Chapter 8
The Gaze of the Social Scientist: Scotland as South in Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*

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Abstract

This chapter examines Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771) in terms of the concept of "global south". In this epistolary novel, a group of five people gathered around Welsh Squire Matthew Bramble travels across the United Kingdom, making their way from London and its satellite bath towns to Edinburgh and Glasgow. It is argued that Smollett fashions the main character Matthew Bramble as an observer of the social and cultural manners of Britons, one whose views are informed by the Scottish Enlightenment concept of sympathy elaborated by Adam Smith and David Hume. In doing so, this chapter contends, Smollett seeks to offer a detached perspective on the advantages and disadvantages experienced by Scotland after the 1707 Act of Union. By having Bramble's views interact with the more radical ones held by characters like Scottish patriot Lismahago, Smollett is eventually able to convey a complex, multifaceted view of eighteenth-century Scotland as "global south", meant as a society which stands in a subaltern position to the hegemonic "north" represented by London.

Keywords

Global South; eighteenth century; narrative; novel, social science.

Humphry Clinker and Scotland in the Eighteenth Century

In a batch of long letters to his physician Dr. Lewis, Matthew Bramble, the main character of Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* ([1771] 2015), embarks in an extended assessment of Scotland. Summarizing his stay in Edinburgh, he writes that he had met «with more kindness, hospitality, and rational entertainment, in a few weeks, than ever I received in any other country during the whole course of my life» (Smollett 2015: 238). Discussing the state of the Highland peasantry, who «are on a poor footing all over the kingdom», Bramble extols their poverty, which is full of dignity when compared that of the peasants of other countries like France (274). In yet another letter, he reports his discussion on the impact of the 1707 Act of Union with Obadiah Lismahago, a Scottish lieutenant who fought the Seven Years' War in America only to be made captive by an Indian tribe (280)[1].

Views like these led Horace Walpole to famously disparage *Humphry Clinker* as a «party novel, written by the profligate hireling Smollett, to vindicate the Scots» (Walpole 1970: VI, 218). The complex narrative mechanism of this work, however, means that some caution is needed when ascribing Bramble's views to Smollett in too straightforward a manner. *Humphry Clinker* is an epistolary novel that charts the vicissitudes of a family group traveling across Britain. On top of Bramble himself, who takes the lion's share of the epistles, the peregrinations of the family group are told through letters sent by four other characters: Bramble's niece, Lydia; her brother, Oxford University young spark Jery; Bramble's unwed sister, Tabitha; and Tabitha's maid, Winifred Jenkins. The choice of having multiple narrators allows for a range of opinions which are only in partial agreement with each other, reflecting the many ways in which different people experience the same phenomenon.

As Walter Scott noted in a prefatory memoir for the 1821 edition of the novel, Smollett's goal was precisely to depict «the various effects produced upon different members of the same family by the same objects» (Blackwell 2011: 434). For instance, London is to Matthew the place where people are «actuated by the demons of profligacy and licentiousness», living «in one vile ferment of stupidity and corruption», with the result that «the whole nation seems to be running out of their wits» (Smollett 2015: 96). Lydia, by contrast, is struck with «the wonders of this vast metropolis», which leave her «in a maze of admiration»; whereas Winifred exalts in her peculiar prose the size of London — «[a]ll the towns that ever I beheld in my born-days, are no more than Welsh barrows and crumlecks to this wonderful sitty!» — while acknowledging that its pleasures are conducive to «vanity and vexation of spirit» (109-110).

