


Figure 8.5 *Sir P.J.C. Esq. Hampshire Story* (1782), BM Satires 6016

For other English commentators, however, the wild violence of the Highlands was not necessarily something to be feared. A few months after the bill repealing the ban on Highland clothing had passed, a letter in the *Morning Herald* spoke out in support of a

⁵¹ *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, June 21st 1782, issue 513.

Scottish militia. The author made no attempt to deny the barbarism and danger of the Highlanders, but spoke of them instead as a useful tool for the British army. ‘There is nothing to be feared from the savage ferocity of the Highlanders,’ the writer claimed, ‘. . . provided the officers who command them are approved by them’. As the Highlanders were a ‘savage and simple’ people, the author believed that they would follow their leaders’ commands without question, and could be usefully employed in the army. Their savagery, in short, could not be cured, but it could be tamed.⁵²

8.3 Continuing Scotophobia

The Highlanders’ military service, therefore, competed heavily with an enduring image of backwardness, wildness and incivility which threatened to keep the region and its people as peripheral in the English imagination as they had been for much of the eighteenth century. But what of the Highland Scots’ lowland neighbours and the Scottish nation at large? Although united together against both Catholic relief and European imperial foes, Anglo-Scottish animosity was far from eradicated in the late 1770s. Indeed, much of the typical Wilkite Scotophobia found in newspapers throughout the 1760s and 1770s endured beyond the campaigns of the Protestant Association and the entry of France and Spain into the war. The remainder of this chapter examines the continuing presence of anti-Scottish sentiment in England into the early 1780s, and discusses its similarities and differences with English Scotophobia in the preceding decades.

One of the starkest indicators of Wilkite Scotophobia’s endurance during these years is the continuing myth of Lord Bute’s secret influence. Frank O’Gorman has argued that popular fears of Bute’s influence declined during the 1770s, transferring instead to his former secretary Charles Jenkinson.⁵³ Yet the myth of Bute’s influence still persisted. Well into the 1780s, satirical prints showed Bute lurking in the shadows of government, or whispering into the ear of the king.⁵⁴ Jenkinson, meanwhile, was often described as ‘Lord

⁵² *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, October 14th 1782, issue 611.

⁵³ Frank O’Gorman, ‘The myth of Lord Bute’s secret influence’, in Schweizer, *Lord Bute*, pp.71, 80, n.109.

⁵⁴ See for example James Gillray, *Argus* (1780), BM Satires 5667; *Prerogatives Defeat or Liberties Triumph* (1780), BM Satires 5659; *The Junto, in a bowl dish* (1781), BM Satires 5831; *The Blessings of Peace* (1783), BM Satires 6212; *Back Stairs Statesman- in Consultation with M[ajest]y* (1784), BM Satires 6385; Thomas Rowlandson, *Secret Influence Directing the new P[ar]l[iamen]t* (1784), BM Satires 6587; *A Peep Below Stairs a Dream* (1784), BM Satires 6616; *The Critical Moment or the Last Effort to Save a Sinking Bark* (1785), BM Satires 6806.

Bute's deputy', 'the confidential Minister and the Runner of . . . Lord Bute', 'the immediate representative of Lord Bute' or other terms, all insinuating that he acted simply as Bute's puppet.⁵⁵ Towards the end of North's ministry, the *London Evening Post* reported that the Earl of Shelburne had rejected Jenkinson's proposal of an alliance, as 'it was shewing that the administration was, and would be governed by Lord Bute and his Secretary.'⁵⁶ Jenkinson was indeed reviled, but as a representation of Scottish secret influence rather than as a minister in his own right.

