Lost in the Scotch Mist. New Attributions to Tobias Smollett

Anonymous works published in London in 1730-70 are largely unresearched; with their anonymity a very blurry window into history. An estimate of those separately published, or within periodicals, derives a corpus of 20,000 works: essays, poems, letters, plays, satires, novels, and histories. In seeking to pierce the screen of anonymity, some 5,000 of those works have been reviewed, as part of a decade of research into the career of Tobias George Smollett (1721-71); with the extensive, open access, research notes freely available to scholars. Analysis of works newly attributed to Smollett, across a range of genuine or spurious imprints, reveals a distinctive style, and allows tracing of his literary DNA. From the decade of research, this essay selects several works describing travels or events mainly in Scotland, and summarises from the open access research notes, pro forma cases for their attribution to Smollett.

**Keywords:** Anonymous Works, Spurious Imprints, Author Attribution, Scottish Literature, Jacobite Rebellion, Tobias Smollett,

A Letter from a Physician - 1752

Smollett is largely forgotten in Scotland, with his most recent biography published over seventy years ago (Knapp 1949). Extensive, open access, research notes now freely available to scholars, reveal gaps in Knapp’s biography; including Smollett's poetry from c.1733, his 1737 arrival in London, and his prolific authorship (Shelton 2015). The research illustrates his strong preference for anonymity, in hiding behind pseudonyms and spurious imprints. As with examples in this essay, attributions to Smollett thus rely on theme, content, style, language, and polemics; with many works revealing his over-use of polemic terms such as; “nay”, “in short”, “to be short”, or “in a word”.

Selective items in Knapp do provide pegs in the ground for analysis. For example, he writes; “About 1753, Smollett set out for Scotland to see his relatives and friends, after having been separated from them some fifteen years. He appears to have left his family in Chelsea during the five months or so of his absence.” (Knapp 1949: 160). Little is recorded about this visit; but the 1753 visit was not a holiday, as indicated by the absence of his family, of whom he was very fond. The prime reason was for his health, in seeking relief from consumption; as is clear in a 1752 work published shortly before his visit, and newly attributed to him; *A Letter from a Physician in the Highlands, to his friend in London, on the subject of a consumptive habit ... To which is prefix'd, The Editor's case, which gave Rise to the Publication of this Letter.* London, printed for C. Corbett, at Addison's Head, facing St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-Street, [1752], 21pp. (Figure 1) Corbett published many works for Smollett, and thus aids in attributions. As editor, Smollett states his case;
By fast living I had reduced myself into a very deplorable State of Health. I had a violent Cough, Difficulty of Breathing, a continual Tremor on my Nerves; I had colliquative Sweats, was feverish and hectick, with a continual Looseness; was totally amaciated, and every Symptom of a confirmed Consumption. ... I had a strong Inclination to be gathered to my Forefathers, and have my Remains in my own Country, not without some faint Hopes, that my native Air, so favourable to my long-liv'd Neighbours, might perhaps postpone my Journey to the other World for some few Years longer. With this View I wrote my Case to the Author of the following Letter, and hinted my Intention of trying what Effects that Change would work, which produced in answer the following Epistle (Smollett 1752 B: v).

Smollett had a penchant for pseudo-letters, and wrote himself a pseudo-reply from Scotland, in the persona of a Scottish physician. The reply says of Smollett, “But you are not to conclude, that because you are a Native of this Country, that therefore you are able to endure it ... I remember before you left this Country you enjoyed as good a State of Health as most Men ... But the Case is altered with you; you are no more the hardy Highlander, you are merely English” (Smollett 1752 C: 3). The reply discusses Scotland and the health improvements hoped from the visit. Inverness is not mentioned, but as Highlands capital it was Smollett's logical destination. A Letter from a Physician includes, “In a Word, they seem intent upon reducing it into the smallest Dimensions,” and, “in a Word, till his Death was as hardy as the youngest Man in the Country” (Smollett 1752 C: vi, 16).

Aids to attribution are remarks in Monthly Review and Critical Review. Ralph Griffiths was nonconformist publisher of Monthly Review and aware who wrote which pamphlets. In 1747 Griffiths had published Ascanius for Smollett, but when Smollett preferred to patronise M. Cooper and W. Owen, Griffiths targeted Presbyterian Smollett as a competitor in an overcrowded market; one who hid behind pseudonyms and spurious imprints. Griffiths had a combative reputation; as the 1750's progressed he published scathing remarks in Monthly Review, seeking to suppress Smollett's sales. Such reviews reinforce attributions to Smollett, as with sarcastic remarks by Griffiths on A Letter from a Physician; “This does not appear to have been wrote by a physician; the style and expression being too mean and inaccurate to render it digestible by readers who have any tolerable acquaintance with medicine” (Monthly Review 1752: 400). That barb was designed to hurt Smollett; Griffiths was aware Smollett, unqualified as a physician in London had, in 1750, resorted to purchasing an M.D. for £28 from Marischal College, Aberdeen. Continued negativity by Griffiths irritated Smollett, so in 1756 he launched the Critical Review; Smollett's works thence attract favourable remarks in Critical Review, but continue to be demeaned in Monthly Review.
Figure 1: Letter from a Physician

Figure 2: Letters from a Gentleman
Letters from a Gentleman – 1754

With Smollett in Inverness for his health for five months in late 1753, it is logical to consider what he wrote whilst there. Clues are works published in 1754; an obvious title being, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London: Containing a Description of a Capital Town in That Northern Country; with an Account of Uncommon Customs of the Inhabitants. Likewise an Account of the Highlands*. 2 Vols. London, S Birt, 1754. (Figure 2)

The work comprises Letters I-XXVI, purportedly written c.1720-30; with Inverness as Capital Town a clue to Smollett’s visit. Similarity of title to *A Letter from a Physician* shows his pen, and Letter XXVI, describing his condition, confirms ex-navy Smollett was there for his health; note his polemic use of “to be short”;

A certain officer of the army [navy], when in London, was advised by his physicians to go into the country for better air ... he resolved by gentle journeys to endeavour to reach [Fort Augustus] but expected (as he told me) nothing but death by the way ... I was then in the barrack, and the next morning early I saw upon the parade, a stranger which is there an unusual sight. He was in a deep consumption, sadly emaciated, and with despair in his countenance, surveying the tops of the mountains. ... I happened at that instant to be, as it were, inspired with a confidence not ordinary with me, and told him peremptorily and positively the country would cure him: and repeated it several times, as if I knew it would be so ... To be short he mended daily in his health, grew perfectly well in a little time, obtained leave to return to England (Smollett 1818: 227-29).

*Letters from a Gentleman* is often attributed to Edmund Burt. In *Stepping Westward* (2020) Nigel Leask overlooks Smollett’s satiric puns, in accepting an S. Birt as publisher, and Edmund Burt as author, despite noting; “Ironically, in Gaelic his patronymic, 'bùrt' means, 'mockery, ridicule, quizzing, joking’.” Much academic effort has been expended to establish Edmund Burt as a real person (cf. Dougal Graham, William Chaigneau, and William Horsley as discussed below). But what does that prove? It is the identity of the author that is important, not the existence of a minor historical figure. In his introduction to the Georgia University edition of Smollett’s, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, Thomas Preston quotes Avrom Fleishman; with an applicable test;

The presence of the external world instead, as Fleishman continues, raises the question, “how do we respond to works which themselves insist on their reality function, which tie themselves closely to historical time and geographical space, which mix invented names with the names of actual persons, and which refer to objects that are observable in the inhabited world?” (Smollett 1990: xlv).

Some claim an Edmund Burt resided in Inverness between the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745, but War Office records fail to show he held military rank. There are other references, e.g. *Notes and Queries* for 1859, page 174, refers to Burt as author of a July 1725 letter from Edinburgh, in connection with Glasgow riots of 1725. The letter has no reference to Burt as
an engineer, but he does admit to gout; an obstacle to surveying in rough
country! It is claimed he was Chief Surveyor for the road building, but prudent
scrutiny of Letters does not support this. The roads built by General Wade were
across the eastern highlands, essentially from Crieff to Loch Ness and
Inverness, whereas 90% of the discussion within Letters I-XXV is a travelogue
on the people and history of the western highlands. In contrast, only Letter
XXVI describes the eastern roads and their construction, and appears tacked on
as an afterthought. References in Letter XXVI are those a traveller would
encounter of completed roads, with explanations of how features were
constructed.

