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Abstract
Tobias Smollett's last novel, The Expedition of Humphry Clinker, articulates a deeply felt and acerbic indictment of British society. From the cesspools of Bath to the superficiality of London to the poverty of Scotland, Matthew Bramble and his family discover, in their travels, a nation suffering from the corrosive effects of institutional and systemic corruption. Even the country squirearchy, as represented by the Burdocks, the Bayards, and Lord Oxmington, spectacularly fails to provide the kind of hospitality and serenity so prized by traditionalists like Bramble. Given the parlous state of the kingdom, the sensible and sensitive Briton can only disengage and retreat ... but not too far. While condemning widespread anarchy and degeneracy in Britain, Humphry Clinker emphatically rejects a solution embraced by many disappointed or marginalized citizens: it abjures escape to the place where Moll Flanders and Jemy can "live as new People in a new World," where Clarissa might hide her scandalous elopement until "all is blown over," and where Henry Esmond finds serenity "far from Europe and its troubles, on the beautiful banks of the Potomac."1 For Smollett, writing in 1771 during an alarming exodus from Scotland to the colonies, America represents a double danger: it siphons off manpower that could otherwise help build a strong post-Union Scotland, and it distributes wealth in the home country in a destructively egalitarian way. In Humphry Clinker, Smollett joins the argument against emigration by showing how colonial adventuring has damaged the social and political health of the mother nation and by depicting life in America as dangerously savage.

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Tobias Smollett's last novel, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, articulates a deeply felt and acerbic indictment of British society. From the cesspools of Bath to the superficiality of London to the poverty of Scotland, Matthew Bramble and his family discover, in their travels, a nation suffering from the corrosive effects of institutional and systemic corruption. Even the country squirearchy, as represented by the Burdocks, the Bayards, and Lord Oxmington, spectacularly fails to provide the kind of hospitality and serenity so prized by traditionalists like Bramble. Given the parlous state of the kingdom, the sensible and sensitive Briton can only disengage and retreat ... but not too far. While condemning widespread anarchy and degeneracy in Britain, *Humphry Clinker* emphatically rejects a solution embraced by many disappointed or marginalized citizens: it abjures escape to the place where Moll Flanders and Jemy can "live as new People in a new World," where Clarissa might hide her scandalous elopement until "all is blown over," and where Henry Esmond finds serenity "far from Europe and its troubles, on the beautiful banks of the Potomac."[1] For

1 Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, ed. David Blewett (1722; London: Penguin, 1989), 383; Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa*, ed. Angus Ross (1747–48; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), 1256; William Makepeace Thackeray, *The History of Henry Esmond*, ed. John Sutherland and Michael Greenfield (1852; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 513. Critics have pointed out the extent

Smollett, writing in 1771 during an alarming exodus from Scotland to the colonies, America represents a double danger: it siphons off manpower that could otherwise help build a strong post-Union Scotland, and it distributes wealth in the home country in a destructively egalitarian way. In *Humphry Clinker*, Smollett joins the argument against emigration by showing how colonial adventuring has damaged the social and political health of the mother nation and by depicting life in America as dangerously savage.

Lismahago, during his debate with Bramble about the 1706 Union, asserts that England gained more than Scotland because Scotland provided a most valuable resource, an army of imperial workers:

> they got an accession of above a million of useful subjects, constituting a never-failing nursery of seamen, soldiers, labourers and mechanics; a most valuable acquisition to a trading country, exposed to foreign wars, and obliged to maintain a number of settlements in all the four quarters of the globe. In the course of seven years, during the last war, Scotland furnished the English army and navy with seventy thousand men, over and above those who migrated to their colonies, or mingled with them at home in the civil departments of life.[2]

For once, Lismahago does not exaggerate. While early attempts at establishing Scottish settlements in America failed, the "turning point in Scottish emigration was the Seven Years' War," according to Ned C. Landsman, "which attracted large numbers of Scottish soldiers after mid-century ... . Perhaps 40,000 Scots ventured to America during the next dozen years."[3] This enormous outflow created a problem of

to which Smollett participates in the eighteenth-century topos of revulsion and retreat: Byron Glassman points out that Smollett, "alarmed at the threat to established modes and institutions ... foresees social chaos and political anarchy if England continues its reckless course," and John Sekora adds, "When national values have been twisted, personal choices alone remain, and these cannot represent the ideal but merely the inevitable. Hence *Humphry Clinker* ends, for Bramble and Lismahago, with retreat and self-exile in Monmouthshire." Glassman, "Religious Attitudes in the World of *Humphry Clinker*," *Brigham Young University Studies* 6 (1965): 65; Sekora, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 238. Maurice Lévy argues that Bramble (and Smollett) opt out of history: "Ce qu'il [Bramble] découvre, c'est le changement qu'impose aux hommes, aux mœurs et aux choses le cours inexorable de l'histoire. Mais Bramble, comme son géniteur, déteste le changement et l'histoire." Lévy, "*Humphry Clinker*," *Roman et Société en Angleterre au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978), 129. Paul Theroux's protagonist Allie Fox, whose words are quoted in the current article's title, removes his family further and further away from the corrupt civilization of twentieth-century America, only to descend into madness. Theroux, *The Mosquito Coast* (London: Penguin, 1982), 11.

2 Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, ed. Angus Ross (1771; London: Penguin, 1967), 317. References are to this edition.

3 Ned C. Landsman, "Immigration and Settlement," in *Scotland and the Americas, 1600–1800*, intro. Michael Fry (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1995), 16. Linda Colley also

depopulation that contemporary witnesses deplored. Samuel Johnson and James Boswell, travelling in Scotland in 1773, repeatedly encounter signs of escalating emigration, including a dance called "*America*. Each of the couples ... successively whirls round in a circle, till all are in motion; and the dance seems intended to shew how emigration catches, till a whole neighbourhood is set afloat." Johnson laments that "all that go may be considered as subjects lost to the *British* crown; for a nation scattered in the boundless regions of *America* resembles rays diverging from a focus."[4] Like Johnson, who finds that "oppression might produce a wish for new habitations," Smollett ascribes this massive exodus at least in part to English punitive policies in the wake of the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745, policies which de-cultured Highlanders by disarming them and depriving them "of their ancient garb ... the government could not have taken a more effectual method to break their national spirit" (277).[5] Unlike Johnson, who fears that "nobody born in any other parts of the world will choose this country for his residence,"[6] Smollett believes that proper economic incentives can indeed repopulate the Highlands: "Our people have a

estimates that 40,000 Scots, as well as 55,000 Protestant Irish and 30,000 English and Welsh, went to America between 1760 and 1776. Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600–1850* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002), 200. Alan Taylor calculates that "Scots emigration soared to 145,000 between 1707 and 1775," outnumbering by far English emigrants to the colonies. Taylor, *American Colonies* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2001), 294, 316. For a detailed analysis of numbers, distribution, and motivations of emigrants, see David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607–1785* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994). Dobson says that "By the early 1770s the British government was becoming so concerned by the level of emigration from the Highlands that it at times discouraged or hindered it" (155). Peter N. Miller points out that eighteenth-century writers such as James Abercromby and Thomas Pownall went so far as to question the legality of emigration. Miller, *Defining the Common Good: Empire, Religion and Philosophy in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 197, 205.