Tellingly, Bute continued to embody the Scottish internal threat to the British Empire. Whilst Scots were fighting against France and Spain abroad and campaigning against Catholic Relief at home, satirical prints such as *The Botching Taylor* (figure 8.6) showed Bute tearing the empire to pieces at the behest of the Pope and Bonnie Prince Charlie.⁵⁷ Similarly the 1781 print *The Junto in a Bowl Dish* ascribed Britain's imperial woes to Bute and Scottish influence in the government:

Alas, Old England, must you Fail
And for such Miscreants turn Tail
America Insults the Nation
And says a Fig for your Taxation.
France, Spain & Holland, Join the Cry
And Drive them to their Destiny,
While Scotland pleas'd at all their Deeds
Upon Old Englands Vitals Feeds.⁵⁸

The positive prints of Highland soldiers defending the British Empire against foreign Catholic powers must be viewed in the context of these more negative prints. Whilst some praised the Highland regiments for their service in the war against France and Spain, such visual homages were rare, and were vastly outnumbered by continued attacks on Bute and Scottish power.

⁵⁵ *London Courant and Westminster Chronicle*, February 11th 1780; *Hibernian Journal; or, Chronicle of Liberty*, March 5th 1781, issue 28; *London Courant Westminster Chronicle and Daily Advertiser*, December 10th 1781.

⁵⁶ *London Evening Post*, February 16th 1782, Issue 9337.

⁵⁷ *The Botching Taylor Cutting his Cloth to cover a Button* (1779), BM Satires 5573.

⁵⁸ *The Junto in a Bowl Dish*.



Figure 8.6 *The Botching Taylor Cutting his Cloth to cover a Button* (1779), BM Satires 5573

Fears of Scottish influence were supplemented by a continuing tendency amongst newspapers and other publications to ostracize Scots. The changing nature of the war and the bugbear of Catholic relief did not rapidly reform the anti-Scottish sentiment which had been deeply embedded in English newspaper culture for many years. Indeed, rather than transforming the image of the Scot, anti-Catholic rioting and military service actually reinforced one of the most prominent characteristics of the Scottish stereotype in England: Scots were dangerous.

The riots against Catholic relief in particular confirmed some English people's suspicions of Scottish extremism and violence. The day after the Protestant Association's march on parliament, the Duke of Richmond refused to believe that such raucous behaviour could ever have come from an English crowd. 'The mob itself was a Scotch

mob,' he told the House of Lords, 'raised by a Scotchman, with bagpipes playing before it'.⁵⁹ For other commentators, it was the influence of Scottish extremism which drove the English to violence. In Ireland, the *Hibernian Journal* lamented that England, once a land of tolerance and liberty, was now stained 'with Blood and Devastation' by the sway of 'Scotch Fanatics'.⁶⁰ A letter in the *Public Advertiser* expressed similar sentiments. Addressed to the Protestant Association itself, the letter chastised its English members for discarding the benign tolerance and civility which supposedly set the English apart:

We regarded the tumults at Edinburgh as the Marks of a barbarous people. These barbarians are now here, commanding us to follow in their Steps. . . For shame, my Fellow citizens! Shall Englishmen be duped by a Scotch rabble?⁶¹

Though the writer insisted that they despised the intolerance and bigotry of the Catholic religion, they argued that the violent, repressive response of the ordinary people at the behest of Scots was no better than Roman Catholic oppression. Both letters, along with the comments from the Duke of Richmond, show that many people still believed that the English and Scots possessed separate and contrasting temperaments. Whilst Englishness was viewed as tolerant and civilized, Scottishness was bigoted and violent. Outbreaks of violence and intolerance amongst English people must, they concluded, be due to the pervasive influence of Scots.

The Scots' violent reaction towards Catholic relief simply reinforced long-standing English images of Scottish extremism. In the past, this extremism took the entirely negative form of Jacobitism or Butean Toryism. By the 1780s, however, some viewed their extremism in a more positive light. Prints such as *Sawney's Defence* and *The Times* presented the Scots as ferociously idealistic and heroically uncompromising in the face of Popery. Yet commentaries on the Scots' stand against Catholic relief still carried echoes of the ominous nature of Scottish extremism. An Englishman writing from Edinburgh in 1779, for instance, was uneasy with the Scots' attitude towards religion. 'Of all the Protestants', he claimed, 'the Scotch Presbyterians . . . are the most rigid, and have the greatest aversion to Popery and Papists.' Their aversion to Popery, however, did not stem from a love of liberty as it did for the English, as their politics were so different. 'On that subject', he

⁵⁹ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, June 12th 1780, vol.45, no.2192; see also *Public Advertiser* June 5th 1780, Issue 14,245.