A critical test compares Letters with Samuel Johnson's, A Journey to the
Western Islands, and James Boswell's, Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides. The
benchmark is the logic used by Sherlock Holmes; "Why did the dog not bark?"
Although Letters does not extend to the Western Islands, there are major areas
of geographic overlap around Inverness. In both Johnson and Boswell are
published countless actual names of people they met and places they visited.
But in Letters there are no names of actual people, whereas one should expect
genuine letters of c.1720-30 to contain divers names of people and locations.
The reason, "the dog did not bark", i.e. Letters does not quote names or places,
because it satirises events occurring during Smollett's 1753 visit. Leask, Sir
Walter Scott, and others accept Letters as written by Burt but, more important
is that neither Johnson nor Boswell quote from Letters in their Journals; both
keenly aware it was written as a Smollett satire.

The c.1720-30 dates of the pseudo-letters evidence Smollett's satiric
inspiration for Letters was Defoe's three-volume travel book, A Tour Thro' the
Whole Island of Great Britain (1724–27); tempered by satiric mockery of the
lives of Highland inhabitants, reminiscent of Swift's Gulliver's Travels (1726).
In bracketing those dates, Smollett intended readers of Letters should conclude
he had literary skills on a par with Defoe and Swift. Smollett never met Defoe,
but he adopted him, along with Swift and Pope, as literary models. Both Defoe
and Smollett were taught rhetoric, logic and Latin grammar, and the sciences.
Smollett also studied Greek and divinity. Defoe had a parallel reluctance to
reveal details about himself, and both wrote anonymously. As for Defoe,
Smollett's grandfather was a confidant of royalty; Sir James Smollett was
knighted in 1698 by King William. Defoe was anti-Catholic and feared Popish
plots, so did Smollett, an avid anti-Jacobite, who attacked Alexander Pope and
the French for Catholicism. Defoe wrote Memoirs of a Cavalier, set in the
seventeenth-century, but model for adventures in Smollett's Ferdinand, Count
Fathom (1753). In his Review, Defoe pioneered many features of modern
newspapers; echoed by Smollett in writing for London periodicals. Smollett
also followed Defoe's lead, in priding himself on his skill at presenting
opinions he did not hold, and drew on Defoe's Review title for his own
magazine, the Critical Review. Defoe often wrote on a single subject, but
adopting opposing polemic arguments. Smollett did the same, with opposing
pamphlets, via a battling and baffling mix of spurious and genuine publishers,
intended to give the impression of vigorous public debate.
Critical analysis of *Letters* demonstrates the work as a travelogue. Although purporting to be a series of conversational, day to day, letters to a friend, when analysed carefully, that is not the underlying structure. Instead of day to day accounts of road-building, each letter is a cultural and geographical description of a particular aspect of north-western highland Scotland; Smollett’s accumulation of information over a period of five months, extracted from local histories, travel, and interaction with the inhabitants. A typical Smollett subterfuge is reference to people and events in Edinburgh; as cover for Glasgow, from whence Smollett came. Instances in *Letters* do give a genuine impression of Smollett residing in Inverness for several months; for example, multiple references to meeting English army officers, but as officers posted to Inverness after the Rebellion, not on road-building duty. If the author was Chief Surveyor for Wade, one should expect letters to contain endless discussions on difficulties in plotting the route, surveying and building roads in rough country, and bad weather, together with problems in procurement of men, materials and supplies, progressive milestones achieved, reports of accidents, management of the workforce, and, especially, the attitudes of eastern-highland inhabitants to the soldiers, and to the road. (Figure 5)

Smollett had admired Wade’s efforts in Scotland even before 1753, as indicated by a poem now attributed to him, *Albania, a Poem, Addressed to the Genius of Scotland*, London, T. Cooper, 1737, 22pp. (Figure 3) Until his 1743 death, Cooper being patronised by Smollett. It is dedicated to General Wade but, as typical opinionated Smollett, is misleadingly, "Addressed to the Genius of Scotland"; intended to reference Smollett himself! The pamphlet includes a Smollett dissimulation; on many occasions he introduced his work by...
pretending to have found a cache of letters or similar:

The above poem was wrote by a Scots clergyman some years ago, who is since
dead. The fine spirit of poetry which it breathes, its classic air, but, above all, the
noble enthusiasm he discovers for his country, cannot fail to make it agreeable to
such as have a taste for that simplicity of nature and that beautiful diversification
of epithets which constitute the principal excellence of antiquity (Smollett 1737).

Smollett contributed to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and drew on the
*London Gazette*, with its minutiae about the Rebellion. Smollett alludes to
*London Gazette* in an anti-Jacobite poem now attributed to him; *The strolling
hero, or, Rome's knight-errant, A Hudibrastick poem on the young chevalier's
expedition. By Jimmy Butler*, London, printed for M. Cooper, at the Globe in
Pater-Noster-Row, 1744, 24pp. (Figure 4) Cooper being a regular Smollett
publisher from 1743;

The Story's odd, and then, I pray,
What to my Numbers can you say;
Tho' rough and rumbling as a Coach,
They're smoother than the Prose of ___
And I have sure a Right to blaze it,
Who but transverse the *L___n G__z__te* (Smollett 1744 C: 24).

Evidence for the early career of Smollett is outside this paper but, suffice
to say, cross-linked and detailed research shows him with a surprising degree
of editorial influence at *The Gentleman's Magazine, Scots Magazine*, and
*London Magazine*, and an extraordinary ability to puff his works therein,
including *Letters*; often a clue to his pen. In claiming discovery of old letters,
he usually left a subtle clue any claim of age was a fiction; as with the ironic
hint slipped into his extended puffing of *Letters* in *The Gentleman's Magazine*,
July 1754; “These letters, which are said to have been written between 20 and
30 years ago, the attentive reader may perhaps suspect to be of later date.”

References within *Letters* seek to imply it was written prior to the 1745
Jacobite Rebellion, but that was as a modern author may write about events
prior to 1939. In setting the letters prior to 1745, Smollett was able to write a
tavelogue without being sidetracked by the minutiae of events, and
overwhelming impact of matters, prior to, during, and after the 1745 rebellion.
However, as extra camouflage, some excesses relayed to him about the 1745
rebellion, he predates as occurring during the 1715 rebellion. As his source,
Smollett mimics Defoe's possession of a bundle of papers upon which his 1720,
*Memoirs of a Cavalier* was based, with *Letters* opening in a similar manner;

As an evidence that 'tis very probable these Memorials were written many years
ago, the persons now concerned in the publication assure the reader that they
have had them in their possession finished, as they now appear, above twenty
tyres; that they were so long ago found by great accident ... 'I found this
manuscript among my father's writings, and I understand that he got them as
plunder at, or after, the fight at Worcester, where he served as major of ___'s

I am apt to imagine you may be curious to know by what Means the following Letters came to my Hands after the space of between twenty and thirty Years. ... The Person who writ them, has not set his Name to any one of them, and, it is very probable, he made Use of that Caution for Reasons given in his introductory Letter; ... if I had known the Name, in all Likelihood I might have thought myself under an obligation to conceal it (Smollett 1815).

Figure 5: A map of his Majesty’s roads from Edinburgh to Inverness, Fort Augustus and Fort William, as advertised in Scots Magazine, March, 1746 - Eastern Highlands map available to Smollett in 1746 & 1753. General George Wade and his planning of the roads are discussed by Denise Chantrey (Chantrey 2009).

In Letter I, written before Burt’s name emerged, Smollett outlined for his
preference for anonymity;

I have several Reasons for this Precaution, which I make no doubt you will approve. First, The contrary might create Inconveniencies to me in my present Situation. It might furnish Matter for disobliging Comparisons, to which some of our Countrymen are but too much addicted … And lastly, It would do me no great Honour to be known to have made a Collection of Incidents, mostly low, and sometimes disagreeable (Smollett 1815: 2).