4 *Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D*, ed. R.W. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 346, 119. Taylor refers to the alarm of "imperial officials" during the 1770s: "elite observers ... saw no profit to the mother country in the loss of British labourers and tenants into the woods of America" (441).

5 Samuel Johnson, *Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 85. See Dobson, 154: "The Highlanders, clearly wishing to maintain their traditional culture and society, preferred to emigrate to the New World rather than be assimilated into the culture and society of Lowland Scotland." Elaine Jordan cites a correspondent in *The Military Register* who characterizes Scottish emigrants as "*all old soldiers* ... obliged to contemplate transporting themselves into a new and precarious existence in the woods and wilds of North America." Jordan, "The Management of Scott's Novels," in *Europe and Its Others: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature, July 1984*, 2 vols., ed. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen, and Diana Loxley (Colchester: University of Essex, 1985), 2:149.

6 Johnson, *Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 87.

strange itch to colonize America, when the uncultivated parts of our own island might be settled to great advantage" (294). Bramble eagerly praises the superior quality of Scottish produce and the beauty of Scottish women (260–61) and compares Scottish systems of justice, education, and social welfare favourably with those in England. This list of advantages, Smollett seems to argue, should convince Scots not to abandon their home for uncertain futures and dangerous confrontations in the colonies.

To a large extent, then, *Humphry Clinker* participates in a polemical dialogue about the American colonies as refuge and opportunity. As Michael Zuckerman points out, promotional literature extolling America competed with negative images of the colonies: "chiaroscuro constructions, damning European darkness and blazoning American brilliance, were responses to equal but opposite condemnations of the new continent."[7] *Humphry Clinker* joins the voices attempting to stanch the flow of useful manpower from Scotland to America, and, like other texts that Bruce McLeod labels "anti-empire," "negotiates the impact of having an empire, especially when consumer culture kicks in and social divisions appear to wobble precariously."[8]

Matthew Bramble, in one of his many diatribes against the new social (dis)order, connects the collapse of traditional hierarchies with the agents of Empire:

> All these absurdities arise from the general tide of luxury, which hath overspread the nation, and swept away all, even the very dregs of the people. Every upstart of fortune, harnessed in the trappings of the mode, presents himself at Bath ... . Clerks and factors from the East Indies, loaded with the spoil of plundered provinces; planters, negro-drivers, and hucksters, from our American plantations, enriched they know not how; agents, commissaries, and contractors, who have fattened in two successive wars, on the blood of the nation; usurers, brokers, and jobbers of every kind. (65)

7 Michael Zuckerman, "Identity in British America: Unease in Eden," in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, ed. Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 123.

8 Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature, 1580–1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 30. This assessment is echoed by Robert Giddings, who argues that *Humphry Clinker* is "a portrait of a society at a particular stage of development, as the nation slowly changed from supporting itself ... into a country which fed its population and provided for its luxuries by overseas trade." Giddings, "Matthew Bramble's Bath: Smollett and the West Indian Connection," in *Smollett: Author of the First Distinction*, ed. Alan Bold (London: Vision Press, 1982), 49.

Of course, Bramble targets the whole phenomenon of commercialism with its attendant "plethora of political, social, religious, and moral corruptions,"[9] but significantly, most of the "dregs" he lists are those who engage in the imperial project. One of the few upstarts individualized in Bramble's narrative is "a negro-driver, from Jamaica, [who] pay[s] overnight, to be the master of one of the rooms, sixty-five guineas for tea and coffee to the company, and leave[s] Bath next morning, in such obscurity, that not one of his guests had the slightest idea of his person"(87). Another is the ungrateful Paunceford, who makes a fortune abroad and turns his back on his early benefactor Serle (97–100). And of course Bramble's first antagonist at Bath is "a Creole gentleman," whose Negro servants are beaten by Bramble as punishment for their insolence as well as their "dreadful blasts" on the French horn, and who, despite being a colonel, "prudently declined any farther prosecution of the dispute" (60–61). Each of these imperial profiteers represents an aspect of what ails England: extravagance, ingratitude, incivility, and cowardice.

Even those who have honourably served their nation in imperial wars are scarred by the engagement. In a coffee house in Bath, Bramble encounters old friends who bear the marks of their patriotic service: rear-admiral Balderick, "metamorphosed into an old man, with a wooden leg and a weatherbeaten face, which appeared the more ancient from his grey locks," and "what remained of colonel Cockril, who had lost the use of his limbs in making an American campaign" (84–85). The most egregious example of the human cost of empire is, of course, Lismahago, upon whose body are inscribed the mutilations inflicted by imperial ambition and who epitomizes the forgotten veteran. Bramble says, "our pity was warmed with indignation, when we learned, that in the course of two sanguinary wars, he had been wounded, maimed, mutilated, taken, and enslaved, without

9 Susan L. Jacobsen, "'The Tinsel of the Times': Smollett's Argument against Conspicuous Consumption in *Humphry Clinker*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 9, no. 1 (1996): 72. David M. Weed associates commercialism with debilitating feminization: "England's social body incorporates the ill effects of commercialism into its public institutions and civic and social life, and ... it produces effeminate men who participate in an epidemic spread of luxury, bodily waste, consumption, and 'cannibalism.'" Weed, "Sentimentalism, Misogyny and Medicine in *Humphry Clinker*," *SEL* 37, no. 3 (1997): 615. John Dwyer suggests that Scots were particularly disturbed by the new economic order: "Luxury, Scottish writers believed, was spreading ... alongside the commercialization of Great Britain, as wealth began to find itself in the hands of 'nabobs' and 'contractors' who, it was argued, had neither the training nor the temper of mind to use it properly." Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1987), 97.

ever having attained a higher rank than that of lieutenant" (224).[10] Moreover, the home government, while exploiting the fruits of empire and those who fight to win them, remains deplorably ignorant of the New World that funds British prosperity. The Duke of N——, after being educated in Canadian geography by Captain C——, exclaims, "Egad! I'll go directly, and tell the king that Cape Breton is an island" (145). Not only does the Duke mangle the names of the tribes that the League of the Iroquois comprises, he facetiously mocks rituals that are crucially important to making alliances with native Americans: "Let 'em have plenty of blankets, and stinubus, and wampum; and your excellency won't fail to scour the kettle, and boil the chain, and bury the tree, and plant the hatchet—Ha, ha, ha!" (144–45). Like the East India Company director, who asked Clive whether "Sir Roger Dowlat" (Siraj-ud-daula) was a baronet,[11] the Duke of N—— epitomizes the ignorance of the governing class at home.