⁶⁰ *Hibernian Journal; or, Chronicle of Liberty*, June 28th 1780, no.77.

⁶¹ *Public Advertiser*, June 13th 1780, Issue 14252.

wrote, 'there seems to be but one mind in Scotland, submission to the higher powers'. Instead, the writer suggested that Scottish anti-Catholicism seemed to stem from irrationality and religious prejudice. Such an attitude placed the Scots at odds with the values of enlightened tolerance associated with English national identity. Confronted with a description of Scottish religious fervour, most contemporary readers would in fact have been reminded of the irrational intolerance typically associated with Catholicism. The writer's own comparison was with the Calvinistic Netherlands; roused by fears of Catholicism, 'they are as ungovernable as a Dutch mob, and almost as dangerous'.⁶² Clearly some English people viewed Scottish anti-Catholicism not as a mark of Scottish loyalty to Britain, but rather as proof of England and Scotland's irreconcilable differences.

Following the Scottish riots against Catholic relief, one English Catholic attempted to draw on the image of violent Scottish extremism to show that Catholics were better Britons than the Scots themselves. Writing in the *London Courant*, John Floddon attacked the 'zealous excesses of the Scotch' whilst simultaneously forging an image of patriotic Catholicism. British Catholics, he claimed, were lovers of liberty, loyal to the crown and dutiful servants of the empire. Rather than religion, it was nation which defined a people's temperaments, hence Magna Carta's birth in Catholic England and the oppressive regimes of Protestant nations such as Denmark and Prussia. Here, Floddon's argument rested on a lengthy comparison between English Catholics and Scottish Protestants. If the English and the Scots, he insisted, were determined to persecute every Catholic in the country, 'reasons equally strong might be produced for burning and plundering the house of every man in Scotland, nothing being laid to the account of Papists, that the Scotch are not guilty of in a tenfold degree'. Against accusations of Catholic persecution, he pointed to Scottish support for the continuance of the penal laws, whilst Catholic 'superstition' was countered with Scottish belief in 'second sight'.

The true loyalty of English Catholics, Floddon argued, was evidenced by their conduct during the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. Whilst English Catholics deftly supported the House of Brunswick, hypocritical Scottish Protestants swore allegiance to a tyrannical prince, demonstrating once and for all 'their love of slavery and turbulent dispositions.' Though innocent of any treason towards the Hanoverian monarchy, Floddon lamented how he and his fellow Catholics had borne the weight of British persecution, whilst these true

⁶² *London Courant and Westminster Chronicle*, February 5th 1781.

traitors to the crown went unpunished, and even now threatened to bring ruin upon the British Empire:

Were I to seek for the true, the dangerous enemies of our happy constitution, perhaps I might be tempted to fix the name upon the Scotch, who have surrounded your throne, dictated every stretch of prerogative, and by their perfidious counsel, brought Great Britain to the brink of destruction.⁶³

Floddon's assertive English Catholicism raises interesting questions regarding religion and national identity in eighteenth-century Britain. So often excluded as the internal 'Other' against which British identity could be forged, Floddon shows that some English Catholics sought to reconcile their religious identity with British patriotism.⁶⁴ Ultimately, however, the chauvinistic side of British Protestantism proved too difficult to overcome until the following century. Yet Floddon's attempt to supplant English fears of Catholicism with ingrained Scotophobia would doubtless have resonated with a significant proportion of the *London Courant's* readers, many of whom were still regularly consuming and producing Wilkite anti-Scottish rhetoric through prints and newspapers at the turn of the 1780s. At the very least, Floddon's invectives show just how easy it remained to convincingly present the Scots as Britain's enemy within.

Conclusion

English Scotophobia was an extremely difficult prejudice to dispel. Though the changing nature of the American war and the Scots' prominent role in the campaign against Catholic relief challenged many people's perceptions of Scots as outsiders and enemies, anti-Scottish sentiment reminiscent of John Wilkes and his followers continued to appear in newspapers and prints during the 1780s. The temptation, therefore, is to deny the effectiveness of military service and anti-Catholicism, and instead focus on continuity.