Smollett saw Letters as avenging his family honour against the Highland Jacobites. His 1753 visit was exactly 150 years after events of 1603, when 400 men of Clan MacGregor came to Lennox to “reave and spoyle”. The leaders were indicted, after they, “slaughteris, schamefullie, crewallie and barbaruslie murdreist and slew Peter Naper of Kilmahew; Johnne Buchannane of Buchlyvie; Tobias Smallet, bailzie of Dumbarten ...” After the guilty verdicts, the sentence provided, “the saidis persones to be tane to the mercat-croce of Edinburgh, and thair to be hangit upone ane gibbet quhill thay be deid; and thairefter thair heidis, legis, airmes and remanent pairtis of thair bodeis to be quarterit and put upone publict places”, and all their estates to be forfeited (Pitcairn 1833: 430-2). Smollett's poem, The Tears of Scotland, better describes the events of 1603, than Culloden in 1746.

While not a Gaelic speaker, Smollett knew 'bùrt' meant, mockery, ridicule, quizzing, joking. Thus, as a punning joke, he published Letters anonymously with S. Birt, a real publisher, but not otherwise used by Smollett; to veil the ridicule of Highlanders in his, “collection of incidents, mostly low, and sometimes disagreeable.” But, by January 1755, Smollett feared his identity was at risk of discovery, and a risk to sales of his other works. He thus elected to “kill off” the author of Letters, selecting as another pun, Edmund Burt, to be straw-man, and used his editorial influence to publish fake obits for Burt in Scots Magazine and The Gentleman’s Magazine. (Figures 6,7)

Figure 6: Obit in Scots Magazine

Figure 7: Obit in The Gentleman’s Magazine
The “backstory” obits introduce Burt as, “Chief surveyor during the making of roads through the highlands, and author of the letters concerning Scotland,” but fall into the category of “too good to be true.” (On his p.26, n.13, Leask (2020) mistakenly, and misleadingly, claims the obit reads, “... Gen. Wade, chief surveyor ...”, to purport General Wade was chief surveyor.) Both obits refer to previous essays, a typical Smollett ploy to draw attention to earlier puffs. Smollett left satiric clues to his subterfuge; Burt puns Birt the publisher, with Edmund shared by the notorious book-seller Edmund Curll and by Henry Fielding's father: Henry had died in 1754, but Edmund was a legacy of their jousting. With Smollett shown as author of Letters, the life of the real Burt has no relevance.

John English's Travels through Scotland – 1763

In 1763, “Burt” was confirmed as being Smollett, via both the Monthly Review and Critical Review. The work they discussed was a scurrilous work about the Scots; John English's travels through Scotland, Containing, a curious and entertaining account of the manners and strange customs of the inhabitants. With many humorous anecdotes, and natural discoveries, London, printed for W. Morgan, in Pater-noster Row. 1763, 95pp. W. Morgan being a spurious imprint in 1762-63. Although he had “killed off” Burt for mockery of the Scots, Smollett recognised such biased ridicule was saleable in England. To distance himself, he created a new persona, John English, to mock the Scots with enhanced bigotry. Both Monthly Review and Critical Review refer to Burt/Birt, and thus confirm Smollett's hand in both Letters from a Gentleman and John English. The Monthly Review concludes; “this shameless scribbler a native of some other soil,” and hopes “no Englishman can be charged;” as signs Scottish Smollett was known to be the author of John English;

Of all the dull and stupid trash which, to our unavoidable mortification, hath passed in review before us, this surely is the dullest and most stupid; as it is also the filthiest and meanest. It is not merely that the Author (if it be not an abuse of the term to use it on so unworthy an occasion) has falsely aspersed a whole nation, since much better Writers have fallen into this low and illiber conductor, and rendered the practice as common as it is senseless; it is not his telling the most improbable and impudent lies, for they can only reflect scandal on the liar himself; - it is not any consideration of this sort that ought so much to provoke the candid Reader's resentment, as that such vile ribaldry should pass through the press. - We hope, however, that no Englishman can be charged with offering so bare-faced an affront to the Public: and, indeed, from some expressions in his trumpery, we are led to conclude this shameless scribbler a native of some other soil. Certain it is he can be a credit to none. ... As to the present dirty offender, we think it would be very proper to have him well washed in a horse-pond. Mr Birt's [sic] travels into Scotland were severely satirical upon that country, and he may possibly have made some things worse than he found them; yet, as he wrote like a gentleman, we have known even some North-Britons who could readily forgive him his satire.... (Monthly Review 1763: 77)
In *Critical Review*, Smollett himself seeks distance from John English's bigotry but, in doing so, acknowledges Burt/Birt, with a satiric red-herring claim Burt hanged himself; an allusion to the fate of those in Clan MacGregor who in 1603 “crewallie and barbaruslie murdreist” Tobias Smallet; The execrabllity of all execrabilities. We should not have taken notice of this performance, had it not been for a principle of humanity, which obliges us to inform the public, that it is an extract from a series of letters, in two volumes, concerning the Scotch nation, published some years ago by one B. and printed for a bookseller and namesake of his own; but it succeeded so well, that the author fairly hanged himself at his lodgings or house in Channel-Row, Westminster; a laudable example to his epitomizer! (*Critical Review* 1763: 77-78).

**An Impartial History – 1746**

So can other works can be attributed to Smollett? Scottish histories of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion pay scant attention to Smollett, but as a Scot and a published author it had natural appeal for him, with multiple related works now attributable to him. For example, recent research has invited a focus on the widely accepted author, Dougal Graham; like Edmund Burt, linked to Glasgow. It is traditionally claimed Graham's work is a prime example of vernacular Scots, or rough doggerel, of Graham's experiences at the time of the 1745 Rebellion. For example, the DNB of 1900, remarks;

Dougal Graham was born, it is believed, at Raploch, near Stirling, in 1724. He was much deformed, and found the wandering life of a 'chapman' (or pedlar) more to his taste than any settled trade; but when the highland army of Prince Charles Edward was on its way south in September 1745, he gave up such occupation as he had, and followed the prince. It is probable he was merely a camp-follower, as he can scarcely have been a soldier, but he accompanied the forces to Derby, and back to Scotland, and was present at Culloden (16 April 1746). Five months later he published *A full, particular, and true Account of the Rebellion in the year 1745-6*. This work is written throughout in a rough doggerel, but is historically useful as the undoubted testimony of an eye-witness. ... Graham settled in Glasgow, and is said to have become aprinter, but this is doubtful; at all events he became 'skellat,' bellman or town-crier, of Glasgow about 1770. He is described as "a bit wee gash bodie under five feet," as being lame in one leg, "with a large hunch on his back, and another protuberance on his breast." He died on 20 July 1779 (DNB 1900).

It is claimed Graham wrote many chapbooks, as were published in, *The Collected Writings of Dougal Graham, 'Skellat' Bellman of Glasgow*, by George MacGregor, Glasgow, Thomas D Morison, 1883; this contains an advertisement from the *Glasgow Courant* of 29 September, 1746;
That there is to be sold by James Duncan, Printer in Glasgow, in the Saltmearcat, the 2nd Shop below Gibson’s Wynd, a Book intituled *A full, particular, and true Account of the late Rebellion in the Year 1745 and 1746, beginning with the Pretender’s Embarking for Scotland, and then an Account of every Battle, Siege, and Skirmish that has happened in either Scotland or England.* To which is added, several Addresses and Epistles to the Pope, Pagans, Poets, and the Pretender: all in Metre. ... But any Booksellers or Packmen may have them easier from the said James Duncan, or the Author, D. Grahame. (MacGregor 1883: 13)

A 2017 thesis by Mary Gordon Rorke discusses a 1752 edition of *A Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion in the Years 1745-46*, Glasgow, printed for, and sold by Dougal Graham Glasgow; and Alexander Young, Stirling, 1752, 100pp. The thesis promotes the proposition Graham was a real person, and he wrote the verses attributed. However, the thesis omits discussion of a parallel, but different, London work of the same 1752 date, also by D. Graham; *An impartial history of the rise, progress and extinction of the late rebellion in Britain in the years 1745 & 1746 ... by D. Graham*, Falkirk, printed by T. Johnston, 1752, 165pp. (ESTC); original unlocated, but queried in some sources. Nevertheless, analysis as below supports its existence. The former is in Scots dialect, whereas the latter work is in English, and is key to unmasking the real identity of Dougal Graham.