1 On Lismahago's captivity overseas, see Charlotte Sussman (1994) and Tara Ghoshal Wallace (2005-2006).

The itinerary undertaken by the company leads them eastward to Bristol, Bath, and London first; then northward, via a few towns including York and Newcastle, to reach Edinburgh and Glasgow and eventually the beginning of the Scottish Highlands; from there, they eventually make their way back to Brambleton Hall in Wales after a short stay in Manchester. The direction is relevant, for the voyage anti-climactically leaves London and its satellite bath towns to explore the north of the country, effectively achieving two purposes: drawing implicit and explicit comparisons between north and south at a time of vibrant public debate around the role of Scotland within the Union, and undertaking the reverse route of specialized Scottish workers who left their country to go to London, an experience of which Smollett had first-hand knowledge. Like fellow Scottish writers James Thomson, Oliver Goldsmith, and James Boswell, Smollett also left Scotland for London in search of a better future (Trumpener 1997: 16). When he moved in 1739, he did so with the goal of starting a literary career — he wanted to have his tragedy *The Regicide* performed — but ended up working as a surgeon's mate on a ship bound to Jamaica, where he stayed for three years before settling in London a few years later and becoming a writer in earnest (Mitchell 2013: 48).

The London-bound migration experienced by Smollett was increasingly common for Scots in the eighteenth century. Scotland had been incorporated to England and Wales (annexed in the 1530s and 1540s) under the 1707 Act of Union, an event which gave rise to the political entity known as Great Britain and turned Scotland into what a scholar has called a "junior partner" of England (Kaul 2009: 17). The situation of Scottish trade and industry improved as a result, but the price paid in terms of independence and cultural identity was steep. As Evan Gottlieb notes, by the mid-eighteenth century London had become «an increasingly attractive destination for Scottish-born Britons looking to make their fortunes south of the Tweed» (Gottlieb 2005: 81). It is estimated that in 1750, London had approximately 60,000 Scots, roughly 6% of the city population (Wareing 1981: 373). Many of these Scots, notwithstanding their variegated occupational backgrounds, failed to find a job and were prosecuted as vagrants (Brown, Kennedy and Talbott 2019: 253). Those who were successful became resented, as evidenced by the amount of anti-Scottish satire in the 1760s and 1770s (two decades when Scottish politicians either acted as prime ministers or were very influential), which was, on the one hand, proof of the ability of Scottish qualified workers to assume relevance in the «power centres» of Britain after the Union, as David Armitage notes (2005: 242), but, on the other, a clear demonstration of the high degree of discrimination towards them (Whyte 1991).

Smollett's writing thematized the difficult times experienced by Scots who migrated to the south. The titular character of the novel *The Adventures of Roderick Random* ([1748] 2020), who opens the story by stating that «I was born in the

northern part of this united kingdom», is a learned but destitute Scotsman who moves to London to find work as a surgeon's mate in ships bound for overseas territories (Smollett 2020: 1). Roderick Random, as Alfred Lutz argues, is invested by Smollett with the task of responding to «anti-Scottish prejudice» (Lutz 2001: 4). Indeed, as the plot unravels, he and his fellow northerner Hugh Strap have to deal with various insults about their northern lineage. While staying in an alehouse, for instance, they get picked on by a person who «understanding, by our dialect, that we were from Scotland», came up to them to ask them, to general laughter, whether they carried in a backpack «oat-meal or brimstone» (Smollett 2020: 63) — oatmeal being a reference to the typical food eaten by Scottish peasants; brimstone a likely reference to John Knox's Presbyterian preaching. When Random applies for a position as a surgeon in the Royal Navy, he is told by the London officer that the application will likely be unsuccessful because of there being «such a swarm of Scotch surgeons at the Navy Office, in expectation of the next vacancy» (74). Upon Random's revelation that he himself was Scottish, another officer's rejoinder is that «we have scarce any other countrymen to examine here—you Scotchmen have overspread us of late as the locusts did Egypt» (86). His Scottishness gets him in all sorts of trouble, especially at the hands of sharpers who take advantage of his lack of knowledge about the ways of the world in London (Bunn 1981: 455).

As Jerry Beasley observes, Smollett's insistence on Random's misadventures was strategic, in that they emphasized his status «as an outsider in contemporary English society» (Beasley 1979: 212). The prejudices experienced by the main character were meant as a verisimilar chronicle of a Scot's life in the South; as Smollett writes in the preface, «[e]very intelligent reader will, at first sight, perceive I have not deviated from nature in the facts, which are all true in the main, although the circumstances are altered and disguised, to avoid personal satire» (Smollett 2020: xxxv). This was a major concern of Smollett's, who in his journal *The Briton* (1762-1763) would denounce the fact that in the English language the word "Scotchman" increasingly connoted «every thing that is vile and detestable» (Shields 2005: 175).