The arguments in favour of continued English Scotophobia do indeed carry a great deal of weight. Aside from the prevalence of anti-Butean rhetoric in the press and ongoing

⁶³ *London Courant and Westminster Chronicle*, December 15th 1779.

⁶⁴ For British identity and anti-Catholicism see Colley, *Britons*, pp.11-53; Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1740-1780: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p.253; Colin Haydon, "I love my King and my Country, but a Roman Catholic I hate": anti-catholicism, xenophobia and national identity in eighteenth-century England' in Claydon and McBride, *Protestantism and National Identity*, pp.33-52.

attacks on Scottish power and favouritism, there is a strong sense that the overall image of Scots in England changed very little at the end of American war. ‘Sawney’ remained the stereotypical Scot in the English imagination: a cunning, crude, wild Highlander who threatened to eat John Bull out of house and home. Cartoonists such as James Gillray and Richard Newton relied heavily on Sawney as their stock-image for Scottish characters during the 1780s and 1790s, furnishing him with the same qualities as their forerunners in the print trade had in the 1760s.⁶⁵ The debate over the legalization of Highland clothing in 1782 and the continuing opposition to a Scottish militia likewise showed ongoing English suspicions of Scottish loyalty even in light of the Scots’ military service. Yet it was Scottish extremism that proved their most enduring feature in the English imagination. Their steadfast refusal to accept Catholic relief fostered an image of Scots as resolutely unconquerable, as displayed in prints such as *Sawney’s Defence* and *The Times*. This unflinching firmness and power could either be praised or criticized. Though not entirely positive, there was now a certain level of ambiguity to this Scottish stereotype in England which had previously been almost entirely negative.

To focus solely on enduring Scottish stereotypes in England, however, would be to miss some important differences between the Wilkite Scotophobia of the 1760s and 1770s and the English attitude towards Scotland after 1780. The crucial difference lies in the power of Scotophobia as a political tool during these two eras. In the 1760s, John Wilkes was able to exploit English Scotophobia to rally crowds, repeal laws, win elections, and even force a Prime Minister from office. The London mob was truly on the side of the Wilkites throughout this period, and anti-Scottish sentiment became one of its definitive features during occasions such as the St George’s Fields’ Massacre and the Middlesex election dispute.

By the late 1770s, however, Scotophobia had lost much of its power. Though Wilkite political commentators still raged against Bute and Scottish influence in the press, their words were not supplemented by popular political action or crowd activity. Wilkes could no longer stir up a rage against the Scots. Instead, English crowds vented their discontent against another traditional enemy: Roman Catholics. In 1780 the London crowd’s new

⁶⁵ See for example James Gillray, *Sawney in the Bog-house* (1779), BM Satires 5539; James Gillray, *Wha Wants Me?* (1792), BM Satires 8103; *Sawney Scot and John Bull* (1792), BM Satires 8188; *Sawney Wetherbeaten or Judas Iscariot* (c.1792-93), BM Satires 4100; Richard Newton, *Progress of a Scotchman* (1794), BM Satires 8550; Richard Newton, *Poor Sawney in Sweetbriars* (1797), BM Satires undescribed.

leader was a Scot, Lord George Gordon, whilst Wilkes as Alderman of London and opponent of the rioters became firmly part of the establishment. Although Gordon lacked Wilkes' skill at successfully manipulating and directing the crowd, and ultimately lost all control during the Gordon Riots, the crowd still looked to him as a figurehead.⁶⁶ Gordon's loss of control over the mob should not overshadow the fact that the London crowd now looked to a Scot as the embodiment of their protest movement.

