



7-24-2020

## The Personification of the Perfect Citizen: The English Political Cartoon, Colonial Anxiety, and Identity During the American Revolution

Sarah Johns  
*Ursinus College*, [sajohns@ursinus.edu](mailto:sajohns@ursinus.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/history\\_sum](https://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/history_sum)



Part of the [Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

[Click here to let us know how access to this document benefits you.](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Johns, Sarah, "The Personification of the Perfect Citizen: The English Political Cartoon, Colonial Anxiety, and Identity During the American Revolution" (2020). *History Summer Fellows*. 12.  
[https://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/history\\_sum/12](https://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/history_sum/12)

This Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at Digital Commons @ Ursinus College. It has been accepted for inclusion in History Summer Fellows by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Ursinus College. For more information, please contact [aprock@ursinus.edu](mailto:aprock@ursinus.edu).

**The Personification of the Perfect Citizen:  
The English Political Cartoon, Colonial Anxiety, And Identity During The American  
Revolution**

Sarah Johns  
Summer Fellows  
June 2020-July 2020

## **Abstract**

When studying the American Revolution, there is a variety of written source materials from the actors involved that have been used to decipher the many social and political changes that occurred throughout the conflict; however, imagery, especially political cartoons, can be key to uncovering avenues of cultural debate that highlight these changes in new and more detailed ways. With Great Britain experiencing its golden age of political caricature during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, what might these images have to say about gender and race during this tumultuous period? In this project, I argue that British political cartoons were essential drivers of discussion about colonial anxieties in an era of rapidly changing concepts surrounding gender norms and race. Both of these social constructs altering were powered by the expansion of the British Empire and the loss of the American colonies. This project will use a variety of sources outside of the cartoons themselves, including conduct books, journals, speeches, and letters. I am placing an emphasis on highlighting the ways in which women and men's bodies—via the personification of the British state as well as the American colonies—was used in imagery in order to discuss British fears about a changing empire's identity.

## **Introduction**

### **A Visualization of Boston**

In a 1774 compilation of *The London Magazine*, an author within the text published his thoughts on whether the British Parliament and crown had the right to tax the American colonies.<sup>1</sup> Within his published work, the author notes that he is for “the most severe measures”

---

<sup>1</sup> “An Impartial Review of New Publications,” *The London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* vol. 43 (1774): 196, accessed July 3, 2020, [https://books.google.com/books/about/The\\_London\\_Magazine\\_Or\\_Gentleman\\_s\\_Month.html?id=SiEoAAAAYAAJ](https://books.google.com/books/about/The_London_Magazine_Or_Gentleman_s_Month.html?id=SiEoAAAAYAAJ).

required to bind together “the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatever.”<sup>2</sup> The author; therefore, asserts the belief that the colonies, rather than being justified in their right to push back against the recent Coercive Acts, needed to be quickly subdued.<sup>3</sup> Yet, was this a common belief, and was the English public equally for coercive measures to respond to the colonies? The answer is much more complicated, and it is visible within the very same pages of *The London Magazine*.



*The able doctor, or, America swallowing the bitter draught* (etching), in “The able doctor, or, America swallowing the bitter draught,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97514782/>.

Published within the *London Magazine* in the same issue in 1774, “The Able Doctor, Or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught,” is a damning visual response to the British Parliament’s handling of the American colonies, in particular, of the same coercive measures that

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Timeline of the American Revolution,” *Museum of the American Revolution: 2*, PDF, accessed June 8, 2020, [https://www.amrevmuseum.org/sites/default/files/MAR\\_Teacher\\_Supplemental\\_Resources.pdf](https://www.amrevmuseum.org/sites/default/files/MAR_Teacher_Supplemental_Resources.pdf).

are so clearly admired in the written work of the previously mentioned author. In this visual, we see a partially-dressed and restrained Indigenous woman forced to drink tea—or the Coercive Acts—at the hands of Lord North, who also carries the Boston Port Bill in his pocket.<sup>4</sup> The viewer also witnesses Lord Sandwich peaking beneath the skirt of the personified Indigenous America, while Britannica, dressed in luxurious and stately garb, looks away with her eyes covered in shame.<sup>5</sup> Full of symbolism and visual cues, the political caricature, with no identifiable author, provides the viewer with a very clear articulation of the artist's thoughts about the current political ministry. The Americans are sympathized with, and the cause of the Americans' shame is not their own actions and defiance, but Lord North and his militant desires to see through the implementation of the Coercive Acts. With two different points of view expressed in the same publication, what does this say about the ways in which the British public grappled with their identity as an empire on the verge of what could very well be deemed a familial conflict? In the end, these two sources provide the reader with a clear answer: Britons were experiencing a time of conflicting identities, and no sphere perhaps highlights this chaotic clash of English norms than the realm of the printing industry, and in particular, the art of caricature.

### **An Expanding Empire and Colonial Anxiety**

What made up this system of rapidly changing iconography was in large part a fractured British political system that was both rejoicing in the achievements and net gains of the Seven Years War, as well as struggling to understand how to run the American colonies in a way that

---

<sup>4</sup> *The able doctor, or, America swallowing the bitter draught* (etching), in “The able doctor, or, America swallowing the bitter draught,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97514782/>.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

would yield a positive outcome. Eliga H. Gould writes that, “The pursuit of empire held a tremendous appeal for the metropolitan public throughout the eighteenth century.”<sup>6</sup> The British public could therefore pride itself on the massive expansion of the British Empire, as well as the increase in power and influence that came with it. The Seven Years’ War in particular allowed the average British man or woman, as well as those in Parliament, to conceptualize the American colonies in particular as only the beginning of a “vast English-speaking empire founded on a shared religious, patriotic, and cultural heritage.”<sup>7</sup> With France and Spain conceding colonial holdings in North America to Great Britain at the end of the War, Britain was suddenly overseeing an expansive North American colonial system, one that it would struggle to politically control in large part due to a hands-off approach within the region.<sup>8</sup> While a burgeoning empire allowed the British public to imagine its growth as essential to its identity, the Seven Years’ War—mainly due to the debts that the British crown accrued fighting it—would force King George III and members of Parliament to interact with the colonies in a way that would disrupt this idea of an expansive empire by the arrival of the American conflict.<sup>9</sup> A challenge of British colonial superiority by American colonists put into peril the gains made by the British during the Seven Years’ War, and with that would come what I am going to call *colonial anxiety*. When pursuing my research, it became abundantly clear that the acquisition of colonial holdings, rather than inspire only pride, instead created a new form of anxiety centered on whether the British public would be able to hold onto its colonies long term. This sort of

---

<sup>6</sup> Eliga H. Gould, *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2000), xvii-xviii.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>8</sup> Gould, *The Persistence of Empire*, 16; “Timeline of the American Revolution,” *Museum of the American Revolution*: 2, PDF, accessed June 8, 2020, [https://www.amrevmuseum.org/sites/default/files/MAR\\_Teacher\\_Supplemental\\_Resources.pdf](https://www.amrevmuseum.org/sites/default/files/MAR_Teacher_Supplemental_Resources.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> Gould, *The Persistence of Empire*, 71.

colonial unease inspired new ways of utilizing gender and racial norms to discuss the British identity in caricature, but it all stems from the anxiety that came with attaining the American colonies. Using colonial anxiety as a term allows us to better understand how British identity formation, in all its components, was heavily power by colonial concerns. Having used its most recent history as a way to create a national identity centered on the dominance of its overseas empire, the British public was forced to recognize its fragility, which would become increasingly apparent in the political cartoons produced during the period, as well as how those cartoons used concepts of race and gender to discuss their anxieties about the American colonial project.

### **A New Age of Political Printing**

During the 1760s and 1770s, a newer form of political discussion began to become much more normalized. The caricature, an artistic medium based upon iconography and imagery, became a common mode of political conversation that led the multiple factions within the British public to meet in print and form new modes of discussion. According to Amelia Rauser, “several magazines were founded which regularly contained political prints” during this period, and such prints were often based upon a commonly understood and recognized symbology that allowed those from a variety of classes to view the imagery and immediately understand the connotations it imparted.<sup>10</sup> While this was the case, the audience of these caricatures was an expanding ground of middle-class men, often called “coffeehouse politicians,” or men from what Rauser calls the “middle-sort” economically and socially.<sup>11</sup> These men, building their own section of the British identity for themselves, made ideal patrons of the cartoons specifically because they were just that: average men. Up until this point, while political satire existed, it was commonly deemed

---

<sup>10</sup> Amelia Rauser, “‘Death or Liberty: British Political Prints and the Struggle for Symbols in the American Revolution’,” *Oxford Art Journal* 21 no.2 (1998): page 156, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1360619>.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

inappropriate by the upper-class men and women who partook in caricature viewing.<sup>12</sup> The coffeehouse politician, therefore, signified a changing audience of political information, giving middle-class men the chance to discuss British politics, and therefore British identity in some cases, in a way they might not have had the freedom to do prior.

This sort of revolution in the way information was disseminated carried into who was producing or publishing the art in question. While caricature was common during this period, Rauser is quick to note that “professional printmakers” did not exist in a truly identifiable form until the 1780s, near the tail end of the American war.<sup>13</sup> Instead, the authorship of the images was dealt with in a different way. Rather than share one’s name, the artist would often choose to stay anonymous, which Rauser notes allowed for one’s words to be viewed as “truthful” while also protecting them from any charges of libel that might come about as a result of their work.<sup>14</sup> These anonymous individuals would often submit designs that would then be ordered for engraving by the publisher in question.<sup>15</sup> As a result of this reality, it can oftentimes be difficult to attribute political caricatures to any one individual—though such a thing can indeed happen. Those who study these works must instead rely on either the name of the publication the image was published in, or must build together the social context and imagery used in the work in order to get a deeper understanding as to what the author of the print might have believed. This in and of itself can be challenging, but it also provides the viewer with a unique chance to connect the social norms of the time with the iconographic systems the artists used to communicate meaning.

### **The Question of Race and Gender**

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 157.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 157.



One of the most difficult, but most important, things to unpack within these cartoons is their usage of gender norms and concepts about race to communicate political meanings to their audiences. This was a time of rapid change in both areas as the British public continued to define what masculinity and femininity meant and what those meanings entailed for those who performed those roles. Such a period also entailed the formulation of meanings surrounding the concept of race, something which was still a new idea and therefore not nearly as clear-cut as those reading this today would understand it to be. Since this is the case, I will be working in multiple ways to define what race and gender—in the terms of this project—mean, and how I will be unpacking those meanings.