Scotland as "Global South" in Smollett's Works

The state of cultural subjugation of the Scots depicted in *Roderick Random* is exemplary of a phenomenon that Michael Hechter has called «internal colonialism», which stands for the situation wherein a peripheral territory's economic development is made «complementary to that of the metropolis» (Hechter 1999: 30). Smollett had knowledge of what internal colonialism amounted to, and voiced strong opinions about it. In the poem *The Tears of Scotland* (1746), written a few years prior to *Roderick Random*, he openly invited his countrymen to rebel against the cruelties meted out by the English in the aftermath of the

1746 Battle of Culloden (Shields 2005: 177). Smollett's tone was unmistakably vengeful:

> While the warm blood bedews my veins,
> And unimpair'd remembrance reigns;
> Resentment of my country's fate
> Within my filial breast shall beat;
> And, spite of her insulting foe,
> My sympathizing verse shall flow,
> "Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn
> Thy banish'd peace, thy laurels torn".
> (Smollett 2015: 360)

In both *Roderick Random* and *The Tears of Scotland*, it clearly appears that the «homeland» issue was vital to Smollett as a writer (Beasley 1996: 17). *Humphry Clinker* is no exception, but, differently to these works, the Scotland question is tackled from different points of view, the most prominent of which is that of Bramble, who acts not as a Scottish patriot, but as a detached observer of the state of the Union.

This approach transpires from sundry remarks on cultural discrimination scattered across the novel. Upon entering Scotland, Bramble writes that:

> [t]he first impressions which an Englishman receives in this country, will not contribute to the removal of his prejudices; because he refers every thing he sees to a comparison with the same articles in his own country; and this comparison is unfavourable to Scotland in all its exteriors. (238)

Language stereotypes further exacerbate anti-Scottish prejudice, with Bramble going as far as suggesting that the «Scots would do well, for their own sakes, to adopt the English idioms and pronunciation; those of them especially, who are resolved to push their fortunes in South-Britain». Such advice is based on the fact that «I know, by experience, how easily an Englishman is influenced by the ear» (*ibidem*).

The suggestion that Scottish people are subject to English prejudice is less noteworthy for its content than for Bramble's origins as a fellow citizen of the Union whose identity is also subaltern to English culture. As a Welshman, he is representative of a group of people from a «union long antedating that of 1707, one that is ancient, stable, and broadly accepted» (Keymer 2018: 113). Bramble's identity predates that political union, as he allegedly descends from Llewelyn, prince of Wales from 1258 until 1282 (Smollett 2015: 200), but his name evidently became anglicized over the centuries. Although this suggests his having been absorbed into English culture, Bramble cherishes the superiority of his Welsh identity, as evidenced by the fierce critique of the moral and social chaos which he experiences in London and the nearby bath towns. At Bath,

he complains about the dreaded «mob» (i.e., the crowd), a «monster I never could abide, either in its head, tail, midriff, or members; I detest the whole of it, as a mass of ignorance, presumption, malice and brutality» (44). Similarly, in London, he rails at those people of «birth, education, and fortune» putting themselves «on a level with the dregs of the people» (112). Such crowded environments allegedly beget infective diseases. Being «pent up in frowzy lodgings, where there is not room enough to swing a cat», Bramble is concerned with his having to «breathe the steams of endless putrefaction», which would «undoubtedly, produce a pestilence» (128). By contrast, Wales is portrayed in idyllic terms, both naturally and socially. In Brambleton Hall, his well-managed country property, Bramble breathes «a clear, elastic, salutary air», eats wholesome food entirely produced in his estate, and lives «in the midst of honest men, and trusty dependents, who, I flatter myself, have a disinterested attachment to my person» (*ibidem*).