Although anti-Scottish sentiment remained prevalent in England during the 1780s and beyond, it was therefore no longer a powerful political tool. The reason for this is likely that Scotophobia no longer served a particularly useful purpose. In the early 1760s, anti-Scottish sentiment was the foundation for popular opposition towards Bute's ministry and its unpopular policies such as general warrants, the cider excise and the 1763 Treaty of Paris. From the mid-1760s to the late 1770s, meanwhile, dissatisfied Americans and their supporters in England turned on the Scots as a common enemy and as an explanation for their many transatlantic discontents. By the end of the 1770s, however, the Americans had severed all bonds of identity with Britain, and no longer required a Scottish bugbear to serve as a ministerial foe. Though English Scotophobia still echoed in the press, it did not result in any meaningful action in parliament or on the streets. Anti-Catholic agitation, in contrast, could both rouse a crowd and seriously sway politics at Westminster. With little or no useful purpose to be served through its employment, Wilkite Scotophobia in the press gradually ebbed away. Popular prejudices against the Scots remained intact, simmering below the surface and bubbling over in newspapers and prints, but as a powerful, hate-filled political tool, Scotophobia's day was done.

⁶⁶ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.78.

Conclusion

In the aftermath of the War of American Independence, the British Empire underwent a significant transformation. Over the next century its gaze turned increasingly eastwards, concentrating on India, the Middle East and Africa in addition to its remaining Atlantic territories. The ideology of this ‘Second British Empire’ was also very different from its eighteenth-century predecessor. As they began to govern large non-white populations without their consent, British visions of an empire defined by the idea of the ‘free-born Englishman’ gave way to ‘pride in the exercise of what was assumed to be a benevolent autocracy over non-European peoples’.¹

Scots continued to play a heavy role in this new eastern empire. Towards the end of the eighteenth century they occupied a far greater proportion of influential positions in the East India Company and colonial governorship than their English counterparts than one would expect given the comparative sizes of the Scottish and English populations.² A new arch-Scot also appeared to take the place of Bute as the figurehead of this Scottish Empire – Henry Dundas, right-hand man to William Pitt the Younger, and president of the Board of Control from 1793 which oversaw the running of the East India Company.³ Despite being extensively satirized in satirical prints, neither Dundas nor his fellow Scottish imperialists faced anything like the rampant Scotophobia experienced by their forbears in the 1760s and 1770s. Instead, other Britons arose as the internal enemies of liberty. Some saw slaveholders in the Caribbean as the new despots of the British Empire, and abolitionists often accused these planters of betraying British values of limited, paternalistic power in their attacks.⁴ Others looked to the the colonial governors in India and the administrators of the East India Company. The immense power and influence of these great ‘Nabobs’, their critics argued, was proof that the British Empire had been tainted by the exotic despotism of the East.⁵ The Scots no longer occupied this role at the end of the eighteenth century because English Scotophobia during the preceding years was

¹ P. J. Marshall, ‘Britain Without America – a Second Empire?’ in Marshall, *Oxford History of the British Empire*, p.576.

² Devine, *Scotland’s Empire*, pp.250-252.

³ *Ibid.*, p.261-62.

⁴ Christer Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica: Colonial Society and Culture During the Era of Abolition* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), pp.152-153.

⁵ Tillman W. Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.92.

intrinsically connected to the imperial crisis which was to culminate in the American Revolution – a crisis which had now run its course.

This thesis has demonstrated that at the heart of vehement English and American Scotophobia in the 1760s and 1770s lay fears and insecurities about the changing nature of the British Empire. As the British government in London made attempts to centralize control over the empire and in the process rescind many of the traditional freedoms the Americans had enjoyed, opponents of this change sought an explanation. Many saw these changes as fundamentally ‘un-English’, inasmuch as they identified Englishness with the liberties secured by the Glorious Revolution of 1688. In order to explain the attack on these liberties, English and American commentators turned to a group of people within Britain who they viewed as the traditional enemies to the legacy of the Glorious Revolution – a people who had risen on a number of occasions in the first half of the century to oust the Hanoverian monarchy and restore the Stuarts to the British throne: the Scots.