Gender, or the norms attached to masculine and feminine performance and identity-building, was a concept permeated throughout the caricatures of the day. This is why discussing it is important in understanding that imagery. It was often the main way through which British men discussed their identity anxieties with other men. As Kathleen Brown notes, “the eighteenth century emerges as a watershed for European scientific concepts of sexual difference.”<sup>16</sup> With such a major moment, men had to redesign their understanding of their own masculinity, as well as the femininity women needed to correctly express in opposition to such masculinity. This was in large part due to the fact that by the mid-eighteenth century, society was beginning to understand gender difference as something scientifically-based, in which it was “claimed that men's and women's social roles derived from fundamental anatomical differences.”<sup>17</sup> With this in mind, it is important that in the case of my own work, one must constantly be aware of this evolving dialogue about gender norms, as gender was and has never been a static concept.

---

<sup>16</sup> Kathleen M. Brown, “Brave New Worlds: Women's and Gender History,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 50 no. 2 (1993): 314, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2947077>.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

In order to define what I mean by gender and how I will be utilizing it in order to analyze the caricatures I am interacting with, I am going to work off of current scholarship today and its own definition of gender. In particular, I find Kathleen Brown's defining of the "modern feminist movement's" conceptualization of gender in relation to "social roles and relations rather than biological facts" to be intensely helpful.<sup>18</sup> Gender was something constantly being reinforced and altered by both men and women. It relies heavily on the creation and comparison to an "other," who acts as a starting point for noticing difference and reaffirming one's own gender presentation via the body as the main expressor of those similarities and differences. Soile Ylivuori notes that, "Poststructuralist feminist theory maintains that this marking of the body should not be considered as a simple superficial event; instead, the goal of this process is to generate psychological interiority, identity, individuality, and subjectivity."<sup>19</sup> Simply put, the body was the main expressor of gender norms, which far from being preordained, were created and enforced by those acting in British society at home and abroad. Gender, in general, was a social construct used to create definitions of power, and it was men in particular who weaponized it within imagery to reinforce the gender meanings that gave them this power.

Much like gender, race became another created identity marker that worked to enforce difference and allowed for comparison against an "other." It was also, in many ways, a concept that was greatly evolving during this period, providing another changing form of identity that could reaffirm white British citizenship. As Katherine Wilson states in her work on the personification of Britain as Britannia, "by the mid-eighteenth century...new social theories were gaining currency whereby the language of climates and environment linked certain kinds of

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Soile Ylivuori, *Women and Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Bodies, Identities, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 15.

bodies to specific places.”<sup>20</sup> This concept was linked with a previous conceptualization of racial difference being explained by the belief that racial diversity was a result of climate.<sup>21</sup> Location, therefore, was seen as the main expressor of what was only beginning to be understood as racial difference.

However, race was also beginning to be connected to discussions about “civilization,” which was a less static concept that relied on a four-stages theory of civilization developed by Enlightenment thinkers such as Adam Smith.<sup>22</sup> This theory defined race as something that was largely connected to what Roxann Wheeler calls “markers of cultural difference,” such as religion, “custom, education, and level of civilization.”<sup>23</sup> Creating various levels of civilization was a way of defining the British imperial project, as well as separating the English explorer and colonist from those they came into contact with and deemed less developed economically. This concept of racial superiority also made it easier to justify the expansion of the empire, comparing Britain’s “superior institutions” to the Indigenous communities they encountered in a way that made destroying the communities they came across as morally just, rather than morally reprehensible. In order for the British public to understand their empire as powerful and expansive, an “other” in the form of the Indigenous communities across the Atlantic, needed to be created in order to verbalize the empire’s superiority. While these concepts are troubling, they highlight the rush to create another form of British identity that could bolster against the colonial anxieties that expansion in North America—and the uncertainty it came with—created.

---

<sup>20</sup> Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), 93-94.

<sup>21</sup> Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 88.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 252 and 257.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

## My Approach and Sources

In working with these images, I will be taking an approach that emphasizes the oftentimes fluid nature of identity, belonging, and social norms, as well as the ever-changing nature of identity formation and how it could produce colonial anxieties. To better understand these shifting meanings behind British identity in relation to race and gender, I will be using a variety of sources, from letters to conduct books as well as magazine and travel narratives. Special attention will also be paid to secondary scholarship about a variety of topics in relation to empire, race, gender, and identity before and throughout the War. Through a variety of such works, I hope to connect social and cultural norms to common modes of iconography and expression in the caricatures I seek to study.

The work I am pursuing also builds off a variety of secondary scholarship in relation to British cartoons as well as British identity both before and during the American Revolution. My research builds off of a variety of scholars. Researchers such as Amelia Rauser and her focus on the political print and the British public's search for symbols, as well as Kathleen Wilson and Troy Bickman's studies on personification and Native identity within the Empire respectively, all bring to the table discussions about what it meant to be British and how that changed over time.<sup>24</sup> Even so, I believe my research can add to this topic of interest precisely because it works to understand the connection between English identity, colonial concerns, and the ways in which the British public weaponized the political print against the American colonists by using British

---

<sup>24</sup> Amelia Rauser, "'Death or Liberty: British Political Prints and the Struggle for Symbols in the American Revolution,'" *Oxford Art Journal* 21 no.2 (1998): <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1360619>; Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003); Troy Bickman, *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

gender norms and racial stereotypes against them visually. In doing so, it weaves together a variety of discussions that provide a new glimpse into how imagery impacts an empire's identity, as well as how its subjects portray themselves and others when colonial anxieties mount.

Before I can continue, it is important to note that while I have a plentiful number of primary sources, these sources are biased toward white English men with political, social, or cultural power. While I do have sources from some white English women, such as Sarah Pennington, these works are often coming from wealthy, upper-class women, which limits my ability to access the experiences of Indigenous women, as well as British women of middling or lower classes. Such erasure could in large part be due to the desires of white men to create historical narratives that are largely biased toward their own experiences at the expense of Indigenous and white women. It could also be in part due to the importance attributed to some archival works—often those of politically powerful British men—that receives emphasis over the experiences of Indigenous and white women. Not to mention that the narratives of white women have largely been emphasized over the stories of Indigenous women, creating a further act of erasure placed upon Indigenous women in the historical canon. I have tried my hardest to collect a variety of sources, but in places where perspectives are lacking, I believe there is much to be said about how white British men's anxiety played out not only in the caricatures I am studying, but also the histories they wrote about the events I am discussing long after they have occurred. My hope is that my research this summer begins to unpack these anxieties in a way that starts to bring the voices of these stories to the forefront of the cartoons themselves.

Overall, it is clear that the American conflict spurred a great deal of colonial anxiety surrounding what it meant to be British, and therefore what it meant to be a British man or a British woman. The Revolution was not simply a case of us versus them, but instead entailed

multiple factions duking out what foremost concept of British citizenship and identity was going to play out throughout and after the end of the American Revolution. The political cartoons produced prior to and throughout the War speak not only to the events that occurred throughout, but also the colonial anxieties that were surfacing as these events occurred, and what those anxieties meant for the future of the British Empire. I argue that British political cartoons were essential drivers of discussion about colonial anxieties in an era of rapidly changing concepts surrounding gender norms and race. They were visual forms that were easy to understand by the vast majority of the public, meaning that they can tell the viewer a great deal about various components of the social culture during the era. These norms were also powered by the expansion of the British Empire and the loss of the American colonies, and the image of the masculine or female form served as a visual through which these norms could be transferred onto the American colonists. In the process, the British could visualize their feelings about the colonial relationship through imagery that used gender norms and racial stereotypes as a form of either praise or critique.

### **The Pre-War Period**

#### **Contested Masculinity**

With the pre-war period, as previously mentioned, being one of both celebrated expansion but also marked uncertainty about the state of the empire, gender expression became of the most supervised ways in which British print and the public could discuss what was supposed to fit within the norm of masculinity, as well as what was not. Perhaps one of the most apparent figures in this discussion was the macaroni. According to a commentator in *The Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine* in 1774, men who were viewed as macaroni were deemed to “have exceeded the ordinary bounds of fashion” and the phrase became a common way of

critiquing those of all ranks who stepped out of the “ordinary bounds of fashion” and therefore fell into “absurdity.”<sup>25</sup> Simply put, macaroni men were reprehensible to those who followed traditional British masculinity norms precisely because they departed from what was deemed acceptable by the standards of the day. Dressing to an extreme and drawing attention to yourself, dependent on the class in which you were in, was a blatant way in which an English man could step outside what he was traditionally expected to look like.



Matthew Darly, *The Martial Macaroni* (etching), in “The Martial Macaroni,” *MET Museum*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed July 18, 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/395533>.

<sup>25</sup> *The Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine, or Monthly Register* (October 1772): 1, quoted in **Amelia Rauser**, “Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 no.1 (2004): 101-102, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053630>.

Perhaps nothing more blatantly highlights the traditional macaroni “look” than this caricature, titled “The Martial Macaroni,” created by Matthew Darly in 1771.<sup>26</sup> The image itself depicts a finely dressed gentleman with a martial air and an ornate coat. In his hand is a large cane, and in the other, a sword. The man’s stature and dress reflects the title, highlighting the desire of the individual being drawn to mirror the military look. What perhaps is the gentleman’s most distinguishing feature, his head is adorned with a large wig that includes a pointed tail—exaggerated to an almost comical degree.<sup>27</sup> Wearing such an extravagant look, he is in line with what *The Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine* called “absurdity.”<sup>28</sup> With this being the case, why caricature this man as shown?

One of the answers simply lies with the background of the caricature artist himself. According to the MET, this caricature is one of twenty-four similar ones printed by Matthew Darly in 1771, and it was such an influential concept that both Darly and his wife—Mary Darly—are credited with the genre’s existence.<sup>29</sup> With such popularity attached to the creation of these caricatures, one can begin to wonder what inspired their creation and ensuing popularity. The Darlys obviously had a wide audience, as apparent in the fact that they became so well known for the prints that their printshop became a mainstay of caricature consumption in London.<sup>30</sup> The answer lies in what Dohr Wohrman calls “gender panic,” or in other words, the

---

<sup>26</sup> “The Martial Macaroni,” *MET Museum*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed July 18, 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/395533>.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *The Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine, or Monthly Register* (October 1772): 1, quoted in Amelia Rauser, “Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 no.1 (2004): 101-102, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053630>.

<sup>29</sup> “The Martial Macaroni,” *MET Museum*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed July 18, 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/395533>.