The home country, as represented in *Humphry Clinker*, suffers from a range of ills brought on by imperial wealth, which produces social chaos and political corruption. Colonial wars have maimed British soldiers, who are then abandoned by an ungrateful government; and the commercialism attending imperial ambition has so disrupted traditional rural life that it has led to an amassing of the lower classes in urban areas, where they "*all tread upon the kibes of one another*.

10 Jonathan Swift, in book 3 of *Gulliver's Travels*, also refers to ungrateful governments: those who have provided the best service to princes and states "all appeared with dejected Looks and in the meanest Habit; most of them telling me they died in Poverty and Disgrace, and the rest on a Scaffold or a Gibbet." Swift, *The Writings of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Robert A. Greenberg and William Bowman Piper (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973), 172. The prematurely aged Balderick may prefigure Admiral Baldwin in Jane Austen's *Persuasion*, whom Sir Walter Elliot describes as "the most deplorable looking personage you can imagine, his face the colour of mahogany, rough and rugged to the last degree, all lines and wrinkles, nine grey hairs of a side, and nothing but a dab of powder at top." Austen, *Persuasion*, in vol. 5 of *The Novels of Jane Austen*, ed. R.W. Chapman (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 20.

11 P.J. Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India, 1757–1813* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968), 26. Colley points out that Britons at home evinced very little interest in colonial conditions, including captivity by indigenous Americans, until mid-century: "once troops from Britain and their families began crossing the Atlantic in substantial numbers, after the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1756, the metropolitan market for tales of captivity by native Americans, as for other information about North America, would sky-rocket. With large numbers of their own kind now flooding over to America ... this vast territory and all its complex dangers came to seem to Britons at home infinitely more real and absorbing" (161). For a fascinating study of the literary effects of the new interest in captivity narratives, see Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, "The American Origins of the English Novel," *American Literary History* 4, no. 3 (1992): 386–410. Captivity narratives, they argue, developed precisely those attributes most commonly associated with the rise of the English novel: epistolarity, individualism, middle-class domesticity, and the feminized consciousness.

actuated by the demons of profligacy and licentiousness, they are seen every where rambling, riding, rolling, rushing, justling, mixing, bouncing, cracking in one vile ferment of stupidity and corruption" (119). So-called economic progress has dispossessed rural populations of homes and employment and set them adrift, and this influx to metropolitan areas has led not only to a blurring of class markers but also to rampant consumerism, greed, crime, and disease.

Yet, when Lismahago, finding that his half-pay cannot support him in either England or Scotland, contemplates returning to the colonies to "pass the rest of his days among his old friends the Miamis, and amuse himself in finishing the education of the son he had by his beloved Squinkinacoosta," Bramble thinks "it very hard, that a gentleman who had served his country with honour, should be driven by necessity to spend his old age, among the refuse of mankind, in such a remote part of the world" (305–6). According to this text, whatever the corruptions and dangers of life in the mother country, they are tolerable compared to the violent and barbaric world confronting the European settling in North America. To deflect the impulse to emigrate, *Humphry Clinker* sets out a multiplicity of arguments that articulate the danger and futility of the American mission while promoting national pride.

Paul-Gabriel Boucé argues that "The ritual mutilations described by Lismahago are on the shady borderline between sadism and buffoonery"; Robert Hopkins finds that Lismahago "serves as a catharsis" because "his Thurberlike mythic reduction of Indian captivity converts English anxieties about Indian massacres to a ludicrous, demonic myth"; Joanne Lewis sees Lismahago as "belonging, at least in part, to the world of *commedia dell'arte*" and his captivity as a "scenario for *commedia*, the domestic violence reminiscent of Punch and Judy ... [and] Smollett's narrative transmute[s] history to farce."[12] These

12 Paul-Gabriel Boucé, *The Novels of Tobias Smollett* (London: Longman, 1976), 240; Robert Hopkins, "The Function of Grotesque in *Humphry Clinker*," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 32 (1969): 173–74; Joanne Lewis, "Death and the Comic Marriage: Lismahago in Harlequin Skeleton," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 18 (1988): 406, 411. In a similar vein, Kenneth Simpson, commenting on Smollett's coarse humour, says, "an account of atrocities perpetrated upon the lieutenant and his companion by the American Indians, is a sequence which is certainly offered as ironic comment on the vogue of the travel adventure." Simpson, *The Protean Scot: The Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Literature*

characterizations of Lismahago's captivity fail to take into account Smollett's deep knowledge of contemporary discourse about native Americans and the congruence of Lismahago's story with reports about captured Europeans. They also fail to recognize that, while accurately transmitting some known indigenous practices, Smollett tilts the narrative towards the grotesque for propaganda purposes: the account of Lismahago in captivity addresses English anxieties about colonial rivalries and transculturation, and concludes that the attempt to win the hearts and minds of native Americans is inherently doomed.

Writers on American colonial history point out that in an ironical reversal of British fantasies about the conversion and assimilation of indigenous populations, native Americans were distressingly successful at converting colonizers to their way of life. James Axtell writes that "Most of the Indians who were educated by the English—some contemporaries thought *all* of them—returned to Indian society at the first opportunity ... . On the other hand, large numbers of Englishmen had chosen to become Indians."[13] J. Norman Heard prefaces his summary accounts of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century captivities by quoting a 1753 letter from Benjamin Franklin, in which Franklin recounts the recidivism of rescued captives: "tho' rescued by their Friends, and treated with all imaginable tenderness to prevail with them to stay among the English, yet in a short time, they become disgusted with our manner of life, and the care and pains that are necessary to support it, and take the first opportunity of escaping again into the Woods, from whence there is no reclaiming them."[14] Among those who chose the indigenous way of life were captives as disparate as Mary Jamison, captured by Shawnees in 1758, who married a Delaware and lived happily until her death at age seventy-five; David Boyd, captured by Delawares in 1756, who, brought back to

(Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 16. John Richetti takes a more complex view: "Comprised of literary and documentary materials that encompass the contradictory areas of Cervantic caricature, the horrors of North American captivity narrative, and the inequities of advancement in the eighteenth-century British army, Lismahago points to his own complicated status as a character simultaneously comic and deeply serious, both grotesque and engagingly pathetic in his pride and considerable intelligence." Richetti, *The English Novel in History, 1700–1780* (London: Routledge, 1999), 186.