Scapegoating the Scots for government policy, however, was only effective because radical writers could point to evidence which seemed to support the existence of an ongoing Scottish plot against English liberty. The accession of the Earl of Bute, the royal favourite, as Prime Minister in 1762 and his battle with John Wilkes became an allegory for the exertion of despotic Scottish power over the free-born Englishman. His ministry’s use of general warrants and their excise tax on cider strengthened English fears of Scottish tyranny, whilst press attacks on the 1763 Treaty of Paris convinced many that this tyranny was intended for Britons across the Empire and not just those at home. Once the British government began to implement plans to tax the American colonists without their consent, beginning with the Stamp Act in 1765, the Americans too embraced the Wilkite Scotophobia which had become so common on the other side of the Atlantic. As their admiration for Wilkes and his politics grew ever stronger towards the end of the 1760s, the colonists consumed an increasing amount of Wilkite literature and prints, further cementing belief in a Scottish plot to destroy the empire of liberty.

These fears reached their zenith in the mid-1770s when the imperial crisis in North America manifested into outright war. The government’s final attempts to grant themselves legislative control over the American colonies with the Intolerable Acts of 1774 were met with a furious response from the opposition press in England, who claimed that the acts were the work of a sinister Scotch Junto led by the Earl of Bute. When war broke out in 1775, the Americans and their supporters in England reassured one another of the justness of their cause and the injustice of the British government’s by portraying coercion as a

Scottish policy. In reality public opinion in Britain was far more divided than American newspapers suggested, but for the purposes of propaganda associating coercion with Scotland was an extremely useful tactic. The war, the American and English radical press maintained, was orchestrated by Scottish politicians, fought by barbaric Scottish Highland soldiers and supported only in Britain by the Scots. Such rhetoric reassured the American patriots that they enjoyed the support of the English public, and helped to transform the popular image of the conflict away from a civil war fought between fellow-countrymen and into a 'Scotch war' fought against a traditional, barbaric Scottish enemy.

This is not to say that anti-Scottish sentiment in either England or America was motivated entirely by imperial concerns. A host of political and socio-economic factors contributed to popular feelings of antipathy towards Scots in various locations across Britain and America. A great many English people resented the Scots as savages who were flooding the capital, taking English jobs and draining the country of its resources. In America, too, the Scots were attacked for monopolizing trade, for their closed-off clannish culture, and in Virginia for their alliance with the runaway slaves of American Patriots. Throughout this period an undercurrent of xenophobic antipathy towards the Scots based on their 'Otherness' persisted, reinforcing the 'Sawney' stereotype of Scots as flea-ridden, barbarian outsiders utterly removed from supposedly civilized English and American society.

The imperial components of English and American Scotophobia, however, remain particularly noteworthy for revealing the strength of Anglo-American identity at the outbreak of the war. Many of those in England and America saw themselves as fellow-nationals who shared in an English identity which could stretch far beyond the shores of England itself. This identity was largely based on the idea of English liberty exemplified by the Glorious Revolution, a liberty which many people maintained was the birth-right of all Englishmen no matter where in the empire they may be based. At times the strength of this Anglo-American identity was on par with Britishness itself. Sometimes it even surpassed it. By explicitly excluding the Scots from the bonds of this fellowship, English and American commentators were casting themselves as the 'Atlantic English' – a national identity which could encompass people in far-off shores who appeared to share the same values of Protestant liberty whilst excluding those closer to home who, though officially declared fellow Britons, were not seen to embody these values.

The Declaration of Independence in 1776 forced many English and American people to rethink this Anglo-American identity. Most abandoned it altogether, turning

either to an insular Britishness or forging a new American identity, although strong transatlantic connections between Britain and America based on a shared culture, religion and trade survived the severing of the bonds of nationhood.⁶ Yet the many strong appeals to Anglo-American identity made in the years leading up to the American Revolution suggest that we should reconsider ‘Atlantic Englishness’ as one of the principal identities of the pre-Revolutionary British Atlantic World in addition to the ‘Atlantic Britishness’ hitherto discussed by historians.⁷ They likewise expand upon the idea of ‘Greater Britain’ as a unit of historical analysis during the eighteenth century as advocated by J. G. A Pocock.⁸ The strong transatlantic bonds of Anglo-American identity formed for some a virtual nation to which they felt a great allegiance, and one which they believed ought to be preserved.