<sup>30</sup> Amelia Rauser, “‘Death or Liberty: British Political Prints and the Struggle for Symbols in the American Revolution’,” *Oxford Art Journal* 21 no.2 (1998): 156, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1360619>.



sudden shift in “understandings of gender” during the eighteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Part of this anxiety surrounding changing gender norms was the acknowledgment by many that those men who were deemed “macaronis” could actually highlight the restrictions of the current expectations of masculinity, as well as how “seductive” it could be over the “prevailing norms of masculinity and femininity.”<sup>32</sup> This is apparent in a letter that Philip Stanhope writes to his son in 1746:

Dress is of the same nature; you must dress; therefore attend to it; not in order to rival or to excel a fop in it, but in order to avoid singularity, and consequently ridicule. Take great care always to be dressed like the reasonable people of your own age, in the place where you are; whose dress is never spoken of one way or another, as either too negligent or too much studied.<sup>33</sup>

Here, we see multiple points made by Philip Stanhope that speak to the main ideas touched on so far. First, he directs his son to avoid dressing like a “fop,” which when combined with his cautioning his son to dress to avoid ridicule, highlights a desire he has for his son to avoid dressing too extravagantly.<sup>34</sup> According to Rauser, British character was in large part identifiable because it avoided extremes.<sup>35</sup> Stanhope might in large be cautioning against excess because English masculinity appears to have been associated with moderation and awareness of one’s class status and company. The last portion of his quote, in which Stanhope notes that he hopes his son will not dress too extravagantly nor “too negligent” is also key.<sup>36</sup> What made British masculinity difficult to traverse was this reliance on being surely centered. As noted by

---

<sup>31</sup> Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 1253-1254.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Lord Philip Stanhope to Philip Stanhope, October 9, 1746, in *LETTERS TO HIS SON: on the Fine Art of becoming a MAN OF THE WORLD*, ed. David Widger (n.p.: Project Gutenberg, 2004), last updated August 8, 2016, [https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H\\_4\\_0051](https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H_4_0051).

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Amelia Rauser, “Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 no.1 (2004): 114, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053630>.

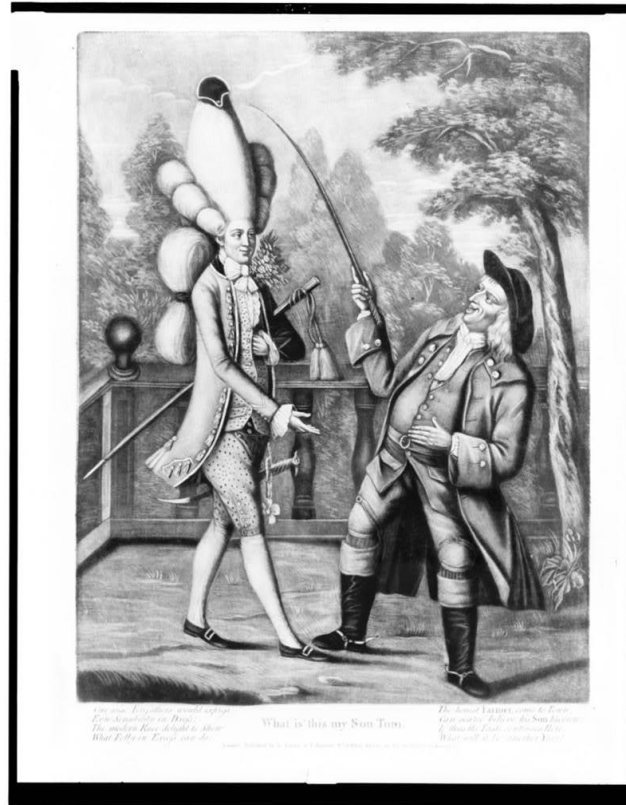
<sup>36</sup> Lord Philip Stanhope to Philip Stanhope, October 9, 1746, in *LETTERS TO HIS SON: on the Fine Art of becoming a MAN OF THE WORLD*, ed. David Widger (n.p.: Project Gutenberg, 2004), last updated August 8, 2016, [https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H\\_4\\_0051](https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H_4_0051).

Wohrman, anxiety about changing gender norms was reliant in part on the fear of the “seductive alternatives” of extremes of gender expression.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, when we look at the “Martial Macaroni,” it becomes clear that Matthew Darly is not only making a humorous caricature, but he is directly conversing with the commonly accepted norms of masculinity by highlighting one way in which they can be deviated from—the macaroni in particular. Darly, by taking on the image of the macaroni and ridiculing it, works to reinforce traditional modes of masculine expression while ridiculing one that deviates too heavily from them.

Matthew Darly was not the only publisher of prints during the period who had something to say about the current divergences from the accepted masculine norm. Publishers Robert Sayer and John Bennet also worked to highlight their distaste for the Macaroni in their 1774 print titled “What is this my son Tom?”

---

<sup>37</sup> Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 1253-1254.



*What is this my son Tom* (mezzotint), in “What is this my son Tom,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/item/95513751/>.

“What is this my son Tom” is in large part intriguing because it not only highlights the lengths through which artists were willing to satirize macaroni men, but it also shows blatantly just why the artists in question ridiculed them: extravagancy in relation to their class status. While I was able to find little information on the beliefs held by Sayer and Bennet, their work speaks to the same themes expressed in the “Marshall Macaroni,” but perhaps goes a step further in exaggerating the dress of the man in question to an extreme. In the above image, we see Tom dressed in an assortment of finery, with the same cane and sword as we have seen associated with the macaroni before.<sup>38</sup> Not only that, but he wears a wig that is large and

<sup>38</sup> “What is this my son Tom,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/item/95513751/>.

grandiose in an almost unbelievably extreme way, and he is contrasted by his father, who stares at his son in disbelief while lifting a tricorne hat onto the top of Tom's wig with a stick.<sup>39</sup>

Described as an "honest farmer," Tom's father also stands as a contrast to Tom, acting to show the reader the ideal form of dress expected of an "honest" man, or rather, the ideal dress of a man who is performing British masculinity as he should.<sup>40</sup> It is also clear from the contrast between Tom and his father's dress that Tom is meant to be displayed as a figure worthy of being mocked for his outlandish dress. His father, on the other hand, acts as a stand-in for the viewer through his mockery of his son's appearance. Much like the father, we are expected to look at Tom and view his outfit as comical, ridiculous, and ill-suited to the environment around him.

Hair was an important component of a man's appearance, which explains this ridicule. Peter Gilchrist writes in his *A Treatise on the Hair* in 1752 that, "To metamorphose the body, it was proper to begin with the head."<sup>41</sup> Hair therefore became one of the primary ways in which a man could alter how the surrounding society viewed him; however, the way a man wore or styled his hair was important, and there were certain expectations for men that needed to be followed. For starters, Brenna Buchanan states that it was expected that men would wear wigs, which were "inherently unnatural."<sup>42</sup> Even so, in the above image, Tom takes this expectation to an extreme, which went against the expectations of how men were to wear their hair in public in relation to those around them. In particular, he violates class norms by dressing much more

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Peter Gilchrist. *A Treatise on the Hair*. By Peter Gilchrist, *Hairdresser* (London, 1752), 2. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, Iowa State University Library, Document Number: CW115879016, accessed 23 September 2015, quoted in Brenna Buchanan, "To Dress Against Nature and Reason": fashion and transgressive dressing in the mid-to-late eighteenth century British North Atlantic" (Graduate Diss., Iowa State University, 2017), 57-58, <https://doi.org/10.31274/etd-180810-4895>.

<sup>42</sup> Brenna Buchanan, "To Dress Against Nature and Reason": fashion and transgressive dressing in the mid-to-late eighteenth century British North Atlantic" (Graduate Diss., Iowa State University, 2017), 58, <https://doi.org/10.31274/etd-180810-4895>.

extravagantly than his father, which makes his appearance look excessive to the viewer. This works in tangent with another letter sent by Philip Stanhope to his son in 1748, in which he writes that an ideal man will dress “in the same manner, as the people of sense and fashion of the place where he is,” and that a man who “dresses better” than those around him “is a fop.”<sup>43</sup> Once again, Stanhope stresses the importance of dress. The frequency with which he warns his son of dressing like a fop points to a desire to avoid overly-intricate dress when appearing in public, but mainly in relation to those his son was conversing with. Practicing the correct expression of British masculinity did not just require knowledge of the “right” way to become masculine, but it also hinged on understanding one’s place in the class apparatus of a rapidly changing economic reality for the British Empire. With the appearance of a burgeoning middle class, fashion consumption—especially with wigs and fine dress—could pose a threat to traditional modes of upper-class masculinity.<sup>44</sup> By policing the appearances of men and his son, as the publishers of “What is this my son Tom?” and Philip Stanhope do respectively, both are trying to ridicule new ways of masculine expression that deviate from traditional gender and class norms.

The importance of wearing the correct clothing—such as the wig—was in large part because, according to Rousser, public life during this period was theatrical in nature, and therefore a man’s wig “made absolutely clear the artificiality of a man’s public persona, as part of the costume men put on to assume their proper identity.”<sup>45</sup> Wigs were necessary features of daily life precisely because of their blatant way of signaling the performative nature of a man’s masculine identity. In this way, you could consider wigs as a man’s acknowledgement of the

---

<sup>43</sup> Lord Philip Stanhope to Philip Stanhope, December 30, 1748, in *LETTERS TO HIS SON: on the Fine Art of becoming a MAN OF THE WORLD*, ed. David Widger (n.p.: Project Gutenberg, 2004), last updated August 8, 2016, [https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H\\_4\\_0051](https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H_4_0051).

<sup>44</sup> Ylivuori, *Women and Politeness*, 87.

<sup>45</sup> Amelia Rauser, “Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 no.1 (2004): 103, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053630>.

requirement to be properly *British* in appearance. Tom, while wearing his wig, does so so grandiosely that he not only meets this expectation, but takes it too far. He becomes in some ways, associated with a trait that many attributed to women, which was that women were thought to have a “natural affinity” for dress that bordered on being uncontrollable.<sup>46</sup> Tom therefore surpasses the requirements of manhood and does what is deemed by those in British society to be something feminine. His performance, because of this, becomes something worthy of mockery. Since clothing was an essential way of constructing gender norms in eighteenth century Britain, and therefore “integral” to one’s identity, Tom going overboard in his dress is portrayed as something extreme and no longer masculine, but feminine in nature.<sup>47</sup> The viewer walks away from the caricature understanding that Robert Sayer and John Bennet take issue with the transgressions against tradition that Tom’s macaroni attire symbolizes, and they create a community of likeminded individuals who agree with this view by circulating this image throughout the public. In this way, the caricature reflects a very real form of British identity enforcement. Men like Tom threatened a stable British Empire, and attacking them through print was one way of ensuring the stability of the dominant British culture; however, this need to enforce proper manhood also reflects a rapidly changing world in which concepts of the self were quickly changing. This would create the blueprint for political cartoons during the American War.