Despite the DNB claim “as the undoubted testimony of an eye-witness,” there are reasons to believe Dougal Graham was a Smollett pseudonym. Perhaps a man known to Smollett, but used as a satiric red-herring in publishing *An Impartial History*. T. Johnston being a spurious London imprint, and Falkirk as a red-herring location to support the Dougal Graham pseudonym. The work was published in London in 1752, shortly ahead of Smollett’s 1753 visit to Scotland. This paper analyses the origin and authorship of the London work, *An Impartial History*, and therein seeks to scrutinise the claim for Graham as author of the verses in *A Full, Particular and True Account*. In *Collected Writings*, MacGregor seems unaware there were two 1752 works. He quotes *An Impartial History* by D Graham (1774), and accepts it differs very much from *A Full, Particular and True Account*. Nevertheless, MacGregor’s remarks about Graham in *Collected Writings* do raise red flags requiring a cautious approach, and hence a need to be assessed for Graham’s credibility;

As for the second edition of the *History of the Rebellion*, published in 1752, ... There is no reason to believe that, beyond a slight enlargement and some few alterations, there was any material change in the work. Its tone is indicated by the remark made by M’Vean:—*The History of the Rebellion*, published by Dougal in 1752, differs very much from the third edition, published in 1774. This last appears to have been greatly altered and enlarged, and many curious passages in the early edition are suppressed in this. In 1752 Dougal talks of the rebels with a great deal of virulence, in 1774 he softens his tone, and occasionally introduces apologies for their conduct (MacGregor 1883: 33).

Graham has provided only one or two details about himself; an advertisement in a Glasgow newspaper fixes the date of one of the most important events of his
life ... There, practically, our knowledge ceases. All beyond what is to be gained from these sources is tradition or inference, and not a little of what has thus been put on record has been questioned. … Graham is not known to have made any effort in the direction of literature, though, in view of the magnitude of the task he set before himself on the conclusion of the rebellion, it is not improbable he may have courted the Muses from afar, and indulged in poetical, or rhythmical, fancies for the amusement of his customers and entertainers in his youthful chapman days. … The capacity in which he became attached to the Prince’s forces has been matter for conjecture. His physical deformities are assumed to have unfitted him for active service, and everything points to the conclusion that he was not a soldier, but rather a sutler, or camp-follower. … An event of the first importance in Graham’s life was his appointment to the post of skellat bellman of the city of Glasgow. … As the appointment was in the gift of the magistrates, it is surprising that no notice is taken in the Town Council Records of Graham’s incumbency (MacGregor 1883: 11-19).

The DNB and MacGregor red flags demand scrutiny. If the verses in dialect are claimed as, “the undoubted testimony of an eye-witness”, and he was “not a soldier, but rather a sutler, or camp-follower,” and “a bit wee gash bodie under five feet,” as being lame in one leg, “with a large hunch on his back, and another protuberance on his breast;” the claim invites scepticism, and it is not credible that within five months of Culloden, sutler Graham researched in sufficient detail, to write, "an Account of every Battle, Siege, and Skirmish that has happened in either Scotland or England."

So why Smollett? Although omitted from Knapp's biography, there are indications Smollett traveled after Culloden, to Carlisle and Glasgow, returning by sea. The visit can be reconstructed, in part, from Smollett contributions in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1748, page 562-63, has a letter of 9 June 1746, dated Carlisle describing a journey from Derby to Carlisle, both key locations in the rebellion. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1748, pages 1-5, and 289-92, has a letter of August 1746, describing a coastal voyage south from Carlisle, and believed by Smollett. He probably knew the Glasgow printer James Duncan, and arranged the September advertisement with him. Smollett accepted a work in a Scots dialect would have little sale in England, and it seems he passed his 1746 manuscript to Duncan for publishing. Smollett later publishing a separate London account as, *An Impartial History* in 1752 with T. Johnston, whilst encouraging a Glasgow reprint of the 1746 work.

Smollett came from Glasgow; he was conversant with the Glasgow accent and wider region, with Scottish history, also the Jacobite Rebellion, British and European politics, and military service as a navy surgeon at the siege of Cartagena. Smollett was classically educated by the polemicist author, John Love; “The headmaster of Dumbarton's school was John Love (1695-1750) the celebrated controverislist and grammarian, and also clerk of the presbytery of Dumbarton” (Knapp 1949: 8). Examples in this paper show author Smollett as a prolific and competent, poet and satirist.

Most academic attention is directed at the verses, but for Smollett analysis of the full preface reveals his authorship of *An Impartial History*. The preface is similar in style and language to many other prefaces he wrote. In it, reference
to Duke William alludes to the knighting of Sir James Smollett, a Commissioner for Scotland at the Act of Settlement. The language is that of a classically educated scholar, claiming to be both wit and grammarian; via references to Voltaire, noted as a wit, and Zoilus, the Greek grammarian. With an implied wink, he hints he is “the Author of Ascanius,” and acknowledges a debt to Defoe's *Memoirs of a Cavalier* via, “let Cavillers rather write a better one”. He declares “an Itch for Scribling” and, as Dougal Graham, proclaims, “I have wrote it in Vulgar Rhyme, being what not only pleased my own Fancy, but what I have found acceptable to the most part of my Countrymen, especially to those of common Education like myself;” with “like myself” a deliberate red-herring as, although he studied divinity, Smollett never attained a degree;

It is grown customary to introduce New Publications (however trifling) to the Public, with some kind of Oration in their Favour—Some must have their Literary Productions shelter’d under the Protection of the Great, that they may have an Opportunity of showing their Talents in paying flattering Compliments, to gratify their Patron’s Vanity, often at the expence of Truth, and always with the sinister View of Advantage to themselves—Others, take their own Word for it, are prevail’d upon, to publish their Writings at the request of judicious Friends, thereby, laying the Public under a kind of Tribute to their friends, by obliging them to subscribe to their Judgment, or condemn their Taste, and excuse the poor Author, whose Modesty would otherwise have kept his Productions a Secret.—Some have wrote with the momentous View of instructing and amending the World—A laudable, but arduous Task! and every One allidges some Reason or other for commencing Author. I too have my Reasons, which I will candidly own .... First then, I have an Itch for Scribling, and having wrote the following for my Pleasure, I had an Ambition to have this Child of mine out in the world, expecting, if it should thrive and do well, it might bring Credit or Comfort to the Parent—For it is my firm Opinion, that Parental Affection is as strong towards Children of the Brain, as those produced by natural Generation.

Having thus far shown my Reason for Publishing, allow me in the next Place, to show my Method—I have no dread of any Body’s finding Fault with me for telling the Truth, because Charles has no Sway here; Duke William, once the Idol of the loyal British, is gone to the house of Silence, and I believe, if I should take the Liberty to tell the Truth of him, no Body could blame me—therefore, I have impartially related all that to me seemed worth while, of the Actions of either Party in that confused Fray, from the Writings of the Celebrated Voltaire, from the Author of *Ascanius*, or from my own Observation, having been an Eye-witness to most of the Movements of the Armies, from the Rebels first crossing the Ford of Frew to their final defeat at Culloden.—The Highlanders Stealt, Raivt, and Sipped the Kirn, I really think, pinching Hunger caused most of their Disorders.—The Red-coats unmercifully houghed the Cows, and burnt the Houses of many poor Folks who were innocent of the Rebellion: By both, the Sakeless suffered.—I have wrote it in Vulgar Rhyme, being what not only pleased my own Fancy, but what I have found acceptable to the most part of my Countrymen, especially to those of common Education like myself. If I have done well, ’tis what I should like: and if I have fail’d, ’tis what Mankind are liable to—Therefore, let Cavillers rather write a better one, than pester
themselves and the Public with their Criticisms of my Faults.—To the candid 
Public, I beg leave to present it, such as it is, and if they applaud, let Zoilus carp 
his fill—I have gained my End, and am, The Public’s most obedient Servant, 
Dougal Graham. (MacGregor 1883: 83-84)