13 James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 170.

14 J. Norman Heard, *White into Red: A Study of the Assimilation of White Persons Captured by Indians* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1973), 10. McLeod echoes Franklin: "New England leaders worried over the European captives who refused to return to 'civilized' society, since Indian life appeared attractive to some in contrast to the discipline and drudgery of life for the majority of English colonists" (152).

white society by his adoptive father, "had to be closely guarded for weeks before he relinquished his plan" to return to the tribe; and eight-year-old John McCullough, captured in 1756, who had to be forced to visit his white family.[15] As an exasperated Cadwallader Colden remarks in 1717, "The English had as much Difficulty to persuade the People, that had been taken Prisoners by the French Indians, to leave the Indian manner of living, though no People enjoy more Liberty, and live in greater Plenty, than the common Inhabitants of new-York do."[16]

Even narratives about gruesome torture refer to kind treatment from captors, which leads, in turn, to a degree of adaptation: Robert Eastburn is fed chocolate because "I was unwell, and could not eat their coarse food"; John Leeth is well looked after by his Delaware father; John Gyles's frostbite is treated with fir-balsam; and Thomas Morris is presented with, of all things, a volume of Shakespeare.[17] Pierre Esprit Radisson, when his adoptive family dresses him in native garb, admits that "I could not but fall in love wth myselfe, if not yt I had better instructions to shun the sin of pride."[18] Some of Smollett's literary contemporaries write laudatory accounts of life among native Americans. Arthur Young's heroine Emmera lives secluded from all but Indians, who "adore" her and rescue her from a villainous European, while Henry Mackenzie's young hero Annesley regrets leaving "the perfect freedom subsisting in this rude and simple state of society ... where greatness cannot use oppression, nor wealth excite envy."[19] Lismahago

15 Heard, 25–30, 65, 130.

16 Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, Which are Dependent on the Province of New York, and Are a Barrier between the English and the French in that Part of the World* (New York: Allerton Books, 1904), 263. Colley writes that so many British soldiers had been assimilated into tribal culture that a rescued or ransomed soldier could face court-martial "unless he could somehow prove that he really had been forced to cross the culture line against his will" (196).

17 Robert Eastburn, *A Faithful Narrative*, in *The Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captives*, 111 vols., ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978), 8:10; Ewell Jeffries, *A Short Biography of John Leeth, with an Account of His Life among the Indians*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (1831; New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972), 27; John Gyles, *The Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, &c. in the Captivity of John Gyles, Esq.; Commander of the Garrison on St. George's River* (Boston: S. Kneeland and T. Green, 1736), 17; Thomas Morris, *Journal of Captain Thomas Morris* (1791; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966), 12.

18 Pierre Esprit Radisson, *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, Being an Account of His Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652–1684*, ed. Gideon D. Scull (1885; New York: Burt Franklin, 1967), 34.

19 Arthur Young, *The Adventures of Emmera, or The Fair American. Exemplifying the Peculiar Advantages of Society and Retirement*, 2 vols. (1773; New York: Garland Publishing, 1974),

himself, of course, leaves his "advantages and honours" in the Badger tribe only "in consequence of being exchanged for the orator of the community, who had been taken prisoner by the Indians that were in alliance with the English" (229). Both historical and literary accounts, then, attest to a disturbing inversion: instead of "civilizing" the native population, British immigrants in America manifest a tendency to admire and assimilate into tribal culture.[20]

Moreover, and perhaps more gallingly, while native Americans rejected English attempts to convert them, they responded more favourably to French blandishments. Morris, writing in 1764, admires the French for winning native Americans' affections by intermarrying and "prohibiting the sale of spiritous liquors to Indians"; he contrasts this to the "scandalous practices" of some English traders, who alienate the indigenous people by "imposing on the drunken Indian in trade, abusing his drunken wife, daughter, or other female relation."[21] Robert Rogers's play *Ponteach; or the Savages of America* (1766) explicitly lauds French colonial customs—

> The French are all subdued,
> But who are in their Stead become our Lords?
> A proud, imperious, churlish, haughty Band,
> The French familiarized themselves with us,
> Studied our Tongues, and Manners, wore our Dress,
> Married our Daughters and our Sons their Maids,
> Dealt honestly, and well supplied our Wants,
> Used no one ill, and treated with Respect ...

—while excoriating the English as "false, deceitful, knavish, insolent."[22] Gordon M. Sayre points out that Catholic missionaries

1:221, 2:80; Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of the World*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 2:182–83.

20 In a subtle analysis of Lismahago's story, Charlotte Sussman argues that, in *Humphry Clinker*, "The problem of how to assimilate, or acculturate, other cultures ... is redacted into a problem of oral consumption"; not only is the English body poisoned by imported food, but native Americans' ritualistic cannibalism is seen as "evidence of a tribe's ability to retain its social coherence in the face of a colonizing invasion ... . The colonial encounter violates Europe, rather than the New World." Sussman, "Lismahago's Captivity: Transculturation in *Humphry Clinker*," *ELH* 61, no. 3 (1994): 598, 600–1. For another reading of European anxieties and captivity narratives, see Helen Carr, "Woman/Indian: 'The American' and His Others," in *Europe and Its Others*: "the Indians are the ones in ... potential sexual possession, and the narrative can enact and resolve the colonists' deep fears of being dominated and mastered by the Indian, of having their identity and power as European men destroyed" (2:52).

21 Morris, 26–27.

22 Robert Rogers, *Ponteach; or the Savages of America*, in *Representative Plays by American Dramatists*, ed. Montrose J. Moses (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1918), 143.

embraced martyrdom in a way that was impressive to Indians and alien to Protestants: "For French Catholics, suffering for one's faith led naturally to death ... . The privations of the new environment were part of the holy suffering of his [the Jesuit's] mission. If his reception turned from hospitable to hostile, the objective of captivity was not resistance and redemption, but martyrdom."[23] Thus the French were succeeding where the English were failing. Even the hostile voice of the *British Magazine* concedes the efficacy of French missionaries:

> The missionaries scattered among the Indian tribes were generally strong, hale, and active, patient of hunger, cold, and fatigue: all of them were, moreover, enthusiasts who courted danger, and gladly exposed themselves to all manner of afflictions. They attended the Indians in all their martial excursions, appeared always in the hottest part of the battle, baptizing the infidels, and comforting the converts in their last moments: they themselves were generally wounded, often killed, sometimes taken and tortured to death by the most hideous torments. The example of men acting in this manner, from a spirit of benevolence, could not fail to make deep impressions upon sensible minds; and accordingly they soon acquired the veneration of the Indians.[24]

So intertwined were French and indigenous American cultures in some places that, according to Heard, one Eunice Williams, taken by the Iroquois from Massachusetts to Canada in 1704, was doubly transculturated: "The daughter of a steadfast Protestant minister had become converted to Catholicism and learned to love her Indian masters."[25]

Confronted by the alarming and embarrassing spectacle of the wrong sorts of transculturation, British writers embarked on a discourse of rationalization and recuperation. One useful strategy was to paint the French as both cunning and savage, thereby explaining their success with native Americans. In 1762, Peter Williamson complains of the tactics of a French priest, who assures Amerindians that the English killed the son of God, and "that if the *English*, were, all

23 Gordon M. Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains: Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 22, 260.