### **The Fraught Foundations of Femininity**

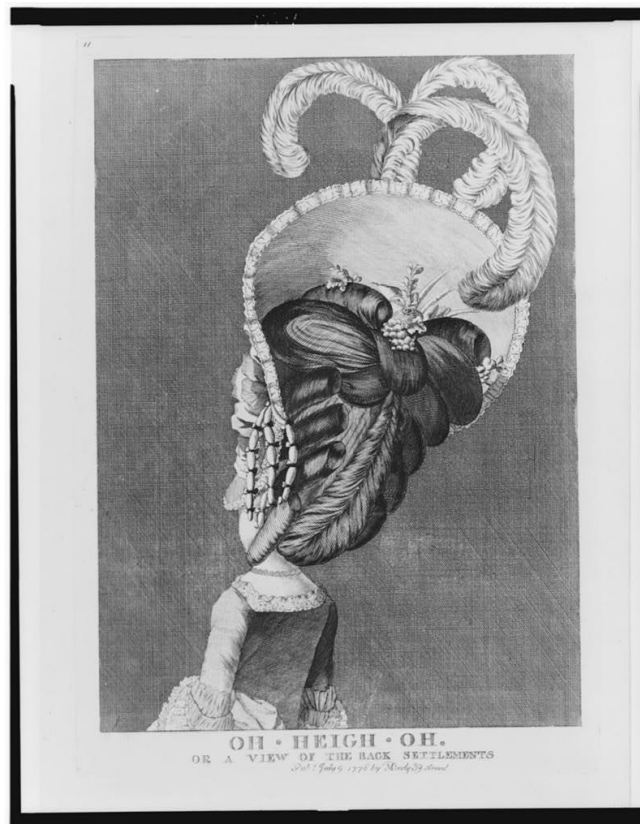
As one can see, fashion was one of the main points through which caricature artists could critique what they deemed to be poor portrayals of masculinity and male Britishness. By creating

---

<sup>46</sup> Ylivuori, *Women and Politeness*, 87.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

an “other” to model against traditional British manhood, artists and publishers alike could fight back against forms of identity expression that threatened a stable English identity. Yet, men were not the only ones to become the targets of caricature artists, and in fact, women became the primary focus of critique prior to the Revolution. Much like “The Martial Macaroni” and “What is this my son Tom?,” caricatures featuring women were often related to the physical representations of womanhood that dress and wigs could create. Perhaps this is no more apparent than in Matthew Darly’s “Oh Heigh Oh—Or A View of The Back Settlements.”



Matthew Darly, *Oh heigh oh--Or a view of the back settlements* (engraving), in “Oh heigh oh--Or a view of the back settlements,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed July 18, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15004/>.

Another work created by Matthew Darly, we see his same focus on fashion and wigs, but this time, the attention is on femininity’s relation to dress. The woman within the portrait is

turned away from the viewer, which places an emphasis on the ornate wig upon her head.<sup>48</sup> She wears an extravagant headpiece, complete with feathers, and her wig is done up in a complex style that suggests much time and care was put into its design.<sup>49</sup> Lastly, the title of the caricature itself is important. Darly compares the woman's wig to "settlements," which composes for the viewer a relation between the grandness of the hair and military imagery.<sup>50</sup> It is very clear that the wig is meant to be viewed as exaggerated, much like the wig within the "Martial Macaroni" piece, and therefore we can make connections behind the intentions Matthew Darly had when creating "Oh Heigh Oh" as well as his macaroni prints.

The most notable feature of "Oh Heigh Oh" is the ornately done-up wig upon the young woman's head, and it is this that becomes the biggest space for critique from Darly. This is in large part because a woman wearing a large wig appeared as if she was transgressing gender norms. While a woman might enjoy wearing such a wig, Rauser notes that women who wore large wigs "were often made fun of," mostly because to wear such a wig was to mimic the "public-facing wigs of men."<sup>51</sup> Wearing a wig like the woman above is gives a male viewer the impression that she is mimicking the style that men wore while out and about when interacting with public society. This ran counter to the "domestic woman," who stood as the ideal British woman's expression of femininity by being a "good wife, affectionate mother, and a meticulous housewife, and only secondly a sociable subject."<sup>52</sup> The average English woman was not expected to be a public-facing figure. By creating the imagery of a woman wearing such a large

---

<sup>48</sup> "Oh heigh oh--Or a view of the back settlements," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed July 18, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15004/>.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Amelia Rauser, "Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 no.1 (2004): 103, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053630>.

<sup>52</sup> Ylivuori, *Women and Politeness*, 141.



wig, Matthew Darly is in part critiquing the act of women stepping over gender boundaries and claiming masculine modes of expression through large wigs. This was threatening because in order for English masculinity to be affirmed, British men needed a stable version of English femininity to compare itself to. By transgressing gender norms, women were making it harder for men to assure themselves of their own masculine identities, which provoked gender anxiety throughout a variety of caricatures.

It was this transgression that could end up being the biggest concern for English men. Such men, as well as women, worked in a variety of ways to instill the idea that women were hyper-focused on over-spending their money on expensive clothing. One such case is visible in John Gregory's *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*, in which he states that "dress is an important article in female life," and that "the love of dress is natural" to young women.<sup>53</sup> Lady Sarah Pennington, when writing *Unfortunate Mother's Advice to Her Daughters*, adds that her daughters should "not be extravagant" in their dress, nor should they let it take up too much of their time.<sup>54</sup> Both Pennington and Gregory make the assumption that their daughters will naturally be drawn to dress and fashion, and not only drawn to it, but overly obsessed with clothing and their own presentation. Even Philip Stanhope, when writing to his son, notes that women "have two passions, vanity and love."<sup>55</sup> It was accepted that women were vain and susceptible to weakness when it came to beauty and fashion, and it was common for conduct books such as these to stress the importance of a simple appearance and an avoidance of extreme

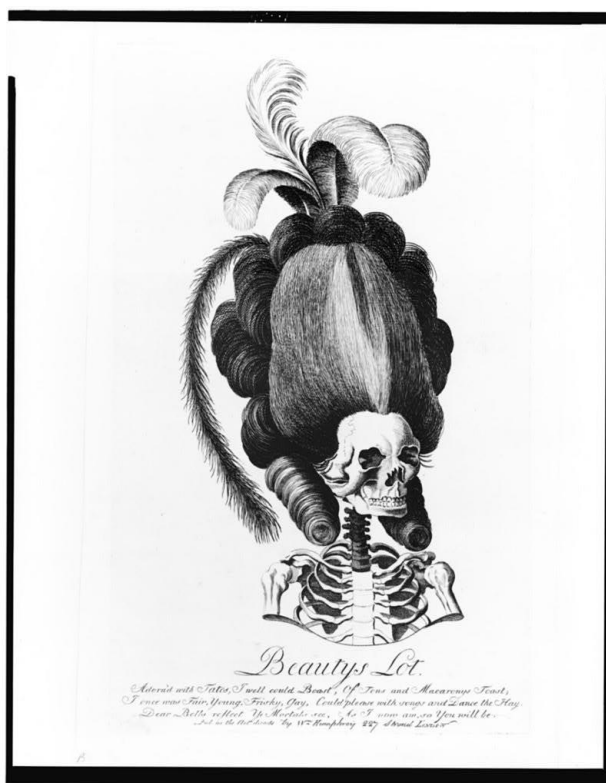
---

<sup>53</sup> John Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* (London: n.p.l, 1808), 63-64, accessed June 15, 2020, <https://archive.org/details/fatherslegacyto00greg/page/n5/mode/2up>.

<sup>54</sup> Sarah Pennington, 'Lady Pennington's Unfortunate mother's advice to her daughters,' in *The Lady's Pocket Library*, (Philadelphia: Richard Folwell, 1794), 181, <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/62831111>.

<sup>55</sup> Lord Philip Stanhope to Philip Stanhope, December 19th, 1749, in *LETTERS TO HIS SON: on the Fine Art of becoming a MAN OF THE WORLD*, ed. David Widger (n.p.: Project Gutenberg, 2004), last updated August 8, 2016, [https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H\\_4\\_0051](https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H_4_0051).

vanity. This in and of itself was very much an expression of identity anxiety that was inherent in the patriarchal society of eighteenth-century England. In writing about the representation of women as eager to spend their wealth on clothing, Soile Ylivuori writes that such actions were viewed as “both wasteful and morally-detrimental.”<sup>56</sup> However, why were such actions deemed to be so morally-detrimental that they could accrue enough judgement from the likes of caricature artists such as Matthew Darly?



William Humphrey, *Beauty's lot* (engraving), in “Beauty's lot,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed July 18, 2020, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15001/?source=post\\_page-----e2d83cd3f7c1-----](https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15001/?source=post_page-----e2d83cd3f7c1-----).

The answer lies in William Humphrey’s “Beauty’s Lot.” Created in 1760, the image has striking thematic similarities to Darly’s “Oh Heigh Oh.” Once again, a large and ostentatious wig

<sup>56</sup> Ylivuori, *Women and Politeness*, 141.

is present, completed with a variety of curls and multiple plumes and feathers.<sup>57</sup> Even so, the most striking part of this image is perhaps its darkest feature. Wearing the wig is not a beautiful young woman, but instead a skeleton, and beneath the skeleton, Humphrey writes the following words: “I once was Fair, Young, Frisky, Gay, could please with songs and Dance the Hay. Dear Bells, reflect Ye Mortals see, as I am now so you will be.”<sup>58</sup> Rather than being an image of beauty and youth, Humphrey goes a step further and uses the imagery of death as a way of discussing the futility of extravagance for young women. While little could be found about William Humphrey’s background, one does understand, both from analysis of this image as well as its connection to “Oh Heigh Oh,” that Humphrey, much like Matthew Darly, was also using iconographic-filled imagery to decry white English woman’s divergence from traditional feminine norms.