Reprints of An Impartial History by D. Graham, include a third edition of 
1774, published by John Robertson in Glasgow for a wider Scottish public; a 
generation after the Rebellion when emotions had calmed. (Figure 8) It is 
unknown whether Smollett had input into the third edition, perhaps before his 
1771 death; then discovered among papers returned from Italy, and sent to 
Robertson. Aside from the preface, the verses within An Impartial History and 
in A Full, Particular and True Account betray the works, attributed to Graham, 
as instead the pen of an educated poet, with knowledge of Latin, British and 
European politics, of Scotland. the Rebellion, and of recent events in London, 
but familiar with the local dialect. Scrutiny of later pieces attributed to Graham 
may also reveal Smollett’s pen, e.g. The copy of a letter from a gentleman in 
Scotland to Lewis XV, present King of France, Glasgow, 1755, 1pp. If Graham 
was, as claimed, a sutler or chapman, why describe himself there as gentleman? 
After logical analysis, the attributions to Graham are rejected, as beyond his 
capability or education. Thus to confirm the identity of Dougal Graham, one 
needs to seek out the author of Ascanius; a work paired with An Impartial 
History via a T. Johnston imprint.
Ascanius; or the Young Adventurer – 1746

Ascanius deals with the escape of the Young Chevalier after Culloden, beginning on 16 April, 1746, and ending in September. An initial clue with Ascanius is that, apart from An Impartial History, in 1730-90 the only other work with the spurious imprint of T. Johnston, is two versions of Ascanius; 1746 (288pp.) (Figure 9) and 1747 (185pp.) (Figure 10) The former is; Ascanius, or, the young adventurer; a true history. Translated from a manuscript privately handed about at the court of Versailles. Containing, A particular Account of all that happen'd to a certain Person ... London, printed for T. Johnston, in Salisbury-Court, Fleet-Street, 1746, 288pp. (Smollett 1746 A).

Figure 9: Ascanius - T. Johnston 1746
Two shorter, 64pp. versions of Ascanius, with a 1746 Amsterdam imprint, likely preceded T. Johnston, including; Ascanius; or The young adventurer, a true history, Translated from a manuscript privately handed about at the Court of Versailles ..., London, Printed and sold by Messrs. Grimky and Voguel Booksellers in Amsterdam ..., [1746], 64pp. (Figure 11) The second had the same title, but was printed for G. Smith, near Temple-Bar; and sold also by Mess. Grimky and Voguel, ..., [1746], 64pp. (Figure 12) That imprint is false, the actual printer and publisher being William Faden and William Owen. That is logical as, in 1747, W. Owen published for Smollett; Reproof: a Satire. The Sequel to Advice, London, printed for W. Owen ... and M. Cooper ..., 1747, 12pp. And in 1746 Mary Cooper had published Advice: a Satire for Smollett, after he initially published Advice with the spurious imprint of George Freer. The imprints imply a single author published under both G. Smith and T. Johnston, an initial shorter version, then expanded. G. Smith is believed spurious in c.1746-62; as a pseudonym used by Smollett on multiple occasions. The expanded, 288pp. edition of Ascanius then appeared in 1747 as; “London, printed for the Proprietor, and sold by R. Griffiths, at the Dunciad, in Ludgate Street, 1747, 288pp.” The imprint shows the proprietor (Smollett) as distinct from the seller. Griffiths had worked for Jacob Robinson, who published multiple titles for Smollett, with Ascanius an early title published by Griffiths after he set up in business. When the administration expressed concern, the 1747 imprint led to Griffiths. As a result, Griffiths, Faden, and Owen were examined for seditious libel at Whitehall Cockpit on 9 January 1746/7 (O.S.). When examined, Griffiths protected the identity of Smollett by declaring he had, "composed the said Pamphlett from the accounts of the Rebellion published in the London Gazette," and from other newspapers; as
indeed Smollett had done. Griffiths sent a letter of apology (likely composed by Smollett) to the Duke of Newcastle on 13 January, stating “I did not intend to give the Government one moment's uneasiness;” and thus enabled Smollett to remain incognito.

Logically, the puffing of *Ascanius* in the preface to *An Impartial History*, and the verses written in Glasgow dialect, ruled out Welshman Griffiths as the author; trained as a watchmaker, he was neither classically educated, nor able to versify *An Impartial History* in a Glasgow dialect. Lack of a Glasgow dialect, also rules out John Burton (1710-71) of York, sometimes attributed with *Ascanius*. The evidential factors combine to point at; an experienced and influential Scottish author, classically educated, located in London, knowledgeable about the Rebellion, conversant with a Glasgow dialect, having military experience, familiar with the subterfuge of Amsterdam and other spurious imprints, also the ploy of, “a manuscript privately handed about at the Court of Versailles,” but one preferring anonymity. Those factors enable a Smollett attribution as author of *Ascanius*. 
The Wanderer: or, Surprizing Escape – 1747

In following Defoe's example, a characteristic of Smollett was to write multiple pieces on a subject. Hence, one should expect at least one more prose narrative, one which may puff Ascanius. In 1746, such a work appeared, with a 60pp. version “printed, and sold by the booksellers of town and country,” preceding a 1747 Jacob Robinson edition of 104pp.; The Wanderer: or, surprizing escape. A narrative founded on true facts. Containing a series of remarkable events, during a late very extraordinary adventure, from the first projection, to its appearance in the North, and total defeat. Interspers'd with several curious and authentic Particulars the Public has hitherto been unacquainted with ..., London, printed for Jacob Robinson, 1747, 104pp. (Figure 13) Clues to Smollett are the title reference to Ascanius, and Jacob Robinson as publisher. It was typical of Smollett to pretend criticism of another of his works, to draw attention to it and encourage sales. The Wanderer dedicates a dozen pages to puffing Ascanius, including drawing attention to “such a prodigious run” and the government displeasure with Griffiths. The Wanderer puff includes:

When I first read the pamphlet, which had such a prodigious run, under the title of Ascanius, it was in a very cursory manner, having before been tired with almost, daily accounts of the young adventurer's travels and hardships after the battle of Culloden.... I say, I ran over the pamphlet carelessly enough, looking upon it as calculated to get a penny, without any other view; and thought it, by the turgid stile, the performance of a certain female author [Eliza Haywood], till I had gone through the whole; but then as I found it contained no smutt, I altered my opinion, and throwing it aside, troubled my head about neither the work, nor the author, till I read in the news, that the bookseller of it was taken up. This awakened my curiosity, to give it a second, and more attentive reading, to discover what there was in it, could possibly give the government offence: but this, I own, was more than I could do; for on the contrary, if vilifying the unfortunate youth, deserves a reward, he has a juster claim to it than the most scurrilous of the news-writers. I am really apt to think, the bookseller informed against himself, that he might be taken up, as all the public papers would, by that method, advertise his work for nothing; which, by raising people's curiosity, might carry off another edition: and, that a warrant was granted, on the strength of that information, without examining the pamphlet, which is a very wretched, inconsistent composition.

I was speaking of it to a gentleman, who was of my opinion, and he attributed the success it had to the title Ascanius. … The author sets out with a florid common place soliloque; after which he prudently precautions his readers not to be over-curious in their enquiries; and tells them, in heroics, from whence he derives his commission, by whose authority he takes upon him the mournful task, and how he learnt the sad particulars, are secrets, .... The stile is indeed captivating: it is in the true modern sublime of romance, which it is well known soars to the higher pitch, as it is less clogged with sense or grammar. Though I must admire the quaint diction of this author, yet I cannot entirely depend on his veracity, when he tells us, that he presents his readers with the naked truth, undisguised by the least garment borrowed from the plenteous wardrobe of fiction. ... But the question is,
whether he presents us truth, and nothing but the truth. This I shall endeavour to
discover in a very short examination of his work: If he does, we must allow he
has the gift of intuition; since he can tell us that Ascanius felt in his mind a true
presage of his entire defeat; and he must admit, that he himself was either an ear-
witness of their consultations, and other discourses among the rebels; that he has
since corresponded with them in a very particular manner, since he repeats their
very words, or that he took a step to the plenteous wardrobe of fiction, to borrow
a garment to cover the lady’s nakedness (Smollett 1747 A:1-12).