24 "The History of Canada," *British Magazine*, June 1760, 351. The failure of English missionaries would be particularly painful for those who, like John Eliot of Massachusetts, saw "in the conversion experiences of the Indians themselves a model for the spiritual renewal of a colony struggling to cope with both the internal strife of ecclesiastical conflict and the anxiety over England's uncertain future in the wake of the Restoration ... . Missionary work not only seemed to exempt itself from the bitter debates within English Protestantism. It also offered the English a way of imagining themselves as a Protestant nation united against Roman Catholicism." Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World, 1583–1671: Allegories of Desire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 155, 159.

25 Heard, 20.

destroyed, the son of the Good-man, who is God, would come again, and banish all evil spirits from their lands."[26] Thus also, early in "The History of Canada" in the *British Magazine*, appears an account of Le Caron and his fellow Jesuits who, instead of "explaining and enforcing the divine and amiable doctrines of the Gospel," have "inflamed the animosities subsisting between the different nations of the Indians": "They have taught them the arts of fraud, and the refinements of cruelty ... misrepresented the neighbouring subjects of Britain, as monsters of impiety and brutality ... they have supported and extended their own influence among those ignorant creatures by craft and hypocrisy, false miracles, and all variety of jesuitical imposture."[27] This comprehensive indictment of French perfidy not only explains French inroads among native Americans, but also can actually make a merit of British failures, since presumably British missionaries never resorted to such sordid practices.[28] "The History of Canada" contains much more in this vein, emphasizing the ignorance of the Amerindians and the cunning ambition of the Jesuits, as well as their fanatical desire for "the crown of martyrdom."[29] Even when the narrative praises the fortitude and perseverance of French missionaries, as in the account of Father Jogues's bravery under torture, it follows with

26 Peter Williamson, *French and Indian Cruelty: Exemplified in the Life and Various Vicissitudes of Fortune of Peter Williamson*, intro. Michael Fry (1762; Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996), 45. The French, writes Williamson, "were sent to dispossess us in that part of the world, [are] indefatigable in their duty, and continually contriving, and using all manner of ways and means to win the *Indians* to their interest" (8). Eastburn complains of the French governor of Quebec: "even in Times of *Peace*, he gives the *Indians* great Encouragement to *Murder* and *Captivate* the poor Inhabitants on our Frontiers" (8:38). William Fleming's Delaware captors tell his wife "that the French were better off than the English, for they had a great many Old Men among them that could forgive all their Sins, and these Men had often assured the Indians it was no Sin to destroy Hereticks, and all the English were such." William and Elizabeth Fleming, *A Narrative of the Sufferings and Surprizing Deliverance of William and Elizabeth Fleming*, in *The Garland Library*, 8:16. Gyles, on the other hand, encounters a good Franciscan priest who has told Amerindians "that excepting their errors in Religion, the English were a better people than themselves," and that God will punish those who hurt the English (19).

27 "The History of Canada," *British Magazine*, April 1760, 198.

28 In his "Address to the British Colonists in North America" (1777), Edmund Burke spells out this notion of British restraint: "born in a civilized country, formed to gentle manners, trained in a merciful religion ... . We rather wished to have joined you in bringing gradually that unhappy part of mankind into civility, order, piety, and virtuous discipline, than to have confirmed their evil habits, and increased their natural ferocity, by fleshing them in the slaughter of you, whom our wiser and better ancestors had sent into the wilderness, with the express view of introducing, along with our holy religion, its humane and charitable manners." *The Portable Edmund Burke*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1999), 278.

29 "The History of Canada," *British Magazine*, May 1760, 132.

a reiteration of Catholic zeal for martyrdom, which, of course, undermines the priest's heroism. Colden provides an example of the barbarity of the secular arm of French power when he recounts the Comte de Frontenac's decision to burn a native American prisoner according to indigenous custom; Colden includes a description of the gruesome torture and execution "to shew on one Hand, what Courage and Resolution, Virtue, the Love of Glory and the Love of one's Country can instill into Mens Minds, even where Knowledge of true Religion is wanting; and on the other Hand, how far a false Policy, under a corrupt Religion, can debase even great Minds" (169–70). The French, in these accounts, are even more barbaric than the Amerindians, since they torture and kill in the full knowledge that they are committing atrocities. In the end, however, the problem lies with the native Americans themselves, whose inherent incapacity foils any attempt to "civilize" them: "the American natives are extremely dull; their faculties circumscribed, their sentiments incapable of refinement; and they seem to be very ill provided with the power of imagination."[30] In a gesture towards European unity, the *British Magazine* concludes that "The truth is, neither France nor England could derive much honour from any connexion with such cruel and irreclaimable savages, whom no precepts could enlighten, and no example humanize."[31]

Humphry Clinker participates in and even exceeds the kind of logical gymnastics that claim that Amerindians cannot be converted at all, except by Europeans who bring their own brand of savagery to the task. At the same time that the text represents appalling Amerindian barbarity, it shows native culture responding with dignity and even

30 "The History of Canada," *British Magazine*, June 1760, 352.

31 "The History of Canada," *British Magazine*, March 1761, 153. Francis Jennings works out the murderous implications of such an attitude: "their mode of existence and cast of mind were such as to make them incapable of civilization and therefore of full humanity ... the savage creatures of the wilderness, being unable to adapt to any environment other than the wild, stubbornly and viciously resisted God or fate, and thereby incurred their suicidal extermination." Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 15. T.H. Breen points to another result of Amerindian resistance to European culture. Unlike imported slaves, they were not part of the labour system in the colonies and therefore of no practical use to the settlers; once the fur trade collapsed, "the Indians, now dependent upon European commerce, had little to offer in exchange for guns and cloth, kettles and knives. Under these conditions, Indians were easily exploited, abused, and cheated out of whatever they still possessed." Breen, "Creative Adaptation, People and Cultures," in *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, ed. Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 214.

intellectual sophistication to French missionary incursions. In a masterly restructuring of familiar materials, Smollett manages to both depict Catholic zeal and trivialize it. In Lismahago's narrative, the Jesuits ignore the Miamis' peaceful attempt to dismiss them, "persist[ing] in saying mass, in preaching, baptizing, and squabbling with the conjurers ... till they had thrown the whole community into confusion" (232). The exasperated native Americans then try, condemn, and burn them at the stake, "where they died singing *Salve regina*, in a rapture of joy, for the crown of martyrdom which they had thus obtained" (232). By representing the disruptive effects of their interventions in a hitherto stable and contented native society, the narrative recasts missionary enthusiasm as petty interference and thus makes English failure at conversion seem culturally respectful.[32]

In any case, the indigenous people in *Humphry Clinker* are too cynical to be converted. Like the dignified Chief Lontac in Robert Bage's *Hermsprong* (1796) and unlike the docile and easily swayed tribe in *The Female American* (1767), Smollett's native Americans confidently assert the superiority of their own forms of belief.[33] Their primitive tenets—"They ... worship two contending principles; one the fountain of all Good, the other the source of all evil ... sensible men pay adoration to a Supreme Being, who creates and sustains the universe" (231)—can more than hold their own against canting Catholicism. The natives scoff at the Jesuits' accounts of "miracles," of "mysteries and revelations, which they could neither explain nor

32 Axtell points out that stoicism "served the Jesuits well in Indian country. Personal courage, especially in the face of death, was appreciated in Europe, but from the American natives it drew special respect ... . The Iroquois were even more impressed when Father Jogues, his hands mutilated by torture during his previous captivity, returned to the Mohawks in 1646 to pursue the cause of peace and Christ." Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 86. Sayre takes a less admiring approach when describing the 1649 execution of Jean de Brebeuf, who "complied with the custom of singing the *chanson de mort* by substituting a sermon ... . By substituting his proselytizing sermon for the *chanson de mort*, Brebeuf subverted the customs of torture, for his heroic forbearance did not enhance the power of those who conquered him when he patronizingly claimed to suffer for their lost souls" (299–300).