The image, in its entirety, appears to be partially an attempt to direct young women away from what Humphrey might have viewed as the frivolities of dress, but he does so by using an extreme—imagery of death—to do so. This is in part because for English men such as Humphrey there was a major reason for them to have a vested interest in doing so: women were seen as moral guardians for the qualities that men lacked. Philip Stanhope imparts this knowledge to his son in a 1748 letter:

As you have been introduced to the Duchess of Courland, pray go there as often as ever your more necessary occupations will allow you. I am told she is extremely well bred, and has parts. Now, though I would not recommend to you, to go into women’s company in search of solid knowledge, or judgment, yet it has its use in other respects; for it certainly polishes the manners, and gives ‘une certaine tournure’, which is very necessary

---

<sup>57</sup> “Beautys lot,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed July 18, 2020, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15001/?source=post\\_page-----e2d83cd3f7c1-----](https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15001/?source=post_page-----e2d83cd3f7c1-----).

<sup>58</sup> William Humphrey, *Beautys lot* (engraving), in “Beautys lot,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed July 18, 2020, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15001/?source=post\\_page-----e2d83cd3f7c1-----](https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15001/?source=post_page-----e2d83cd3f7c1-----).

in the course of the world; and which Englishmen have generally less of than any people in the world.<sup>59</sup>

Stanhope, while quick to note that women are not capable of the sorts of knowledge he associates with manhood, does connect English femininity to something that he later discusses in multiple letters he exchanges with his son throughout the years: politeness and moral improvement.<sup>60</sup> He later calls such “fashionable women” “the female sovereigns of the ‘beau monde,’” thereby further bolstering his view that women stand as bearers of polite society and the main avenues through which men could enhance the personal qualities they lacked due to their masculine identities.

A similar belief is echoed in the words of the anonymous author of “An Essay on the Great and Extensive Influence of the Fair Sex,” published within *The Lady’s Magazine* in 1771:

Those who are most conversant with women of virtue and understanding, will be always found the most amiable characters, other circumstances being supposed alike. Such society, beyond everything else, rubs off the corners that give many of our sex an ungracious roughness. It produces a polish more perfect, and more pleasing than that which is received from a general commerce with the world...I do not mean that the men I speak of will become feminine: but their sentiments and deportment will contract a grace...<sup>61</sup>

The male author of this piece once again centers his text on the same argument as Stanhope’s as well as to an extent, Humphrey’s: women were expected to give men who lacked politeness and good manners the shine they needed to be able to exhibit their *complete masculine identities as English men*. English men were expected to go to women for moral refinement, and

---

<sup>59</sup> Lord Philip Stanhope to Philip Stanhope, January 2, 1748, in *LETTERS TO HIS SON: on the Fine Art of becoming a MAN OF THE WORLD*, ed. David Widger (n.p.: Project Gutenberg, 2004), last updated August 8, 2016, [https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H\\_4\\_0051](https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H_4_0051).

<sup>60</sup> Lord Philip Stanhope to Philip Stanhope, September 5, 1748, in *LETTERS TO HIS SON: on the Fine Art of becoming a MAN OF THE WORLD*, ed. David Widger (n.p.: Project Gutenberg, 2004), last updated August 8, 2016, [https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H\\_4\\_0051](https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H_4_0051).

<sup>61</sup> “An Essay on the great and extensive Influence of the FAIR SEX,” *The Lady’s magazine; or, Entertaining companion for the fair sex, appropriated solely to their use and amusement* vol. 2 (1771): 24, accessed July 3, 2020, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.79263497&view=1up&seq=11>.

so women choosing to engage in activities or interests that threatened such enrichment were threats to British manhood at large. The skeletal female figure in Humphrey's work therefore reflects not only the end of the woman in question, but tangentially reflects the death of British manhood through the absence of a female figure required to foil it, improve it, and hold it up. According to Soile Ylivuori, an Englishwoman's "bent for politeness" very well became "a marker of civility" that was a necessary component of British identity formation.<sup>62</sup> Simply put, women were absolutely essential in defining Englishness precisely because men connected their femininity with politeness, which these men viewed as only attainable through the women they knew. With the death of traditional English womanhood came the possible death of traditional English manhood, and Humphrey made this dialogue clear in his 1760 piece.

### **The First Half of the War: A Rapid Change**

#### **Political Happenings**

From 1775 to 1777, the English public at home struggled to understand their identities as countrymen and participants in a fractured global empire.<sup>63</sup> Up until this point, the American colonies were perceived as integral to the empire's image of global economic, political, and cultural success.<sup>64</sup> With the colonists' decision to rebel ruining this image, English men and women could no longer wholly rely on their previous concept of the English state and the identity that came with it, or could they? What started at Bunker Hill in June of 1775 would lead to a process of reflection that either affirmed one's concept of Britain as a globally powerful state with the right to control its colonial holdings, or instead led to the reflection and a desire to

---

<sup>62</sup> Ylivuori, *Women and Politeness*, 40.

<sup>63</sup> "Timeline of the American Revolution," Museum of the American Revolution: 3-4, PDF, accessed June 8, 2020, [https://www.amrevmuseum.org/sites/default/files/MAR\\_Teacher\\_Supplemental\\_Resources.pdf](https://www.amrevmuseum.org/sites/default/files/MAR_Teacher_Supplemental_Resources.pdf).

<sup>64</sup> Gould, *The Persistence of Empire*, 66.

recreate the British Empire's relationship with its American colonies.<sup>65</sup> Both ways of thinking were far from simple, and what would result from the clashing of their difference led to colonial anxieties that bled into British concepts of gender in both similar and new ways.

For many within the British public who were concerned about the strength of the British Empire, they were quick to attack the American colonists over the growing conflict, in large part because they viewed it as a breach in the contracted relationship between the mother country and her young charge. A speech given in Parliament on November 1, 1776 sums up this line of thought:

With hearts full of duty and gratitude, we acknowledge the happiness which, under your Majesty's mild government, is extended to every part of the British empire; of which the late flourishing state of the revolted Provinces, their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother country, show that they have abundantly participated. And we earnestly hope, that your Majesty's paternal object of restoring your distracted Colonies to the happy condition from which, by their own misconduct, they are wretchedly fallen, will be speedily attained.<sup>66</sup>

This speech not only refers to England as the colonies' "mother country," but it makes sure to stress the fact that the actions of the colonists certainly cannot be type-cast as justified, but are instead signs of simple "misconduct" and a colonial region that feels emboldened to rebel against King George III's "paternal" support.<sup>67</sup> In this case, the colonies become likened to rebellious

---

<sup>65</sup> John Clarke, 'An Authentic and Impartial Narrative of the Battle Fought on the 17th of June, 1775, n.d.,' in *Bunker Hill: The Story Told in Letters From the Battle Field by British Officers Engaged*, ed. Samuel Adams Drake (Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2008), page 42-43, [https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp\\_16](https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_16).

<sup>66</sup> "The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled" (1776), In *American archives: consisting of a collection of authentick records, state papers, debates, and letters and other notices of publick affairs, the whole forming a documentary history of the origin and progress of the North American colonies; of the causes and accomplishment of the American revolution; and of the Constitution of government for the United States, to the final ratification thereof*, ed. Peter Force, vol. III, 5th series (Washington: n.p., 1853), 982, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015027756462&view=1up&seq=13>.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

children who have misunderstood their place in the familial organization of the empire, a threatening reality to those who sorely believed in the importance of a dominant British state. This speech would also refer to the American colonists as “unhappy people” who had yet to recover from “their delusion” and therefore be “awakened by a due sense of their misfortunes and misdoings.”<sup>68</sup> The colonists’ motives were not seen as valid, and this was visible in the speech giver’s desire to note that they hoped the colonists delivered “themselves from the oppression of their leaders” and then finally returned “to their duty.”<sup>69</sup> The members of Parliament—and those who agreed with them—could try to soften the blow of colonial rebellion by ignoring its’ growing popularity, instead painting it as the tyranny of the few over the majority. By creating an image of the Americans as children following the lead of a rebellious few, those listening to these words could envision a reality in which the global British identity was not under threat, and instead focus on a quick end to conflict and return to normal. Such a move softened the colonial anxieties provoked by the actions at Bunker Hill and beyond.

This sort of infantilization of the colonists is also visible in the words of John Fletcher, published in 1777, as he details the colonists desire to live under no form of government, instead of enjoying the “lawful liberty of a subject.”<sup>70</sup> Colonial rebellion’s danger to British identity could be counteracted not only by minimizing its reality, but also by highlighting the extreme many British individuals felt the Americans had gone to. By rejecting British authority, Fletcher painted the colonists as persons who desired to live without a “civil government” for

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> John Fletcher, *American patriotism, farther confronted with reason, scripture, and the constitution : being observations on the dangerous politics taught by the Rev. Mr. Evans, M.A., and the Rev. Dr. Price, with a scriptural plea for the revolted colonies*, 2nd ed. (London: R. Hawes, 1777), page 62, accessed June 27, 2020, <http://hdl.handle.net/1974/2083>.

protection.<sup>71</sup> While the Americans were in his eyes casting off one of the mainstays of British society, Fletcher could protect himself from the anxieties such an act provoked by emphasizing the lack of civilization that the colonists had because of this decision. In doing so, he lays the blame for the American conflict at the feet of the Americans themselves, attempting to absolve the British from any major blame in the conflict's emergence.

Even so, not all British men and women wholeheartedly supported Britain's attempts at coercion. In fact, many had outspoken opinions favoring the Americans, which encouraged a culture clash over which was the right way to handle the American issue. For instance, Major John Cartwright discusses his sympathy for the Americans, noting that, "Britons of all parties and of almost all denominations, seem far too unanimous in wishing to tyrannize over their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic."<sup>72</sup> It was not always the case that every British man and woman supported Britain's actions in North America, and for them, familial language, such as referring to the Americans as brothers, was utilized as a common tool to emphasize the brokenness of approaching the situation with the colonies militarily.<sup>73</sup> Sarah Lennox echoes similar sentiments in 1776, calling the conflict a "vile war."<sup>74</sup> She would go on to note that with continuing news of the events on the other side of the Atlantic, she was growing to become "a

---

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> John Cartwright, *American independence the interest and glory of Great Britain; containing arguments which prove, that not only in taxation, but in trade, manufactures, and government, the colonies are entitled to an entire independency on the British legislature; and that it can only be by a formal declaration of these rights, and forming thereupon a friendly league with them, that the true and lasting welfare of both countries can be promoted. In a series of letters to the legislature* (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776), x, accessed June 27, 2020, <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/62807350>.

<sup>73</sup> Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), 118.

<sup>74</sup> Lady Sarah Lennox to Lady Susan O'Brian, Sept. 19, 1776, in *The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox, 1745-1826*, ed. The Countess of Ilchester and Lord Stavordale, Vol. I (London: John Murray, 1902), 252, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3660569>.