This evidence shows that Bramble refuses the role of an anglicized observer; on the contrary, he wishes to retain his role as an outside observer, thus situating himself in a privileged distanced standpoint from which to evaluate the relationship between England and Scotland. His very interest in Scottish society is, in fact, surprising, for, as Jery Melford remarks in a letter to fellow Oxonian student Sir Watkin Phillips, «the South Britons in general are woefully ignorant» of all things Scottish due to their prejudices: «[w]hat, between want of curiosity, and traditional sarcasms, the effect of ancient animosity, the people at the other end of the island know as little of Scotland as of Japan» (Smollett 2015: 221).

It is on this premise that we can interpret Bramble's attention to Scottish culture as part of a conflict between north and south. Significantly, the first strip of Scottish land just above the border town of Berwick is described by Bramble as an area which «nature seems to have intended as a barrier between two hostile nations» (Smollett 2015: 222). This division between north and south may be illuminated via the concept of "Global South" employed in present-day social sciences. Anne Garland Mahler understands the concept as «a deterritorialized geography of capitalism's externalities and means to account for subjugated peoples within the borders of wealthier countries» (Mahler 2017). In this sense, the concept of south overlaps with Hechter's definition of internal colonialism, but the element of novelty is provided by the adjective "global", which is employed to «unhinge the South from a one-to-one relation to geography», which means that there are «economic Souths in the geographic North and Norths in the geographic South» (*ibidem*).

In this respect, eighteenth-century Scotland is best understood as a South, i.e., «an internal periphery and subaltern relational position» detached from its actual geographical position (Mahler 2017). This subalternity did not only translate in the loss of local Scottish culture — the clan system of the Scottish Highlands was progressively disbanded over the course of the eighteenth

century — but, subtly yet incisively, in a decrease in the cultural importance of Scotland compared to Southern England, and London specifically (Kaul 2009: 17). Borrowing the terms used by a scholar in the different context of American Souths in literature, London-centred culture in the eighteenth century was the north which operated as «center and norm», while places like Scotland were the south which stood as a «deviation, in need of intervention and reform from without» (Greeson 2010: 12). In other words, applying the concept of Global South to Scotland allows us to notice the subtle «realignment of power in which regional distinctions became markers of a provincial, and even backward, identity as English modes of behavior and standards of correctness became the currency of the nation» (Kaul 2009: 5).

North and South in *Humphry Clinker*

This distinction between North and South is at work in *Humphry Clinker*, a novel which problematizes the cultural hierarchy between London and Scotland by associating the former with disease and the latter with health. As he makes his way northward, finally crossing the border to Scotland, Bramble's health is fully restored. Complaints about his illnesses are all but absent, and nature and man appear both in the best light. Upon leaving the Highlands and planning his return to England, Bramble declares that «I have received so much advantage and satisfaction» that he will return to Scotland to complete his tour of the Highlands «if my health suffers no revolution in the winter» (Smollett 2015: 263).

Still, Bramble's views are not meant as a vindication of Scotland *per se*, but as part of a synthetic view of the Union as a political entity which must be balanced and harmonious in all its parts to function correctly. A case in point is Bramble's letter to Dr. Lewis written while in London and containing the account of a visit to the British Museum, which had opened in 1759. While praising this «noble collection», Bramble laments a lack of systematicity. He wished that «the whole of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms [was] completed», and that «a complete apparatus for a course of mathematics, mechanics, and experimental philosophy» was provided, complete with a position for an «able professor, who should give regular lectures on these subjects» (Smollett 2015: 109-110).

While Bramble's requests do not seemingly have much to do with politics, the opposite is true, as it appears by the fact that his proposed reformation of the British Museum is made with a view of «the honour of the nation» in mind, by which Bramble means the Union. The museum, Bramble explains, had been set up as a collection by a «private man» (109) — Hans Sloane, the former President of the Royal Society — rather than by a state-based enterprise, and this made the collection haphazard, and thus ill-suited to represent the interests of the nation as a whole. Upon Sloane's death in 1753, the Parliament acquired his collection of 71,000 natural specimens for the hefty sum of £20,000.