A word search of The Wanderer for Smollett polemic fingerprints, reveals
six instances of “nay” and two of “in a word.” The Wanderer uses material
drawn from The Gentleman’s Magazine, and London Gazette, also military
investigations, and by talking to participants. Taken with twelve pages of
puffing, the knowledge of Scotland and its nobility, it is logical to accept that
Ascanius and The Wanderer were written by the same author; the obvious
candidate being Smollett: already linked to Ascanius, and aided by Jacob
Robinson, who had published multiple works for Smollett.

A Journey Through Part of England and Scotland – 1747

Although Ascanius and The Wanderer are about the Young Pretender,
neither is a close parallel for the pseudo-camp-following Dougal Graham of
An Impartial History. Thus worth looking for a Smollett pseudo-camp-
follower or soldier, writing in prose, rather than in verse. He emerges, as “A
Volunteer,” on the title-page of the second edition of; A Journey through part
of England and Scotland along with the army under the command of His Royal
Highness the Duke of Cumberland. Wherein the Proceedings of the Army, and
the Happy Suppression of the Rebellion In the Year 1746. Are particularly
described. As also, The Natural History and Antiquities of the several Places
passed through. Together with The Manners and Customs of the different
People, especially of the Highlanders. By a volunteer. Comprised in several
letters to a friend in London, London, printed for T. Osborne, in Gray’s-Inn,
1747, 192pp. (Figure 14) As with An Impartial History it is not credible a
volunteer soldier would, or could, have accumulated all the detailed history
recounted in A Journey. A Journey links to Smollett via his customary, “letters
to a friend in London,” as for A Letter from a Physician and Letters from a
Gentleman. It is notable the first edition was “printed by J. Stanton, in Short’s-
Gardens, 1746, 104pp.” where J. Stanton was a spurious imprint in 1745-47,
and almost an anagram for the earlier noted T. Johnston.
A Journey also connects to Smollett’s above-mentioned letter in The Gentleman’s Magazine of 9 June 1746, describing a journey from Derby to Carlisle by horse; those two cities were key during the rebellion, and logical places for Smollett to seek witness accounts. A Journey steps into minutiae in the first line, purporting to be the narrative of a serving soldier, but instead of detailed activities of soldiers, it follows Smollett’s Letters, as a travelogue and history gleaned from guide-books. It is not until the volunteer is closer to Scotland, that Smollett draws on the London Gazette to interweave witness and combatant accounts into the travelogue;

Sir, After a most fatiguing Campaign in Flanders, we arrived at Gravesend the fifth of November, 1745, and so after a short stay about London, we were ordered to march for Coventry and Litchfield: In our Rout thither we passed through Hammersmith, Acton, Brentford, &c. which being so commonly known to the Inhabitants of London, I think needless to describe; and next to Uxbridge, a very long Town seated on the River Coln, having plenty of extravagant Inns. After passing which River, we enter the County of Bucks, and pass through Chafforn, a small Village, and so to Amersham, a Borough Town, twenty-nine measured Miles from London, situated in the Chiltern, (that is, a Part of the County abounding in chalky Hills, covered with Woods and Groves of Beeches;) for, in ancient times it was so thick with Trees, that they rendered it impassable, so it served as a common Harbour for Thieves. From thence to Missenden, a good Thoroughfare, having formerly a Monastery, founded by the D’oilys, and augmented by the noble Family, sirnamed De Missenden. Four Miles further, we
come to Wendover, a small Borough Town, and then to Alesbury, forty-four
Miles from London ... (Smollett 1747 B: 3-5).

A polemic signature frequently met in Smollett is “nay”, and A Journey
has the term used on five occasions. The travelogue format of A Journey
follows Smollett’s Letters from a Gentleman. In Stepping Westward, (2020)
p.69, Nigel Leask remarks, “A Journey ... has on the face of it more in
common with the prejudiced tone of Burt’s Letters...,” but without registering
both were by Smollett.

Detailed research notes attribute more works on Scotland to Smollett,
examples include; Alexis; or the Worthy Unfortunate ..., London, J, Cobham,
1747, 114pp. (Figure 15) where J. Cobham was a spurious imprint in 1747-51
(Smollett 1747 C). Also, Alexis; or, The Young Adventurer, London, T. Cooper,
1746, 32pp. (Figure 16) The latter is dated three years after Cooper’s death, but
the use of a T. Cooper imprint sought to add credence to a purported pre-1745
origin; “The following Piece seems to have been the Product of some leisure
Hours. It has been written some Years ago, for it was with Difficulty that it
could be transcribed.” (Smollett 1746 B).
The History of Jack Connor – 1752

The attributions of An Impartial History and Letters from a Gentleman to Dougal Graham and Edmund Burt have been analysed, and rejected, as names corresponding to minor historical figures, and neither as the author. In a similar position is William Chaigneau, a minor historical figure in Ireland, often claimed as the author of The History of Jack Connor, London, W. Johnston, 1752. (Figure 17) Any publishing connection between T. Johnston, as publisher of Ascanius and An Impartial History, and W. Johnston, is unclear, but as W. Johnston commenced publishing in 1748, the T. Johnston Ascanius imprints of 1746 and 1747 may have been by W. Johnston for Smollett.

W. Johnston appears on many imprints in 1748-79, including in 1753 when he published for Smollett; The adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom, By the author of Roderick Random, London, printed for W. Johnston, at the Golden Ball in St. Paul’s Church-Yard, 1753, 2 vols. (Figure 18) This appeared on 15 February, 1753, four months before Smollett left for Inverness. W. Johnston had a long association with Smollett, publishing in 1771; The expedition of Humphry Clinker, By the author of Roderick Random, London, printed for W. Johnston, in Ludgate-Street; 1771. 3 vols. This and Count Fathom were unusual Smollett works, in giving clear hints of his authorship.
A question needing methodical analysis is: does Jack Connor reveal the pen of Smollett? For a start, Jack Connor contains a dozen favoured polemic terms: “nay,” “in short,” “in a word,” etc. Smollett did not claim Jack Connor, he feared being seen as a hack-author, via over-exposure of his works in the market. A puzzle is a change of name from Connor to Conyers during Jack Connor: but there were characters in the satire modelled on Scots he knew. Smollett was sensitive at his own Glasgow accent, and sought to mock Irish and Scots who changed their accents, in seeking success in England; but also hoping to needle Fielding, as a play on Conyers Middleton, a friend of Fielding. One of many Smollett hints is a signature cameo appearance of a character in Jack Connor, Vol. II with the initials, T.S., in this instance Tom Smart. The T.S. initials also appear as Thomas à Stupidius, author of Stultus versus Sapientem. Is then, Chaigneau another straw-man, a minor historical figure, like Dougal Graham and Edmund Burt, elevated by Smollett rumour to authorship, as a red-herring? On 28 February 1750 the General Advertiser announced; “This day is published ... Gil Blas ... A new translation by the author of Roderick Random.” A critic described Jack Connor as, “a picaresque work showing the influence of Gil Blas and Tom Jones (1749), considered disreputable.” (Figure 23) As for Letters from a Gentleman, in Jack Connor he claims old papers;
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Chance of being impartially dealt with; for, as he is unknown, and will remain so, the critical Eye cannot condemn his Person, whatever it may his Work. His Scribbling may be abused, but he has taken Care to secure his Person from such Treatment, tho’ he is not conscious that he has ever merited it. Irony, well managed, has ever been a successful Way to fix the attention; and Novel and Romance may be conducted to very laudable Purposes, and answer the End of more learned Writings. The Purpose of the following History may correspond with an old physical Aphorism, which I apprehend may be found in the Schola Salerni, wrote in the Days of William the Conqueror (Smollett 1753).