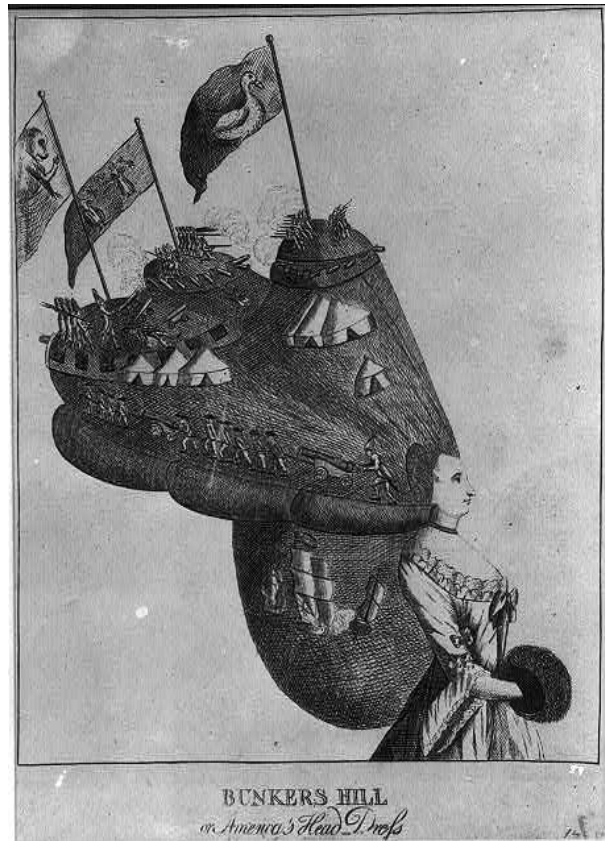
greater rebel every day upon principle.”<sup>75</sup> Lennox, like Cartwright, could find ways to sympathize with the American cause that went in opposition to individuals like Fletcher. This forms a basis for understanding just how fractured the British identity was at home, as well as how that fracturing could form into colonial anxieties—often familial in nature—pictured in the weaponization of gender norms in political caricatures during the period.

### **Political Personification: The Feminization of American Forts and Battles**

British gender norms, commonly used in prints as a way of critiquing the modern, changing British society, were easily transferable into imagery relating to colonists and the American conflict. Now, instead of the focus of that critique being placed on men and women solely with the mother country, the lens shifted to begin calling out the Americans for behavior that was either sympathized with or despised by Britons. As news trickled back home, these forms of satire found new modes of expression that highlighted the British anxiety that came with colonial expansion and conflict. This is perhaps clearest in the personification of American forts and battle locations, a personification that often took the form of a young woman. With forts usually centering as the main locations of military conflict, they became meeting places where the British Empire and its identity was openly challenged by the American colonists. This makes them rich and fascinating images to study for contextual information.

---

<sup>75</sup> Lady Sarah Lennox to Lady Susan O’Brian, Dec. 30, 1777, in *The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox, 1745-1826*, ed. The Countess of Ilchester and Lord Stavordale, Vol. I (London: John Murray, 1902), 263, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3660569>.



Matthew Darly, *Bunkers Hill or America's head dress* (etching), in “Bunkers Hill or America's head dress,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673322/>.

For instance, one of the first forms of personification in this vein is shown in Matthew Darly’s “Bunkers Hill or America’s Head Dress.” Published on April 19, 1776, the image shows a finely-dressed young woman with an incredibly large wig, a wig which houses “three redoubts with infantry and artillery firing at close range, tents, an artillery train, and a sea battle involving two or three ships.”<sup>76</sup> The decadence of the young woman is completed with military imagery, imagery that harkens back to Bunker Hill. The image itself brings to mind Darly’s previous works in “The Martial Macaroni” and “Oh Heigh Oh,” and as a viewer, one can see that he is using previous modes of cultural critique against the Americans this time. By including

<sup>76</sup> “Bunkers Hill or America's head dress,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673322/>.

“America’s Head Dress in the title,” Matthew Darly is directly connecting the American actions at Bunker Hill to the cultural norms at home in the mother country.

The events at Bunker Hill itself perhaps power a lot of the reasoning behind this image.

In a letter written by General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, he writes that:

The enemy all anxious suspense; the roar of cannon, mortars, musketry; the crash of churches, ships upon the stocks, and whole streets falling together in ruin, to fill the ear; the storm of the redoubts, with the objects above described, to fill the eye; and the reflection, that, perhaps, a defeat was a final loss to the British Empire in America, to fill the mind,—made the whole a picture, and complication of horror and importance, beyond any thing that came to my lot to be a witness to.<sup>77</sup>

Burgoyne notes in this letter the chaotic nature of the scene at Bunker Hill, and interestingly enough, he also includes a brief moment of concern about what the battle meant in the long term for the British Empire in America. Occurring on June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1775, the Battle of Bunker Hill was one of the first major battles during the war, and it was a battle fought by “undisciplined yeomanry, without a leader” on the American side.<sup>78</sup> Despite this fact—as well as the British victory that ensued—the Americans were still able to inflict heavy casualties on the British soldiers, to the extent that Burgoyne would note the loss of life as a “considerable loss.”<sup>79</sup> With it being so early in the war effort, the sudden realization that the chance to subdue the American

---

<sup>77</sup> General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, n.d., in *Bunker Hill: The Story Told in Letters From the Battle Field by British Officers Engaged*, ed. Samuel Adams Drake (Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2008), 40-41, [https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp\\_16](https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_16).

<sup>78</sup> Samuel Adams Drake, *Bunker Hill: The Story Told in Letters From the Battle Field* (Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2008): page 7, [https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp\\_16](https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_16); John Clarke, ‘An Authentic and Impartial Narrative of the Battle Fought on the 17th of June, 1775, n.d.,’ in *Bunker Hill: The Story Told in Letters From the Battle Field by British Officers Engaged*, ed. Samuel Adams Drake (Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2008), 42-43, [https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp\\_16](https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_16).

<sup>79</sup> General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, n.d., in *Bunker Hill: The Story Told in Letters From the Battle Field by British Officers Engaged*, ed. Samuel Adams Drake (Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2008), page #, [https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp\\_16](https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_16).

colonies would not come quickly was perhaps a startling reality to those British soldiers on the battlefield at the time, as well as to the British men and women who heard about the outcome at home.



Matthew Darly and Mary Darly, *Miss Carolina Sullivan - one of the obstinate daughters of America, 1776* (etching), in “Miss Carolina Sullivan - one of the obstinate daughters of America, 1776,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/item/97514668/>.

The personification of a battle location was not uncommon, and Matthew Darly—as well as Mary Darly—would approach it again in “Miss Carolina Sullivan—One of the Obstinate Daughters of America.” Created in 1776, this image imagines the attack on Sullivan’s Island in 1776 much like Matthew Darly’s “Bunkers Hill” recreates the meanings of the battle at Bunker

Hill.<sup>80</sup> This time, the image is even grander. A woman representing Sullivan's Island is seen via a right profile, wearing an enormous wig "meant to conceal fortifications, cannons, and several battle flags."<sup>81</sup> Little attention is paid to anything but Sullivan Island's hairdo, which is so grand that it expands across a majority of the image's space. Once again, an emphasis on the connection between unnecessarily large wigs and battle imagery is made, allowing the Darlys to make a larger critique about the events that unfolded at Sullivan's Island in 1776.<sup>82</sup>

What differentiates Sullivan's Island from Bunker Hill is simple: Britain lost.<sup>83</sup> This made the outcome as portrayed in imagery loaded with the heavy symbolism of the unexpected. In a letter meant for Lord Germain, Henry Clinton explains his reasoning for attempting an engagement at Sullivan's Island:

...but having received some intelligence at that time, that the works erected by the rebels at Sullivan's Island (the key to Charles-Town harbour) were in an imperfect and unified state, I was induced to acquiesce in a proposal made to me by the Commodore Sir Peter Parker, to attempt the reduction of that fortress, by a Coup-de-Main; I thought it possible at the same time, that it might be followed by such immediate consequences as would prove of great advantage to his Majesty's service.<sup>84</sup>

As one can see, Clinton was acting on intelligence that entailed an easy victory for his army and an unexpected taking over of Sullivan's Island, something that had been planned last minute and was solely based on what Dan Morrill emphasizes was "inadequate planning, faulty intelligence, and plain bad luck."<sup>85</sup> While Clinton had thought that making a move on Sullivan's Island might

---

<sup>80</sup> "Miss Carolina Sullivan - one of the obstinate daughters of America, 1776," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/item/97514668/>.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> Dan L. Morrill, *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* (Baltimore: Nautical & Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1993), 22.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>84</sup> *A narrative of Sir Henry Clinton's co-operations with Sir Peter Parker, on the attack of Sullivan's Island, in South Carolina, in the year 1776. And with Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, in an intended attempt against the French armaments at Rhode-Island, in 1780.* (New York: James Rivingston, 1780), 10-11, accessed June 18, 2020, <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/511008632>.

<sup>85</sup> Morrill, *Southern Campaigns*, 22.

“reinvigorate Tory resolve” in the region and remove the location from rebel hands, his desire to do so backfired.<sup>86</sup> Clinton would go on to note that the rebels had created an entrenchment and razed “their former works,” which meant his ships could not land for four days, and when his plan for a combined land and sea attack failed, he was forced to engage in a “nine-hour artillery duel” between British ships and colonial troops within the fort.<sup>87</sup> Simply put, Sullivan’s Island had become a British failure, and within “Miss Carolina Sullivan,” one can see the remnants of this realization in the large cannons that lay hidden within her hair, signifying the cause of the “nine-hour artillery duel” that ended in Clinton’s defeat.<sup>88</sup>

In collaboration, what do “Bunkers Hill” and “Miss Carolina Sullivan” tell us as viewers about the Darlys’ perspective of the American conflict, and how do they use common gendered imagery to impart this message? For starters, both images pay homage to the Darlys’ earlier focus on large wigs, as seen in “Oh Heigh Oh.” This prior image was largely used in order to critique women who went against feminine expectations by wearing large wigs, thereby threatening masculinity in the process.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, it was imagery used to pass judgement on an “other,” or women who did not perform femininity correctly. In “Bunkers Hill” and “Miss Carolina Sullivan,” the same meaning is given, but it gains a new importance in highlighting the moral distancing between the American colonists and British men and women back at home throughout the war effort. In *An Unfortunate Mother’s Advice to her Absent Daughters*, Sarah Pennington makes a point to write that, “Pompous living is the high road to ruin: and the ruin of

---

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 22-24.