The British Museum Act passed by the Parliament in the same year reassured the public that the investment would return to the nation by mandating that the collection «be preserved and maintained not only for the Inspection and Entertainment of the learned and curious, but for the use and benefit of the Publick» (Yasaitis 2006: 452). But the right to public access was to be reconciled with Sloane's will, which stipulated that the artefacts in the collection could be made public only if they «remain together, and not be separated, and that chiefly in and about the City of London, where I have acquired most of my estate, and where they may by the great confluence of people be of most use» (Alexander 1983: 34).

A contradiction was thus in place. The British Museum was nominally a public collection for the benefit of the whole Union, but it had to stay in London, and it had to remain in the form chosen by a private citizen. In other words, what Bramble lamented was the risk of mistaking the private for the public, offering a distorting vision of Britain as an eminently London-centric entity. Bramble's choice of the British Museum as a topic to discuss nation-building dynamics was not haphazard. As Sheila Watson has persuasively argued, the British Museum was one of the sites in which «ideas about the kind of political nation Britain imagined itself to be were played out» (Watson 2019: 66). The objects included in the museum «helped create the synonymous identification of England with Britain», which in turn lessened the relevance of the Celtic legacy within the cultural heritage of the country (73). This is especially the case with a number of manuscripts like the Magna Carta, epistles from Augustine following the Christianization of Britain and a number of medieval codices on the Anglo-Saxon past of England, which were also part of the British Museum upon its foundation. These documents were crucial because, as James Hamilton explains, Britain was still «an entity in its infancy» and the institution of the British Museum worked to affirm

> a commitment by the British state, through Parliament, to embrace a united future between England and Scotland by means of an organization whose task it is to preserve, present and study the roots and products that nurture and support it. (Hamilton 2018: 5)

The fact that Bramble's critique of the British Museum is introduced via a focus on the scientific necessities of the collection is also significant, since it shows a concern with the question of how to objectively assess the state of the nation without falling prey to prejudice. In an instance of what Michael Rosenblum calls Smollett's «conservative imagination», Bramble seeks to discover «analogies in the natural world for the organization of the good society» (Rosenblum 1975: 558). However, this yearning for objectivity, Bramble adds, is in contrast to «the temper of the times», which privileges partisanship, so much

so that it is already «a wonder to see any institution whatsoever established for the benefit of the Public» (Smollett 2015: 110). As an example of the selfishness of the times, Bramble takes the example of periodicals, whose slandering he condemns as unfairly damaging the reputation of a person or a whole societal group. Bramble argues that, given that authors in periodicals can easily conceal or disguise their private interests by writing anonymously, and that the pervasiveness of the periodical press allows unscrupulous writers to influence many readers at once, it follows that:

> every rancorous knave—every desperate incendiary, that can afford to spend half a crown or three shillings, may skulk behind the press of a newsmonger, and have a stab at the first character in the kingdom, without running the least hazard of detection or punishment. (Smollett 2015: 110)

This take is clearly circumstantial. As he had done with his periodical *Briton*, Smollett is here using Bramble to rebuke the type of slander that had been levelled at the likes of Lord Bute, who in 1762-1763 was the first Scottish prime minister of Britain (Gassman 1963: 400). But Anti-Scots propaganda in a broader sense was certainly in Smollett's mind as well. Periodicals like the North Briton, which attacked Lord Bute's as a «Scottish administration», often purported to praise the Scots only to underline their lowly status and foster public ridicule against them (Dew 2009: 239).