33 Robert Bage, *Hermprong; or Man as He Is Not*, ed. Pamela Perkins (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002) 250–51; *The Female American; or, the Adventures of Unca Eliza Winkfield*, ed. Michelle Burnham (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2001). *The Female American* narrator glosses over the fact that she manipulates the native tribe's belief system in order to promulgate Christianity: after exploiting their worship of the sun god to achieve credibility, she tells them that such worship is sacrilegious; at the end of the text, she and her clergyman husband, in an unacknowledged parody of imperial practice, determine "to collect all the gold treasure there, to blow up the subterraneous passage, and the statue, that the Indians might never be tempted to their former idolatry" (154).

authenticate"; they are horrified by a God who would not only inflict mortality on his only son but also allow him "to be insulted, flagellated, and even executed as a malefactor"; and as for the creed of transubstantiation, they consider it impious to pretend "to create God himself, to swallow, digest, revive, and multiply him *ad infinitum*, by the help of a little flour and water" (231).[34] Interestingly, Smollett here projects onto the French an English experience of Amerindian cynicism regarding Christianity. John Oldmixon, writing in 1741, recounts questions addressed to the Reverend John Elliot in 1646: "*How there could be an Image of God, since it was forbidden in the Second Commandment?* This probably arose from Mr *Elliot*'s saying Man was created after God's own Image. There is Simplicity in this, but more Reflection than would be found in many of our Peasants under a like Lecture." In fact, these native Americans reject Christianity, "*for the* English, *that are* Christians, *will cheat the* Indians *of their Land ... your Knowledge of Books does but make you the more cunning to cheat others, and so does more Harm than Good.*" Finally, they name two or three preachers in New York, "*who instead of preaching their pious Religion, taught them to drink.*"[35] In a series of deft moves, Smollett rewrites such English/Protestant failures as French/Catholic ones; the French missionary project is represented as a social evil undertaken by ridiculously fanatical men, whose risible beliefs are appropriately interrogated and rejected by a suspicious native culture.

While he mocks the notion of French Catholic tenets taking root in native culture, Smollett also portrays the evil practices of that culture. The tortures inflicted upon Lismahago and Murphy resemble the descriptions in other captivity narratives: Gyles writes that "Sometimes an old shrivell'd Squaw will take up a Shovel of hot Embers and throw them into a Captive's Bosom"; Jean Lowry watches the agonies of a fellow captive: "first they Scalp'd him alive ... . They heated their Daggers in the fire and pushed them into the fleshy parts of his Body"; Peter Williamson recounts that as prisoners are being burnt alive, "one of the villains with his scalping knife, ript open their

34 Speaking of Columbus's description of Hispaniola as "a marvel greater than paradise," Stephen Greenblatt argues that "the marvellous takes the place of the miraculous, absorbing some of its force but avoiding the theological and evidentiary problems inherent in directly asserting a miracle." Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 79.

35 John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America: Containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and State of the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America*, 2 vols. (1741; New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1969), 1:91, 98–99, 277.

bellies, took out their entrails, and burnt them before their eyes, whilst the others were cutting, piercing, and tearing the flesh from their breasts, hands, arms and legs, with red hot irons, till they were dead."[36] The *British Magazine* relates the suffering of Father Jogues: "Having tore off his nails with their teeth, they crushed all his fingers, and thrust a sword through his right hand."[37] Lismahago, too, is dismembered and wounded, but he is subjected to even worse torments: "some of his teeth were drawn, or dug out with a crooked nail; splintered reeds had been thrust up his nostrils and other tender parts; and the calves of his legs had been blown up with mines of gunpowder dug in the flesh" (228). Given the wide availability of narratives describing actual episodes of excruciating torture, one has to look carefully at the particular details added in Smollett's fiction. These additions, I suggest, signify something more than a novelist's desire for effect, or for what Colley calls "the pornography of real or invented Indian violence";[38] they are part of Smollett's warning about the consequences of imperial adventuring. The splintered reeds *invade* Lismahago's body; not only his nostrils but also "other tender parts" suffer penetration. If these "parts" refer to his penis and anus, the infliction of pain becomes sexualized, so that monstrous perversion is added to the already grotesque tortures devised by Amerindians. Similarly, while Smollett's description of running the gauntlet evokes the experience of Father Jogue and his companion René Goupil, who "were set upon by the women and children, who mangled them in such a manner, that there was not a spot on their bodies free of scar or wound,"[39] here again Smollett adds a sexual dimension rarely included in historical accounts: Murphy has been castrated by these women while "passing through the different whigwams [*sic*] or villages of the Miamis" (228).[40] Radisson's story

36 Gyles, 7; Jean Lowry, *A Journal of the Captivity of Jean Lowry and Her Children* (1760), in *The Garland Library*, 8:6; Williamson, 19.

37 "The History of Canada," *British Magazine*, September 1760, 538.

38 Colley, 177.

39 "The History of Canada," *British Magazine*, September 1760, 538.

40 Heard tells us that David Boyd "had to run the gauntlet, which amusement, for the Indians, consisted in running a prescribed limit between two lines made up of vindictive squaws and young savage rogues armed with sticks, stones, or whatever suited their purpose best" (60). There are, however, benign versions of the gauntlet recounted in some captivity narratives. For example, James Smith, captured in 1755, reports: "They [women] all laid violent hold of me, and I for some time opposed them with all my might, which occasioned loud laughter by the multitude that were on the bank of the river. At length one of the squaws made out to speak a little English ... and said, 'no hurt you.' On this I gave myself up to their ladyships, who were as good as their word; for though they plunged me under water and washed and

does include castration—"They cut off yor stones and the women play wth them as wth balles" (54)—but the victims are emphatically not, as Murphy is, destined to become "the spouse of a beautiful squaw" (228). In *Humphry Clinker*, the women's bloodlust supersedes the sachem's (chief) need for a son and heir, and their pleasure in inflicting sexual abuse overrides their desire for an able recruit for the tribe. The "crooked nail" and the "gunpowder dug in the flesh," like the reeds, are also forms of penetration, but they represent more than the native American desire to invade the European body. These instruments of penetration are artefacts of the industrial world brought to America by Europeans, tools provided to the natives by the colonizing culture, now turned against the imperial power in a fitting though appalling way. In a monstrous re-enactment of European incursions into American territories, Amerindians use the invaders' weapons to penetrate and destroy them.