<sup>87</sup> *A narrative of Sir Henry Clinton's co-operations with Sir Peter Parker, on the attack of Sullivan's Island, in South Carolina, in the year 1776. And with Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, in an intended attempt against the French armaments at Rhode-Island, in 1780.* (New York: James Rivingston, 1780), page #, accessed June 18, 2020, <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/511008632>; morril 23

<sup>88</sup> “Miss Carolina Sullivan - one of the obstinate daughters of America, 1776,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/item/97514668/>. and Morrill 22

<sup>89</sup> Soile 40

people's fortune is almost always followed with corruption of manners..."<sup>90</sup> The connection between extravagant presentation with a ruined fortune and poor manners was important within the lives of young women. This is emphasized in Hester Chapone's "Letter on the Government of the Temper," in which she writes that, "You will perhaps be offended, when I advise you to abate a little of that violent passion for fine clothes, so predominant in your sex."<sup>91</sup> Chapone cautions against excessive dress, largely because excessive dress was a sign of moral weakness. By picturing these American forts as luxuriously-dressed women going against British feminine norms, Matthew and Mary Darly are in large part critiquing the colonists as morally weak individuals who are separating themselves from the traditional British identity. The colonists, simply put, become the new "other" which Britons define themselves against.

Matthew Darly and Mary Darly were not the only caricature artists to personify British forts and battle locations during the early years of the Revolution. "The Taking of Miss Mud Island," created by William Humphrey in 1777, also works to use the art of personification to critique the American colonists.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup> Sarah Pennington, 'Lady Pennington's Unfortunate mother's advice to her daughters,' in *The Lady's Pocket Library*, (Philadelphia: Richard Folwell, 1794), 183, <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/62831111>.

<sup>91</sup> Hester Chapone, 'Letter on the Government of the Temper,' in *The Lady's Pocket Library*, (Philadelphia: Richard Folwell, 1794), 224, <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/62831111>.

<sup>92</sup> "The taking of Miss Mud I'land," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673331/>.



William Humphrey, *The taking of Miss Mud I'land* (etching), in “The taking of Miss Mud I'land,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673331/>.

Blatantly sexual in nature, Humphrey’s work personifies the Mud Island Fortress—better known as Fort Mifflin today—as a well-dressed woman who sits upon the cannon of the fortress with her breasts peaking out from her attire.<sup>93</sup> She looms large over her surroundings, with a crudely drawn face.<sup>94</sup> In the forefront of the caricature, one can see the British ships she is firing upon: the ““Somerset”, “Roebuck”, “Eagle”, and the “Vigilant.””<sup>95</sup> She is also surrounded by location markers that place her between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers.<sup>96</sup> Overall, the image is blatantly sexualized in a way unlike any of the previous personification works, which adds interesting notes to how Humphrey, like other caricature artists, used English gender norms to critique the colonies.

<sup>93</sup> “The taking of Miss Mud I'land,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673331/>.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*



The reasoning for this portrayal, also much like the previous works, centers largely on what occurred at Fort Mifflin on November 10, 1777.<sup>97</sup> While the British emerged from the attack on Fort Mifflin victorious through the use of cannons and “over 10,000 cannon shells,” the Americans did not cede the fort without a fight.<sup>98</sup> In a recounting of the events that led to the capture of Fort Mifflin, Sir William Howe had noted that despite the estimated loss of 400 colonial soldiers, the men within Fort Mifflin had rained down fire upon the attacking British ships that “was exceedingly heavy.”<sup>99</sup> This had been purposeful, as Washington had ordered the fort to be held in order to prevent British supply ships from reaching his colonial troops before winter.<sup>100</sup> Having succeeded in this venture at the cost of their lives, the colonial holders of Fort Mifflin had put up a major fight that stunted the goals of Howe and his men, making up an obstacle that meant British victory within the region would become much harder to attain.<sup>101</sup>

In the end, while capturing Fort Mifflin had been a British win, it had major implications for future British success, and the Americans actions at the fort meant that they were continuing to pose major problems for what was supposed to be assured British success. For William Humphrey, this reality might have inspired his sexualized version of Fort Mifflin. In his work to his daughters, John Gregory writes that, “There is a native dignity in ingenious modesty to be expected in your sex, which is your natural protection from the familiarities of men...”<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> Andrew M. Coker, “Mifflin: The Fort That Saved America,” *Pennsylvania Center for the Book*, Fall 2009, accessed on July 13, 2020, <https://www.pabook.libraries.psu.edu/literary-cultural-heritage-map-pa/feature-articles/mifflin-fort-saved-america>.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> “*Letters from Sir William Howe (no.73-77) regarding the taking Fort Mifflin and Fort Mercer by British forces, the arrival of John Burgoyne's troops at Rhode Island and an account of the Battle of White Marsh,*” (Correspondence, The National Archives, Kew, CO 5/236 1777/11/28-1777/12/13), 1, accessed July 11, 2020. [http://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2751/Documents/Details/CO\\_5\\_236\\_020](http://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2751/Documents/Details/CO_5_236_020).

<sup>100</sup> “Fort Mifflin,” *Fort Mifflin*, Drexel University, accessed July 13, 2020, <http://www.pages.drexel.edu/~lf27/pages/fort%20mifflin.html>.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Gregory, *A Father's Legacy*, 48-49.

Modesty was one of the most important components of British femininity. This built off of the idea that pleasure existed to tempt women away from the domestic expectations expected of them. Such expectations are apparent in Catherine Talbot's *Moral Stanzas*:

“Henceforth no pleasure I desire  
In any wild extreme,  
Such as should lull the captiv'd mind  
In a bewitching dream.”<sup>103</sup>

Here, the reader gets a view into the connection between pleasure and emotional extremes.

Talbot's work gives us the understanding that it was expected to exhibit an emotional and moral middle-ground. A divergence from these expectations is described as a form of captivity, but a “bewitching” captivity.<sup>104</sup> This is in line with Sarah Pennington's words to her daughters, in which she states that, “Women that have had the misfortune to deviate from their duty, to break through decorum, to part with their virtue and modesty, owe of much regard to custom, and ought to have such a sense of their breach of chastity, as to appear with a mortified air.”<sup>105</sup> Being deviant and susceptible to pleasure was not only warned against, but the move to an emotional extreme was viewed as a “breach of chastity” that required acknowledgment and correction on the part of the woman involved.<sup>106</sup> Yet, the female personification of Fort Mifflin appears to delight in her immorality as she fires upon the British ships, meaning that she is not self-correcting but instead refusing to acknowledge feminine norms. The blatant violence she directs at the ships not only reflects the actions of the soldiers within the fort, but like previous works,

---

<sup>103</sup> Catherine Talbot, 'Moral Stanzas', in *The Other Eighteenth Century: English Women of Letters, 1660-1800*, ed. by Robert W. Uphaus and Gretchen M. Foster (East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1991), 233, <https://archive.org/details/othereightenthc00upha/page/n3/mode/2up>.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Sarah Pennington, 'Lady Pennington's Unfortunate mother's advice to her daughters,' in *The Lady's Pocket Library*, (Philadelphia: Richard Folwell, 1794), page 197-198, <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/62831111>.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

highlights the Americans growing distance from Britishness. By shirking social norms, they become something completely unrecognizable to English eyes.

### Britannia and America

Outside of the personification of forts and battle locations, caricature artists could also engage in the popular and commonly used act of personifying both Great Britain as well as the American colonies as actual women. This was done in a variety of ways, and each piece could communicate different things about both sides of the war throughout its early years. One of the most complex images to do this is titled “The Parricide. A Sketch of Modern Patriotism,” which was published in the *Westminster Magazine* on May 1, 1776.<sup>107</sup>



*The parricide A sketch of modern patriotism.* (etching), in “The parricide A sketch of modern patriotism.,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.33533/>.

<sup>107</sup> “The parricide A sketch of modern patriotism.,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.33533/>.

While the author of the work is unknown, “The Parricide” is very blatantly pro-British, relying on the personification of Britannia and America to communicate its main message. As one can see, Britannia is only partially clothed, therefore making her vulnerable as she is restrained by two men, while a white America in an Indigenous headdress goes to plunge her dagger into Britannia as directed by John Wilkes.<sup>108</sup> As an abyss opens at Britannia’s feet, Discord is seen off to the side raising two torches.<sup>109</sup> The title of the piece itself, by calling the coming act a parricide, plays on the idea that America, by raising her dagger, is about to end the life of her mother, Britannia.<sup>110</sup> In doing this, the original author of the piece stresses the unnatural nature of the act, while the visual of ministers holding Britannia down communicates to the audience that British politicians are responsible for Britannia’s death—and then therefore the death of the British Empire in North America.

*The Westminster Magazine*, which published this piece, also published a related writing titled ‘Reflections on the Declaration of the General Congress,’ which illuminates the common view held by the publication during the period. In it, the author stresses that it is not only the American Congress that is responsible for this parricide:

The Congress, however, are only the echoes of a Faction in this kingdom, who have uniformly, in their public exhibitions, degraded the strength, power, and authority of Great Britain, to exalt America on the ruins. With an effrontery without example in any other age or nation, these men assume the name of Patriots, yet lay the honor, dignity, and reputation of their Country under the feet of her rebellious subjects. With a peculiar refinement on Parricide, they bind the hands of the Mother, while they plant a dagger in those of the Daughter, to stab her to the heart: and, to finish the horrid picture, they smile at the mischief they have done, and they look round to the spectators for applause.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> “Reflections on the Declaration of the General Congress,” *The Westminster magazine, or, The Pantheon of taste*. vol. 4 (1776): 219, accessed June 17, 2020, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433104832591>.

Here we can see that not only does the author of this written piece decry the seditious behavior of the colonists, but he also works to bring attention to what he views is traitorous behavior by those ministers like John Wilkes, who opposed government coercion actions against the colonists.<sup>112</sup> Doing so was likened to actively aiding in the destruction of the British Empire. “A Parricide” works alongside this thought, visualizing the result of ministers standing by while the American colonists work to end the British’s stay in North America.