Smollett follows with a pseudo-Latin quote; then an attribution to one of his contemporaries, Dr Richard Mead (1673-1754). Smollett was of the view Scotland needed to reform to recover from the ills of the 1745 Rebellion, but to openly criticise Scottish society was unacceptable. To disguise the medicine, the remedy is coated with Irish sugar; so references in Jack Connor to Ireland, are really directed at Scotland. Smollett had earlier worked for both an apothecary and a surgeon in Glasgow; hence he selected the Mead quote to subtly convey Irish irony in his Jack Connor satire;

A skilful Physician will consult the Constitution of his Patient, and not madly pour down even the most salutary Medicines. Some Herbs are fill’d with four, and some with bitter Juices, too disagreeable to be given singly. Physick, like good Counsel, must be administer’d with Caution ... The Patient must must be decoy’d into a Cure, and the unpalatable Drug must be convey’d in the most innocent Vehicle his Judgment can furnish. He who acts otherwise, merits not the Title of a Physician, but of a Quack (Smollett 1753: vii-viii). Smollett also hinted at his Irish v. Scotland substitutional subterfuge, via a carefully chosen title-page quote from Pope; “In ev’ry Work regard the Writer's End.” Compared here are the first Dublin edition of 1752, and the Dublin third edition corrected, of 1753. (Figures 19, 20) Changes of note are the location change from Ashburton to Dublin; and addition of the initials W.C. (Figures 21, 22) His Note to the Reader, refers to “Irony, well managed,” and to William the Conqueror; a Smollett hint the initials W.C. are a deliberate red-herring. The ironic dedication in Jack Connor is to Henry Fox, signed W. C. and dated Dublin 1 July, 1751, but Chaigneau had no reason to write ironically of Fox, whereas Smollett regularly satirised politicians. The 1753 edition includes a third edition of Stultus, previously issued as, Stultus versus Sapientem, in three letters to the fool, on subjects the most interesting, London, printed for J. Bromage, 1749, 23pp., with J. Bromage as a spurious imprint on seven works in 1749.
But, why change from Asburton? Places in Ireland named Ashburton are tiny, whereas Ashburton in Devon is a town on the edge of Dartmoor. Although a full analysis is outside the scope of this paper, Ashburton is near Bickleigh, and implies Jack Connor was commenced in Ashburton, around the time Smollett gathered material to revise, An Apology for the Life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew, Son of the Rev. Mr Carew of Bickleigh... printed by R. Goadby, and sold by W. Owen (1749). It is usually attributed to Robert Goadby, but the imprint is categoric, he was the printer. (Figure 24)

In brief, in 1745 Smollett chose Carew to compete with Fielding’s Jonathan Wild, wherein Smollett was ridiculed as Tom Smirk; “The name of this gallant was Tom Smirk. He was clerk to an attorney, and was indeed the greatest beau, and the greatest favourite of the ladies [whores] at the end of the town where he lived.” A prime addition to Carew in 1749, is a fulsome dedication, ”To the Worshipful Henry Fielding, Esq;” as a Smollett attempt to provoke Fielding into debate. That, with the 1751 date and Ashburton v. Bickleigh locations fit; as does W. Owen, who had published Reproof for Smollett. Fielding and Smollett had exchanged literary barbs for many years, and the dedication to Fielding in Carew, is a 21 page, puffing and mocking oration at Fielding’s expense. That prolix preface is a prima facie aid in stamping Smollett as author of Bampfylde-Moore Carew:

Sir, Notwithstanding your constant Refusal, when I have ask’d Leave to prefix your Name to this Dedication, I must still insist upon the Propriety of desiring your Protection of this Work. … And now, Sir, I must confess, you have sufficiently shown, in sundry Instances, your Dislike of Publick Praise; yet I cannot help bedaubing you a little with it, yet who can be displeas’d, when it is forced upon them, whether they will or no; besides, Sir, at the same Time I am praising you, I may find Occasion of saying a few Things of my own great Merit, and that of my Work, by acquainting the World with the high Encomiums you have bestow’d upon it; "for indeed, what are your Objections to the Allowance of the Honour which I have solicited? Why, you have commended the Book so warmly, that you should be ashamed of reading your Name before the Dedication.” Now, Sir, though I don’t imagine any of my Readers will understand this Sentence, it being the true Burtonic Sublime, most admirable when least

Figure 21: Jack Connor 1st ed. Ashburton
Figure 22: Jack Connor 3rd ed. Dublin, W.C.
understood, yet, Sir as this Dedication is only intended for you and myself, it is no Matter whether it is understood or not by any one else (Smollett 1749: iii-xxiv).

The 1753 change from Ashburton to Dublin suggests a Smollett preference to anchor *Jack Connor* in Ireland. The other *Jack Connor* change in 1753 is major, the addition of, *Stultus versus Sapientem: in Three Letters to the Fool*, Third Ed. Dublin, 1753, 19pp. (Figure 26) (Page numbers for *Stultus* in *Jack Connor* are jumbled, implying it was a late addition.) Analysis of *Stultus* requires adjudicating on a further long-lived literary mystery. Why was *Stultus* added to *Jack Connor*?

In 1749 E. Bate published *Stultus* in Dublin showing Henry Fielding as author, but the letters in *Stultus* are signed Thomas à Stupidius, a clue to Tobias Smollett. (Figure 25) Bate was misled by Smollett about the authorship of *Stultus*, who intended it as a practical joke directed at Fielding. If Fielding was to publicly deny he had written *Stultus*, he would only focus more attention on *Stultus*, and so increase its sales. After Fielding’s private protest, Smollett removed Fielding’s name from the third edition of *Stultus*, and added it to *Jack Connor*. *Stultus* is prefaced with an allusion to satires as “Books of Amusement.” Also, as with the *Note to the Reader* in *Jack Connor*, a mention of “irony”; a satiric caution to readers to be aware *Jack Connor* does not depict events as they really are;

The *History of Jack Connor* having met with so favourable a Reception in Great Britain and Ireland, that my Interest obliged me to give this Third

\[\text{Figure 23: Gil Blas Osborn 1750} \quad \text{Figure 24: Carew Goadby 1749}\]
Edition, tho' Books of Amusement, do not generally meet the same Fate. No
Pains has been wanting, to make this Impression as compleat, as the Nature of
the Work would admit of. Some Gentlemen have insisted on my rescuing the
following Letters from Oblivion, by adding them to this Volume; and I was the
easier prevailed on, as they bear some Analogy to the foregoing History. I find
these Letters were printed in London, in the Paper call'd the Fool, at a Time
when it was under the Consideration of Parliament, whether they should, or
should not continue the Bounty on the low-pric'd Linens of Ireland. If Irony,
merits your Attention or Regard, these Letters cannot fail of giving you some
Pleasure (Smollett 1753: 163)

The country of Lilliput in Gulliver's Travels is usually accepted as a satire
on English politics. Smollett followed Swift, with both Jack Connor and
Stultus Versus Sapientem prima facie as picaresque works about Ireland. But,
read as satires, references to Ireland mean Scotland, and the characteristics of
Ireland described in Jack Connor and Stultus, relate just as much to Scotland
and the Stuart Catholics. The linen industry also refers to Scotland and, in
carefully chosen words in Stultus, the kingdom dimensions, 265 miles by 150
miles, apply both to Ireland and Scotland; as does a satiric reference to Henry
the Second and 1173, when Henry's heir apparent, Young Henry, rebelled, and
Scotland, France, Flanders, and Boulogne allied themselves with the Irish
rebels;

I am very well informed that this Kingdom from N. to S. is about 265 Miles, and
from E. to W. about 150, and contains about eighteen Millions of statute Acres,
with commodious Harbours, Bays, and Rivers. Henry the second stole it from
your Ancestors. Many Struggles were made by our good Friends to shake off this
Yoke, but in vain. At that Period, vulgarly called The Reformation, your Friends
held fast to Mother-Church, but still Protestantism impudently raised her Head,
and shamefully flourished (Smollett 1753 II:167).
Little in Jack Connor takes place in Ireland, with the descriptions of Jack's origins and his later return, applicable also to those of Scottish accent and origin. Many events occur in London or Paris, rather than in Dublin. The Wellcome Library holds a letter from Smollett to man-midwife, William Hunter, dated 25 July 1749. (Figure 28) In writing of contemporary Paris events in Jack Connor, the Hunter letter evidences Smollett's visit to obtain background. Passing references in Jack Connor to surgeons, physicians, and medicine, are a reminder Smollett was a surgeon, whereas Chaigneau was not. In the early pages there is satirical mocking of Roman Catholics, paralleling Smollett's regular attacks on Jacobites and the French, for their Catholicism. The Fool was Smollett's pseudonym in writing for the Daily Gazetteer, and he was portrayed as The Fool, in a 1762 print, The Mountebank, as recalled in The Gentleman's Magazine, 1849, page 234. (Figure 27)

The historian and pamphleteer, Smollett, who was regarded as the hireling advocate of the Scotch, is introduced in a very amusing way. Lord Bute is the Quack-doctor, boasting of the efficacy of his gold pills; Smollett acts the part of the Mountebank to call attention to them. A roll inscribed The Briton is under his arm, while The North Briton lies at his feet.
By including *Stultus* in *Jack Connor*, Smollett sought to reinforce it as a political satire, with that inclusion implying *Jack Connor* and *The Fool* shared a single author. A 360 page collection of *The Fool* essays was published in 1748; the imprint includes Cooper, Robinson, Corbett, Owen, and Griffiths; all of whom published for Smollett. (Figure 29) Extended, and uncharacteristically favourable, comments on *Jack Connor* appeared in the *Monthly Review* for 1752, pages 447-49. Being excessively effusive, it is believed Smollett wrote the remarks for Ralph Griffiths, a view endorsed by the way they were puffingly used by Smollett in a fourth 1766 edition of *Jack Connor*.