Lismahago, of course, survives his ordeal. His friend Murphy is not so lucky, perhaps because his Irish body is less sturdy than Lismahago's Scottish one. Murphy, "mangled by the women and children [and] rendered altogether unfit for the purposes of marriage" (228), undergoes further tortures until he is mercifully killed, heroically singing his death song. In his treatment of this particular ritual, Smollett once again both replicates and manipulates factual accounts, such as Colden's description of the native American tortured and executed by de Frontenac—the young man dies at the stake, singing about his own courage and his memories of inflicting similar punishment on many Frenchmen (171). The death song, in other words, asserts possession of power, agency, and masculinity, even under horrific circumstances.[41]

rubbed me severely, yet I could not say they hurt me much" (cited in Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, 186). Splinters figure in Heard's description of the gruesome scalping and execution of an Englishwoman in 1756: "they laid burning splinters of wood, here and there, upon her body" (67). In her case, the splinters inflict terrible pain but do not penetrate her body. Describing the progressive luridness of captivity narratives, Richard VanDerBeers writes: "The infusion of melodrama and sensibility into the narratives, appropriately ornamented and stylistically embellished, capitalized on what became an increasingly profitable market for properly 'literary' narratives of Indian captivity in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries ... . The earlier propagandist impulse deliberately played up Indian horrors and outrages, but more to solicit strong anti-Indian sentiments than to evoke pity and terror for the captive himself. It was but a short almost inevitable step from narrative excesses for the purpose of propaganda to excesses in the interest of sensation and titillation, from promoting hatred to eliciting horror, from inspiring patriotism to encouraging sales, from chauvinism to commercialism." VanDerBeers, *Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives, 1642–1836* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), xxxviii.

41 See Mackenzie, *Man of the World*, in which the dying Amerindian captives sing "the glory of their former victories, and the pleasure they had received from the death of their foes;

Smollett, in one economical move, manages to trivialize this crucial aspect of native American culture at the same time that he demonstrates British pluck. Murphy, in the agonies of death, sings not of past military exploits or of Christian salvation but the *Drimmendoo*, Gaelic for "black cow with a white back" (403n67). This last gesture of defiance and mockery, in its parodic bravura, diminishes both the French Jesuits and the Amerindian warrior.

Murphy's tormentors are also, of course, cannibals: like the trader in Williamson's narrative and Captain Robertson in *The Siege of Detroit*, Murphy becomes "a hearty meal" for his captors (228).[42] Cannibalism, while certainly heard of in tribal cultures, must have been unusual enough that the writer of *The Siege of Detroit* feels compelled to explain, "This shocking piece of barbarity is practiced only by some of the Indian nations to the northward. The Six Nations, who use their prisoners, while alive, much worse than they do, yet never eat human flesh, which *they* do, not for want of food, but as a religious ceremony, or rather from a superstitious idea that it makes them prosperous in war."[43] In *Humphry Clinker*, cannibalism is represented as simply another aspect of the Amerindians' exuberant, drunken pleasure in torturing their victims. Smollett's native Americans, then, are not only as cruel as those described in non-fictional narratives; they are also sadists, sexual perverts, and heartless cannibals.[44]

concluding always with the hopes of revenge from the surviving warriors of their nation" (2:177).

42 [Jehu Hay], *The Siege of Detroit in 1763: The Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy and John Rutherfurd's Narrative of a Captivity*, ed. Milo Milton Quaife (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1958), 229.

43 [Hay], 229.

44 Interestingly, Smollett omits one of the most gruesome details included in some captivity narratives. Both Gyles (12) and Radisson (53) refer to the practice of forcing captives to eat parts of their own bodies. The omission underscores Sussman's argument about "the threat of the literal disappearance of European culture into the belly of America" (602), since self-cannibalization would not fit the pattern on transculturation. Tzvetan Todorov points out how characterizing natives as savages provides a rationale for enslaving them: "We can say that this line of argument unites four descriptive propositions as to the Amerindians' nature to a postulate that is also a moral imperative. These propositions: the Amerindians have a slave's nature; they practice cannibalism; they make human sacrifices; they are ignorant of the Christian religion. The postulate imperative: one has the right or even the duty to impose good on others." Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 154. Greenblatt, referring to Columbus's letter proposing trading slaves for beasts, echoes Todorov's analysis: "Those Indians identified as cannibals will be hunted down, seized, torn from their lands and their culture, loaded onto ships still stinking of the animals for whom they are being exchanged, and sent into slavery. But the economic transaction as Columbus conceives it will be undertaken for the welfare of the souls of the enslaved: the Indians are exchanged for beasts in order to convert them into humans" (72).

This is no place for a good British man, and yet Lismahago contentedly makes his home there, marrying Squinkinacoosta, producing a child by her, and succeeding his adoptive father as sachem. Such an outcome is so emphatically undesirable that Smollett needs to make tribal life, even for survivors of horrific tortures, seem no healthy alternative to an admittedly diseased home country. Having constructed a narrative that might be misconstrued as advocating reconciliation to a savage culture and a cannibalistic wife, Smollett provides a corrective accessible to the densest reader: he shows that Lismahago has joined a society also tainted by its own version of feminized commodification. Just as the London citizen's "wife and daughters appear in the richest stuffs, bespangled with diamonds" (119), Amerindian society contains women who consume *goods* as well as flesh.

When Tabitha interrogates Lismahago about Squinkinacoosta's wedding clothes, "whether she wore high-breasted stays or bodice, a robe of silk or velvet, and laces of Mechlin or minionette," whether she "used *rouge*, and had her hair dressed in the Parisian fashion," he replies that neither "the simplicity of their manners nor the commerce of their country would admit of those articles of luxury which are deemed magnificence in Europe" (229–30). Tabitha's persistent queries elicit the information "that his princess had neither shoes, stockings, shift, nor any kind of linen" (230). Squinkinacoosta, then, seems to represent a positive alternative to the kind of European fashion that requires Lydia to sit "above six hours under the hands of a hair-dresser, who stuffed [her] head with as much black wool as would have made a quilted petticoat" (125) and brings Tabitha to an Edinburgh ball dressed "in a full suit of damask, so thick and heavy, that the sight of it alone, at this season of the year, was sufficient to draw drops of sweat from any man of ordinary imagination" (261). Juxtaposed to these excesses of female finery, the relative nakedness of Squinkinacoosta might be seen as a virtue, especially in a text that, according to David Weed, posits a robust masculinity, which "resists infection from the femininity intertwined with England's commercial society."[45] A woman who can devise and execute tortures with the best of her tribe, who "vied with the stoutest warrior in eating the flesh of the sacrifice," and who can hold her liquor better than anyone (229)