Yet Atlantic Englishness, like Atlantic Britishness and, indeed, Britishness itself, was heavily dependent upon the context in which it was being invoked. ‘Identities’, Linda Colley has remarked, ‘are not like hats. Human beings can and do put on several at a time’.⁹ Atlantic Englishness was one hat which some put on in response to the imperial crisis of the mid-eighteenth century. Other crises brought different identities to the surface, but these did not eradicate Atlantic Englishness. Perceived threats of the French or Catholicism, for instance, could unite the English and the Scots as British Protestants. We see this process occurring in the Wilkite *Middlesex Journal*’s praise of the vehemently anti-Wilkite Scot George Johnstone and the Scottish governor Robert Melville for their respective stands against Catholicism discussed in chapter five. The *Journal*’s support for these two Scots on this occasion did not stop them from printing rampantly Scotophobic material in future editions. Likewise the Quebec Act of 1774 was attacked as a Scottish Catholic plot by some whilst prompting calls for British Protestant unity from others. The campaigns against Catholic relief towards the end of the 1770s undoubtedly fostered a greater and more far-reaching sense of British unity than opposition to the Quebec Act five years earlier. This is very likely because the bonds of Anglo-American identity had

⁶ Marshall, *Remaking the British Atlantic*, pp.281-282.

⁷ For British identity in the pre-Revolutionary British Atlantic world see Michael Zuckerman, ‘Identity in British America: Unease in Eden’, in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp.115-57; Greene, ‘Empire and Identity’, pp.208-230; Conway, ‘From Fellow-Nationals to Foreigners’, pp.65-100.

⁸ Pocock, ‘British History: A plea for a new subject’, pp.617-621; Pocock, ‘The New British History in Atlantic Perspective’, pp.490-500.

⁹ Colley, *Britons*, p.6.

become much weaker by this stage of the conflict, allowing a *British* opposition to Catholicism to occupy a more dominant position in the English national consciousness.

The boundaries of national identity in the eighteenth century were therefore constantly changing, a fact which raises interesting questions as to just how permeable these boundaries themselves were. To what extent, for instance, could an Atlantic English identity based around the idea of Protestant liberty and forged in the fires of Scotophobia also include Protestants in Ireland? The few extracts from the *Hibernian Journal* lambasting the Scots discussed in this thesis suggest that some in Ireland did indeed seek to identify with the American Patriots and English Wilkites, as do letters in English and American newspapers claiming that only the Scots and not the English or Irish supported coercion. Irish Scotophobia in the era of the American Revolution warrants further research and study in order to establish whether Irish Protestants identified with the idea of Atlantic English liberty, and the extent to which their English and American counterparts included them in their own vision of this identity.

Scotophobia provides a window onto English and American ideas of identity and empire in the late eighteenth century. In their attacks on Bute and the Scots, both American Patriots and their supporters in England were expressing their continued vision of a British ‘Empire of Liberty’ – an empire which was Anglo-centric in relation to its Anglo-Saxon people rather than a metropole. This Scotophobia was also truly transatlantic rather than simply English or American. United together against the perceived internal threat of Scottish imperial despotism, Americans and English radicals built a common anti-Scottish rhetoric in newspapers and a shared anti-Scottish symbolism in satirical prints heavily influenced by Wilkite writing and images from the early 1760s. This system of communication enabled an Anglo-American identity to persist in the wake of the imperial crisis of the 1770s, allowing both Americans and English radicals to cling to their identity as ‘Free-born Englishmen’ as the transformation of the British Empire threatened to erase this identity in favour of the ‘benevolent autocracy’ of the second British Empire.