This *History* was first published in 1751. Three Editions being sold here, and many of good taste demanding another; our own interest and the real good of the public determined us to comply, and to do it in the neatest and most correct manner. This book likewise bore three numerous impressions in London, and met with general applause from all who had any relish for the sentiments of nature. The praises bestowed on it, made it, almost, universally read, and particularly when the *Monthly Review* for July 1752 spoke of it in this manner: “Of the several books of entertainment published in the course of the late winter, none gave us more satisfaction in the perusal, than this work; which is unquestionably the best of the kind that hath appeared since the adventures of *Pompey the little*. The author hath taken uncommon and effectual care to conceal his name from the public; ... Guesses, indeed, have been plentifully aim'd at him; but all that these have discovered or agreed in, is, that he appears to be a gentleman, and of a neighbouring kingdom, famous for having produced some of the brightest wits, and bravest soldiers in the modern world. Every
unprejudiced reader must own, that the stile, and sentiments of this writer speak
him to be above the common run of authors, and his refusal of any gratuity from
his bookseller for the copy, intimates his being above the want of those
pecuniary returns which the generality of our literati are obliged to accept as
equivalent for their abilities and their labours.” (Smollett 1766: ix-xi).

The Fool is often claimed to be William Horsley, but Jack Connor and The
Mountebank print rule him out. Two pamphlets, Serious Considerations on the
High Duties and A Treatise on Maritime Affairs, record Mr Horsley as author in
1744; but the imprint is R. Wellington, spurious in 1744-46, as Wellington sold
off his entire stock in 1741. (Figures 30, 31) Both are attributed to Smollett;
with the minor historical figure of Horsley as cover. Smollett often signed
spurious imprints with Mr and a generic surname so, if challenged, he could
deny any specific person was targeted: e.g. although outside this paper’s ambit,
detailed analysis reveals Smollett wrote, A Letter from Mr Cibber to Mr Pope,
inquiring into the motives that might induce him in his satirical works, to be so
frequently fond of Mr. Cibber’s name, London, W. Lewis, 1742, 66pp. An ex-
navy surgeon, Smollett was ever keen to pontificate on the navy, and his ex-
navy polemic hand (the first opening with “in a word”), is seen in nautically
focused extracts on each page 2 of the respective pamphlets;

In a word, Sir, you have left us in the Condition of an East-India Mariner, who,
after a long and tedious Voyage, meets with hazy Weather, attempting to fall in
fair with the British Coast, and has nothing to depend upon but a vague and
uncertain Reckoning: At length the joyful Noon approaches, the gloomy Clouds

Figure 28: Paris, 1749, Wellcome: 7887/7

Figure 29: The Fool 1748
separate, and leave a Space, thro' which he discerns the wish’d for God of Day, in
full Meridian Lustre. He eagerly attends the Advantage of the important Minute;
his End so far attain'd, a constant Gloom then after covers the Face of Heaven,
and he is left to trace out the untrodden Paths of the Ocean, with the same
Uncertainty, within a Trifle, as before (Smollett 1744, A:2).
There is no Honour a Subject is capable of equal to the Direction of the Royal
Navy, as it secures our Commerce, and supports the Honour of the Nation with
proper Dignity and Lustre; to render which really useful, and to give full Scope
to all its natural Advantages, you have dignify’d it with your Person, and by the
Use and Application of your fine Understanding, inspir’d our Naval Affairs with
uncommon Vigour and Activity: You have answer’d the Wish of every Honest
Briton, and convinc’d the most haughty of our Neighbours, that Spithead
Expeditions are at an end, and that a British Fleet under proper Regulations, and
determined Counsels, is design’d for something more important than to blaze in
Flags and Streamers, and its Ammunition for something more than Salutes: That
Sea-Officers should be better employed than in making Entertainments, and that
the Mouths of our Cannon shall at last convince the World our Men of War are
not turned into Venetian Gondolas, viz. Vessels for Pleasure and Diversion
(Smollett 1744, B:1-2).

Fielding was aware of Smollett using the Horsley name; with the reason
for Horsley's name to be connected to The Fool, being that, on 6 February,
1748, shortly after the collection of The Fool essays was published, Fielding
wrote a column in The Jacobite's Journal, under the heading, Proceedings at
the Court of Criticism. Smollett had a reputation for overuse of scatological
references in his works; and, under part 7 of his Proceedings, Fielding resorted
to base invective in determining his judgement: "One Horse-piss, alias Horse-dung, alias Horse-lie, alias The Fool, was convicted of Scurrility, and received Sentence of Contempt." Fielding's soundex pun of "horse-lie" for "Horsley", is evidence Fielding saw Horsley, The Fool, and Smollett as connected. All this put Fielding, already an ill man, in a quandary. The antagonism between Smollett and Fielding had brewed for many years, reaching a peak in the 1752 Paper War. Significant is a Samuel Richardson letter of 21 February, 1752, wherein Richardson conveys how much Fielding despised Smollett:

Mr Fielding has met with the disapprobation you foresaw he would meet with, of his Amelia. He is, in every paper he publishes under the title of the Common [sic] Garden, contributing to his own overthrow. He has been overmatched in his own way by people whom he had despised, and whom he thought he had vogue enough, from the success his spurious brat Tom Jones so unaccountably met; with to write down; but who have turned his own artillery against him and beat him out of the field, and made him even poorly in his Court of Criticism give up his Amelia, and promise to write no more on the like subjects (Edinburgh Review 1805:38).

The 1752 second edition of Jack Connor appeared about the time of Smollett's Habbukkuk Hilding attack on Fielding. In acknowledging his animosity towards Smollett, Fielding responded via satires in Covent-Garden Journal. In 1754 Fielding died, and in 1766 Smollett revised and published a fourth, Dublin edition of Jack Connor. Smollett's hand is seen in the revisions updating political and social events, and in his additions: Stultus again, with minor revisions, and Smollett added two further satires; firstly, The Importance of Ireland to England, and secondly, Motives for a Peace with England, by an Old Sea Officer, in French and English. Naval surgeon Smollett, being obvious as the Old Sea Officer, and Motives for a Peace being previously printed in 1757 for W. Reeve, with an extract in The London Chronicle, Vol. 2, December, 1757, page 605. The case for Smollett as author of Jack Connor is established. As with Dougall Graham, Edmund Burt, and William Horsley, it is irrelevant whether there was a real William Chaigeneau, or if Smollett know him. Based upon the satiric intent, context, content, and style, together with the literary cross-links, it is contended Jack Connor could not be written by Chaigeneau. The details in Jack Connor and Stultus are so relevant to Smollett and Fielding, and too interwoven with other events and literary works of 1744-66, to be penned by an otherwise unremarkable Irish military agent.

Conclusion

Attribution of anonymous works to Smollett, as a specific individual, adds extra meaning to the historical record, and invites scholarly reassessment of literary, social, and political history in the period 1730-70. The research notes also shine new light on literary relationships, for example, showing the ill-feeling between Smollett and Fielding began in 1737 over the Golden Rump
fracas; to be followed by multiple exchanges of satiric barbs, brickbats, and
broadsides (Shelton 2015). Such attacks were unnoticed by the reading public,
due to Smollett’s predilection for anonymity.

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