As Robert Crawford observes, Smollett had been «[s]chooled in Scotophobia», and decided to write *Humphry Clinker* with the «theme of prejudice» explicitly in mind (Crawford 2000: 57). This is apparent from the portrayals of some of the characters in the novel. When the titular character Humphry Clinker first appears, he is so ragged that his buttocks show through his clothes, thus amusing and scandalizing the company. Jery describes him as having a «a sickly yellow» complexion; «his looks denoted famine, and the rags that he wore could hardly conceal what decency requires to be covered» (Smollett 2015: 87). Jery also reports Tabitha Bramble's description of Humphry Clinker as «a filthy tatterdemalion» and «such a beggarly rascal that he had ne'er a shirt to his back, and had the impudence to shock her sight by shewing his bare posteriors, for which act of indelicacy he deserved to be set in the stocks» (87). Although Humphry Clinker would turn out to be of English birth at the end of the novel, the descriptions made by Jery and Tabitha resonate with the anti-Scots propaganda of the 1760s which made «bare buttocks, beggarliness, mange, and filth» typical accusations against the Scots (Rothstein 1982: 63).

Remarkably, Matthew Bramble immediately recognizes the subalternity of Humphry Clinker. With deft use of irony, he addresses the young man as «a most notorious offender» who stands «convicted of sickness, hunger, wretchedness, and want» (Smollett 2015: 88). Swayed by his servility, Matthew Bramble

decides to take Clinker into the family, even though his sister Tabitha refers to him as «a beggarly foundling taken from the dunghill» (93). Bramble's instinctive identification of Clinker as part of the family, long before the discovery that he was his own illegitimate son, works as a metaphor for the need to overcome the unjust prejudices against the "provincial other" within the Union. Plot maneuvers like this are instrumental to the achievement of what Robert Mayer calls "historical vision", that is, Bramble's extended reasoning about the future of Britain as a nation, which within the novel seems to be attainable only by «valorizing both union – harmonious, moral human society – and the Union in the process» (Mayer 1992: 250).

Scotland's Subalternity and Smollett's Use of Multiple Perspectives

Bramble's conversations with Lismahago on the topic of Scotland's status within the Union, as reported in another letter to Dr Lewis, are particularly illuminating in this regard. The former praises the «flourishing state» of Scotland, expressing his satisfaction «at the happy effects of the union, so conspicuous in the improvement of their agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and manners» (Smollett 2015: 280). Lismahago vehemently denies these advantages, arguing that Scotland improved naturally on its own, and that, if anything, it might have actually been hampered by the establishment of the Union. As he bluntly puts it,

> I conceive the Scots were losers by the union.—They lost the independency of their state, the greatest prop of national spirit; they lost their parliament, and their courts of justice were subjected to the revision and supremacy of an English tribunal. (*ibidem*)

In Lismahago's opinion, it is thus erroneous to argue that the Scots gained an advantage from the Union. To the commonplace view that «the people lived better, had more trade, and a greater quantity of money circulating since the union, than before» expressed by Bramble, Lismahago retorts that:

> [t]heir trade has been saddled with grievous impositions, and every article of living severely taxed, to pay the interest of enormous debts, contracted by the English, in support of measures and connections in which the Scots had no interest nor concern. (*ibidem*)

By the Act of Union, the Scots had «become English subjects to all intents and purposes, and are in a great measure lost to their mother-country» (*ibidem*).

Lismahago's patriotic viewpoints were variations of Smollett's interventions in the *Briton*, and in this sense one might reasonably claim that Lismahago, who endorses a form of Scottish nationalism which in the words of Katie

Trumpener «leads to a critique of imperial attitudes», is Smollett's mouthpiece, and that the novel ultimately carries a pro-Scottish message (Trumpener 1997: 263). Yet, it needs to be taken into account that Lismahago's ideas are always refracted by the voice of Bramble, who instead never goes as far as opposing the Union as a political entity because, for all the disparities between north and south, unity is to be privileged over division (Mitchell 2013: 80). As a result, Scotland's subaltern status is vindicated via a challenge to English prejudices, but, as in the portrayal of Clinker, this is done in such an indirect way that the reader cannot but be conveyed a feeling of distance.