Whilst the hate-filled Scotophobic rhetoric of the Wilkites declined in the 1780s, this is not to say that anti-Scottish sentiment entirely dissipated in England following the conclusion of the American war. The ‘Sawney Scot’ stereotype in particular persisted in late eighteenth-century satirical prints, and even survives in popular culture to this day in characters such as Groundskeeper Willie in *The Simpsons*. Like Groundskeeper Willie though, the principal purpose of Sawney in these later prints was to entertain rather than attack. Richard Newton’s *Progress of a Scotsman* was comical rather than venomous,

whilst the 1792 print *Sawney Scot and John Bull* (figure 9.1) mocked both Scots and the vulgarity of the English Wilkite Scotophobes themselves.¹⁰ Yet even this comical English mockery of Scots had (and indeed continues to have) a powerful impact on Anglo-Scottish social relations. As Murray Pittock has argued, popular culture in England all too often attempts to assert an identity upon Scots and other Celtic peoples as a means of maintaining English dominance within the United Kingdom.¹¹ Whilst they may appear relatively harmless on the surface, it is important to remember that the cartoons of Newton, Gillray and many others represent a latent English attitude which was still not entirely accepting of Scots as true British equals.

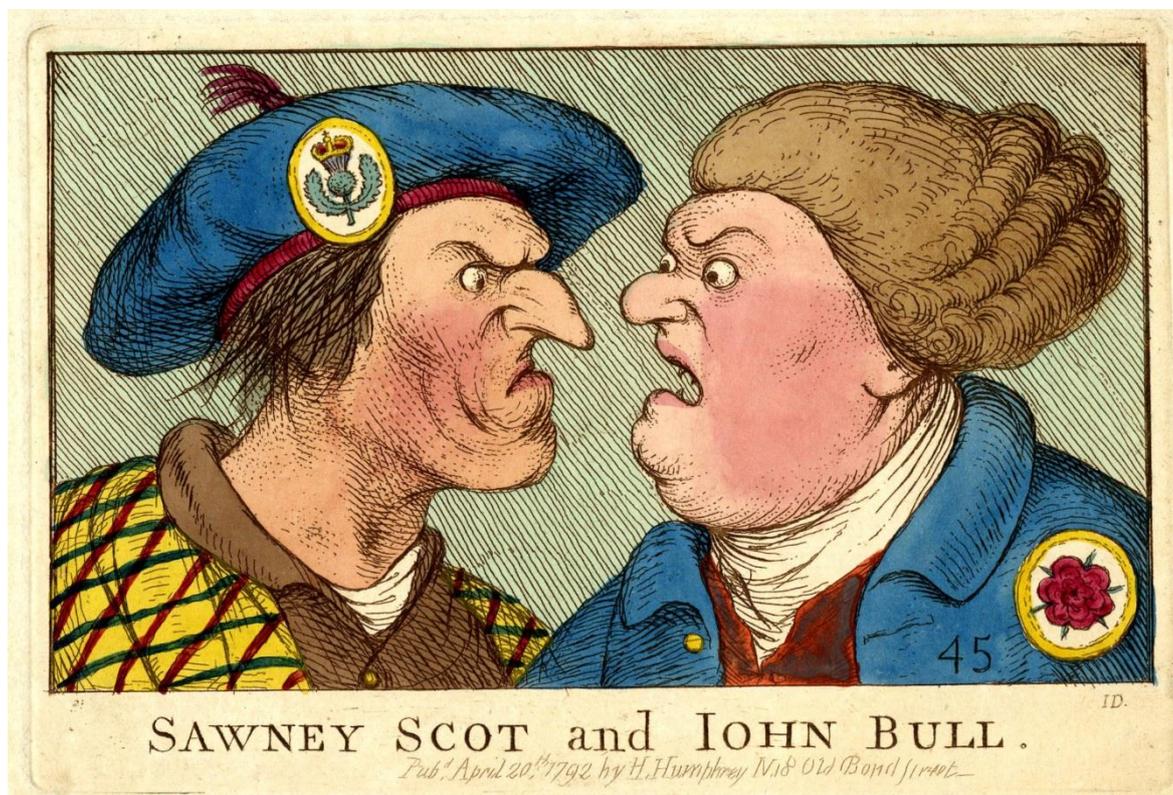


Figure 9.1 *Sawney Scot and John Bull* (London: Hannah Humphreys, 1792), BM Satires 8188

¹⁰ Newton, *Progress of a Scotsman; Sawney Scot and John Bull* (London: Hannah Humphreys, 1792), BM Satires 8188.

¹¹ Pittock, *Celtic Identity*, pp.2-3, 20-34, 45-60.

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