45 Weed, 615.

must at least be free of the feminine vanity and desire for ornament so distressing to eighteenth-century males. Indeed, Squinkinacoosta's lack of linen fits the picture of simplicity drawn by Jean de Léry in 1578: "Léry asserts that the shamelessness with which the Indians display their bodies is more easily defended than the 'sumptuous display' in dress exhibited by many Europeans."[46] Squinkinacoosta, however, is just as wedded to wedding finery as any English miss—only the nature of ornamentation differs. In place of stays, lace, and rouge, she adorns herself with "bobbins of human bone—one eye-lid was painted green, and the other yellow; the cheeks were blue, the lips white, the teeth red ... a couple of gaudy parrot's feathers were stuck through the division of the nostrils—there was a blue stone set in the chins." Lismahago's bride bedecks herself with earrings, bracelets, and necklaces, and "about her neck was hung the fresh scalp of a Mohawk warrior, whom her deceased lover had lately slain in battle—and finally, she was anointed from head to foot with bear's grease, which sent forth a most disagreeable odour" (230). Rather than representing native simplicity as a counter to European female vanity, Squinkinacoosta demonstrates that native American women too crave cosmetics, jewels, and scents, some of which are even more repellent than those adorning Swift's Celia and Corinna. When M.A. Goldberg argues that "Smollett is posing the same kind of cultural relativism that the Scottish critics and historians employed in examining and evaluating 'the noble savage,'" thereby making an "analogy between the American Indians and the Scots," he misreads, I believe, this part of Lismahago's narrative. The grotesque adornments of Squinkinacoosta underline the text's conviction that, bad as commercialism might be in Britain, life among the savages of America provides no escape from it.[47]

In any case, the barbarians have already stormed the gate, not only in the persons of those "planters, negro-drivers and hucksters, from

46 Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World, 1583–1671: Allegories of Desire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 47.

47 M.A. Goldberg, *Smollett and the Scottish School: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1959), 165–67. Williamson finds that Amerindians "are very proud, and take great delight in wearing trinkets" (21), and Mary Rowlandson writes of the woman named Wettimore: "A severe and proud Dame she was, bestowing every day in dressing herself neat as much time as any of the Gentry of the land: powdering her hair, and painting her face, going with Neck-laces, with Jewels in her ears, and Bracelets upon her hands." Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God: Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed. Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs Mary Rowlandson, and Related Documents*, ed. Neal Salisbury (Boston: Bedford/St Martin's Press, 1997), 97.

our American plantations" (65), but also in the shape of products and practices that penetrate and pervert British life as they have Lismahago's body. Medicines from America turn out to be overpriced and useless, like the Genzeng that Bramble orders, "though I doubt much, whether that which comes from America is equally efficacious with what is brought from the East Indies" (66–67). Some newfangled medical practices, in fact, borrow the murderous habits of Amerindians, and must be energetically resisted by John Bull. When Squire Burdock is injured, the good apothecary Grieve employs traditional British methods such as letting blood and applying poultices. The squire's snobbish wife and worthless son, however, insist on calling in a surgeon who "could not tell whether there was a fracture, until he should take off the scalp" (200). Unlike Lismahago at the hands of Amerindians, Burdock escapes a scalping, returning to consciousness just before the operation. Significantly, as he overpowers the surgeon's assistants, he asserts his national character, exclaiming, "in a bellowing tone, 'I ha'n't lived so long in Yorkshire to be trepanned by such vermin as you'" (200). Burdock, the vigorous English squire, reclaims control over his body, foiling the possibly homicidal intentions of his son ("signor Macaroni") and wife. The barbaric native American practice of scalping may have invaded British shores, but "an old fox in the West Riding" (200) can and does protect himself from it.[48]

At the end of the novel, on the occasion of his marriage to Tabitha, Lismahago distributes gifts to his new family. Matthew Bramble gets "a fine deer's skin, and a Spanish fowling-piece"; Jery is given "a case of pistols curiously mounted with silver"; and Winifred Jenkins is presented with "an Indian purse, made of silk grass, containing twenty crown pieces." Tabitha becomes the proud possessor of "a fur cloak of American sables, valued at fourscore guineas" as well as a wedding ring, "a curious antique, set with rose diamonds [which] had been in the family two hundred years" (390). Except for the ring, the gifts all represent colonial spoils: the guns are the detritus of a previous imperial presence in North America—the technology of power of that

48 Lismahago bears the monstrous scars of his encounter with hostile Amerindians in Ticonderoga, who "rifled him, broke his scull with the blow of a tomahawk, and left him for dead ... so that scull was left naked in several places, but these he covered with patches" (224). Axtell points out that "Contrary to popular belief, scalping was not necessarily a fatal operation; the historical record is full of survivors" (*The European and the Indian*, 34–35). Perhaps the most comic version is Williamson's story of the Irishman who was too drunk to realize he had been scalped (72). Rutherfurd carefully explains that "The scalp is not, as is commonly believed, the whole skin of the head, but is only the uppermost part of the crown" ([Hay], 241).

imperial presence has dwindled to the status of souvenirs—and Winifred's purse is an artefact of transculturations, the Amerindian receptacle that houses (or perhaps swallows?) British coins. Tabitha's cloak is multivalent, since "An Indian wearing clothes made from marten (a species of weasel related to the sable) was clad in a commodity reserved for royalty in Europe ... . Yet pelts were not fully clothes to the explorers' eyes, as they simply covered one's skin with another's and seemed more like raw materials than finished garments."[49] Where the guns might serve as a salutary *memento mori*, and the purse as a symbol of the financial cost of maintaining colonies, the bridal gift both disrupts the social hierarchies so dear to the text's heart *and* connects the Welshwoman Tabitha to the savage Squinkinacoosta. The produce and refuse of America penetrate even the hallowed grounds of Brambleton Hall, and Tabitha, like the nation itself, adorns herself with the elegant relic of a rich Celtic past as well as with the shedding of the colonial present. In *Humphry Clinker*, Smollett suggests that the American colonies have damaged the home country much more than they have benefited it: they have enriched the wrong kinds of Britons, thereby destabilizing social relations and endangering the national health, and, as Lismahago's captivity narrative demonstrates, they have mutilated the British body (and body politic—for emigration and transculturation can only jeopardize the wholeness of the state). In the end, America's contribution to Britain consists of trinkets and carcases ... and ultimately, the degradation of the nation itself.

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49 Sayre, 154. Like the sable skins they wore, Amerindians' hunting habits presented another social problem for England. Axtell points out that "the Indians' greatest offence was the usurpation of aristocratic privilege, the disorderly jumping of class lines. For in England the only people who hunted were members of the upper classes, who did not kill to eat, or poachers who did and risked their ears—or necks—in the attempt" (*The European and the Indian*, 53).