The reason for this might well lie in the philosophical substratum of *Humphry Clinker*. Following Louis Martz's classic study on Smollett and the Enlightenment, Bramble's view of the Union may be called synthetical, in that it tries to find harmony between disparate phenomena. As Martz argues, Smollett lived in an «Age of Synthesis», i.e., a period characterized by the scientific urge to classify moral as well as social phenomena and find a common ground (Martz 1942: 1). To this «synthetizing urge» applied to the moral sciences the Scottish Enlightenment had given a remarkable contribution, especially via the notion of sympathy (Crawford 2000: 64). In terms of sentimentalism, the impact of the concept of sympathy devised by David Hume and Adam Smith on *Humphry Clinker* is quite noticeable. With every letter writer being «de facto a spectator of the other characters' actions», each of them «are often moved to comment upon their own sympathetic reactions» to other events, which prompts the reader to experience different sentiments (Dawson 2019: 301). This, as Deidre Dawson shrewdly notes, was an illustration of a central notion of Smith's theory of sympathy: «that we are not only concerned with the object of our sympathy; we are equally concerned with how others might judge our sympathy» (302). This «moral sentimentalism», meant as the «ability to feel as others do», central as it is to the different psychological types of *Humphry Clinker*, may also be linked to a broader group of novelists — which included Samuel Richardson, Sarah Fielding, Laurence Sterne, and Henry Mackenzie — who were interested in exploring the facets of feeling from a philosophical angle (Young 2024: 69; Frasca-Spada 1999: 218).

Politics-wise, however, the presence of multiple perspectives in *Humphry Clinker* poses a challenge to claims like that made by Evan Gottlieb that appreciating «the political ramifications of Enlightened sympathy» helps shed «new light on the nation-building work» of the novel (Gottlieb 2005: 82). The reason is a confusion between Matthew Bramble's view and that expressed in the novel as a whole. Like Matthew Bramble, Hume and Smith saw their concepts of sympathy as aimed at «fostering a sense of shared national identity between the English and the Scots» (*ibidem*), and we know that both Hume and Smith were firm believers in the benefits of the Union for Scotland (Manning 2002: 34; Ross 1975: 7). This is not necessarily the case for the rest of the characters in

Humphry Clinker. In spite of the fact that the novel ends with a number of marriages, which some commentators have taken as a harmonious union between individuals mirroring that between social groups and cultures, the synthesis offered in the novel is never fully accomplished[2]. As Sebastian Mitchell best put it, in *Humphry Clinker* the synthesis between the «self» and the «national» does not «necessarily result in a sense of personal and national harmony», but, rather, in a «blend of the idiosyncratic and resigned» (Mitchell 2013: 48). The character of Lismahago is significant in this regard, for although he courts and then marries Bramble's sister Tabitha, he does not change his mind about Scotland, which is why Bramble complains of «the dogmata of my friend Lismahago» (Smollett 2015: 285).

In other words, what Gottlieb calls Smollett's «interest in how the Scots, far from being merely passive victims of Anglicization, in reality played a formative role in shaping the cultural contours of the new British nation» (Gottlieb 2005: 82), is not examined necessarily via sympathy, but by keeping the contrasts between different points of view alive. In this respect, one can say that Smollett's use of characters as counterpoints — Bramble as the detached social scientist of Humean and Smithian inspiration; Clinker as the destitute migrant who gratefully seeks to please his saviors; Lismahago as the Scottish nationalist patriot — work as different, irreconcilable identities. Fascinatingly, this view harks back once more to the concept of global south, which Alfred J. Lopez understands as «those moments where globalization as a hegemonic discourse stumbles, where the latter experiences a crisis or setback» (Lopez 2007: 3). The power of literature, as Smollett understood, is to embed in some characters like Lismahago «the resistant imaginary of a transnational political subject that results from a shared experience of subjugation under contemporary global capitalism», and, in others like Matthew Bramble, the possibility of overcoming divisions by keeping a more detached view of cultural allegiances (Mahler 2017). By conveying several disharmonious voices about the state of the Union, the epistolary novel, Smollett perceived, could indeed play a key role in portraying Scotland's resistance to Anglocentric forms of cultural hegemony from multiple perspectives.

2 On the value of the «matrimonial union» at the end of the novel, see Michael Murphy (1995).

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