This willingness to actively allow the downfall of Britannia at the hands of America, because of this, can also be connected to British anxieties surrounding the strength of the state’s ability to exude proper masculinity. Through feminizing the personification of the state and placing her in a vulnerable position within the cartoon, the artist highlights these anxieties clearly. Stephen Conway emphasizes this point, writing that, “Wartime crises, moreover, added another dimension to this reassertion of gender distinctions by provoking considerable reflection on the way in which the nation had lost its manly virtues and grown soft. ‘Effeminacy’ was widely identified as the root cause of the problem...”<sup>113</sup> In many ways, the British associated ill-performed masculinity with its failures in relation to the American colonies, and there began a rush to fix what was perceived to be the societal ill. William Cowper’s poem titled “Table Talk,” which was published early in the crisis, writes that:

But that effeminacy, folly, lust,  
 Enervate and enfeeble, and needs must,  
 And that a nation shamefully debased  
 Will be despised and trampled on at last,

---

<sup>112</sup> "Wilkes, John (1725-1797)," in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 61, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1900), 248, <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati61stepuoft/page/248/mode/2up>.

<sup>113</sup> Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War for Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 85-89.

Unless sweet penitence her powers renew...<sup>114</sup>

Cowper's sentiments share the same basis as the creator of "The Parricide." Effeminacy becomes one of the main societal ills upon which the American conflict is associated with, and the targets of this concern became those ministers—like John Wilkes—who appear to okay and even encourage the downfall of Britannia, and therefore the empire as a whole. Combined with the visual of the abyss opening beneath Britannia's feet, the result of this effeminacy is communicated to the audience of the piece as a permanent end to Britannia as they know it. The author uses these visual cues to cultivate gendered colonial anxiety by weaponizing masculine gender norms against those they perceive to be aiding in the destruction of the traditional British identity

Britannia is not the only form of personification within "The Parricide." The American colonies are also personified, but in this image, the America that the British public is familiar with is changing. While she still appears to have a pale complexion, America's head is adorned with an Indigenous-looking feathered headdress. This, in many ways, highlights the slow but palpable separation that many British men and women began to feel with the colonies, and such a separation was often viewed through the lens of violence. By the time of the war, Troy Bickham writes that the British public viewed Indigenous communities in North America as violent savages "who tortured prisoners of war, worshipped idols, were illiterate, and had little use for private property."<sup>115</sup> As a result Indigenous men and women became "the very opposite of the 'polite and commercial' middling ranks of Britain" in the common language of everyday

---

<sup>114</sup> William Cowper, 'Table Talk', in *Poetical works of William Cowper*, ed. by Robert Bell, vol. 1 (London: J.W. Parker, 1854), 196. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.089555618>.

<sup>115</sup> Troy Bickman, *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 199.

society.<sup>116</sup> While these were gross generalizations that inaccurately represented the Indigenous experience in North America, the visual cues of Indigenous dress could still be used to associate America committing parricide against Britannia with this inaccurate vision of uncivilized Natives. Americans were portrayed as Native precisely to separate them from their Britishness in order to understand the reality of the colonists' desire to separate from the empire.

It is no surprise that an America dressed in Native garb is used in tandem with the violent act of parricide as well. Connections of barbarity—often associated with Indigenous communities at this time—were increasingly being made with colonists in an attempt to understand and discuss the act of war between mother country and colony.<sup>117</sup> This built off of previous beliefs about English colonists in the American colonies, mainly that such colonists would “go native” as time passed, and according to Joe Snader, abandon “their original culture” in order to redefine “themselves within the framework of Amerindian culture.”<sup>118</sup> Cultural distancing was greatly feared by the British public, and it largely attributed to their difficulty in understanding their relationship with the American colonists. With many British “observers” beginning to view the Americans as “savages” with a growing desire to commit violence, picturing America as a woman in Native clothing with a dagger in hand simply reinforced the common view held by many that Americans were turning away from their British identity, taking on a new one that instead was more Indigenous than English.<sup>119</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), 122.

<sup>118</sup> Joe Snader, *Caught Between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 173.

<sup>119</sup> Wilson, *The Island Race*, 122.

Lastly, one of the most fascinating features of “A Parricide” is the usage of Discord as a visual cue. Most likely connected to Eris, the Greek goddess of discord, as well as her Roman counterpart in Discordia, Discord stands as a reminder to the reader that the act that is currently occurring is unnatural, violent, and chaotic.<sup>120</sup> It communicates to the viewer that parricide is evil, and therefore that the American colonies’ actions are wicked. Eris is known for instigating the Trojan War, and she is said to have given birth to “Woes, Strifes, Battles, Slaughters, Manslayings, Quarrels, False Words, Disputes, and Lawlessness,” just to name a few.<sup>121</sup> Using Discord within “A Parricide” therefore signals to the viewer that Discord not only represents the unnatural nature of the parricide, but also the many ills that come with it. Eris’ Roman counterpart—Discordia—is associated with equal amounts of strife and civil war in Roman literature, further bolstering the importance of using a visual of Discord in this piece.<sup>122</sup> While the author displays the parricide as violent in nature on America’s part, Discord’s presence shows that there is still, in some way, a desire by the creator of the piece to see relations between Britannia and America return to normal. The act of violence committed by America—overseen by the embodiment of chaos—communicates to the audience the nature of the British Empire’s identity in flux, with parricide seeming all but certain. Suddenly, a stable British identity no longer seemed to be as likely as many had hoped.

### **The Second Half of the War: Conceptualizations of a New Empire’s Identity**

---

<sup>120</sup> Elaine Fantham, “Discordia Fratrum: Aspects of Lucan’s Conception of Civil War,” in *Citizens of Discord: Rome and Its Civil Wars*, edited by Brian Breed, Cynthia Damon, and Andreola Rossi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 210; H.J. Rose, *J. A Handbook of Greek Mythology : Including Its Extension to Rome* (London: Methuen, 1928), 2 and 23.

<sup>121</sup> Rose, *A Handbook*, 23.

<sup>122</sup> Elaine Fantham, “Discordia Fratrum: Aspects of Lucan’s Conception of Civil War,” in *Citizens of Discord: Rome and Its Civil Wars*, edited by Brian Breed, Cynthia Damon, and Andreola Rossi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 210.



## Political Happenings

From 1778 to 1783, the discussion surrounding the relationship with the American colonies began to alter.<sup>123</sup> No longer could Britain assume that the war would be easily won. A variety of conversations throughout British society ensued, and understanding these discussions allows us to further understand how English men and women verbalized these anxieties, but also further illuminates how British men and women used gender norms and racial stereotypes to thoughts about the American colonists and British politicians. With this being the case, we also see all of these conversations being brought to life through the medium of political caricature, a medium that was full of personification, tension, and cultural norms.

Now, there were multiple perspectives on the American conflict by this point, but there was an increasing emphasis on trying to make peace with the colonies that began to take more shape as time passed. For instance, Sarah Lennox, who had verbalized prior support for the colonists in her letters, wrote in 1778 that she wished England would “make peace with America” and that she pitied “every good American, who must suffer so dreadfully in these times.”<sup>124</sup> For those with similar feelings to Lennox, the war was beginning to look more and more like it reflected on Britain in a morally negative light. This sentiment would become even clearer in one of Sarah Lennox’s 1779 letters:

Pray have you read the new weekly paper called, The Englishman? It is excessively clever & true, & has the merit of plainness & no spite but at Lords North, Sandwich, & Germaine, & one may without scruple give them up I think, & call the paper a fair one.<sup>125</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> “Timeline of the American Revolution,” Museum of the American Revolution: 3-4, PDF, accessed June 8, 2020, [https://www.amrevmuseum.org/sites/default/files/MAR\\_Teacher\\_Supplemental\\_Resources.pdf](https://www.amrevmuseum.org/sites/default/files/MAR_Teacher_Supplemental_Resources.pdf).

<sup>124</sup> Lady Sarah Lennox to Lady Susan O’Brian, Aug. 29, 1778, in *The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox, 1745-1826*, ed. The Countess of Ilchester and Lord Stavordale, Vol. I (London: John Murray, 1902), 275-276, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3660569>.

<sup>125</sup> Lady Sarah Lennox to Lady Susan O’Brian, April 21, 1779, in *The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox, 1745-1826*, ed. The Countess of Ilchester and Lord Stavordale, Vol. I (London: John Murray, 1902), 297, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3660569>.

Sarah Lennox shares information from a publication she has recently read, and while doing so, outright decries the individuals she believes were deserving of the “spite” they received in the press.<sup>126</sup> It just so happens that Lords North, Sandwich, and Germaine were all in some ways responsible for England’s continued involvement in America to some extent.<sup>127</sup> Lennox’s letter makes known the reality that the question of the American War was not as easily one-sided with the British public at this time as what may be believed.

This sentiment was also being echoed by British ministers. In ‘Parliamentary History,’ published in *The London Magazine* in 1780, James Fox’s rebuttal to the Lord Advocate is detailed, during which he argues that Parliament had “prevented reconciliation, at a time when it might have been effected upon honourable terms for England” and had avoided “attending to their petition.”<sup>128</sup> Men like Fox began to argue with increased ferocity that continuing the war with the Americans was more likely to ensure harm than victory, and as time passed, they began to focus in their attacks—just like Fox did above—on the current North administration’s inability to put an end to things. Such events would color the rest of the American conflict, as well as the events that occurred directly after it.

Not all ministers agreed with James Fox, and in fact, some still voiced support for the war effort. In that same edition of *The London Magazine*, David Hartley is recounted as saying that “the American war was to be pursued with vigour” in relation to the land tax of 1780 being discussed at the time.<sup>129</sup> Hartley connected the colonies to the British Empire’s identity, and the

---

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America : British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 2-3, 7-8, 51.

<sup>128</sup> “Parliamentary History,” *The London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* vol. 49 (1780): 24, accessed June 17, 2020, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015021304061>.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. 23.

concept of simply ending the war and possibly loosing them was enough for him to tighten his resolve. During this same Parliamentary debate, Lord North would also speak, stating that “he certainly did not mean to withdraw the troops from America, not yet to allow the independence of the colonies.”<sup>130</sup> As the question of American independence loomed large, a fierce contention began to be waged by these separate camps, both of whom were reckoning with the changing empire and what that meant for their British identities going forward.

This anxiety about the loss of the colonies was certainly discussed, and for some, the idea that England was going to lose the war effort was beginning to become more and more realized. In *The Westminster Magazine's* 1781 issue, there is a piece published under the title of “Strictures on the Philadelphia Mischianza” that notes this rising level of awareness. The author of the piece writes that, “The impossibility of conquering America being well known, or strongly believed, by the British Ministry, they are shifting off the disgrace of the defeat on their Generals.”<sup>131</sup> Not only could the public begin to see the end of the war itself, but there began to rise a growing tide of backlash against the Parliament ministry that had continued to carry on the futile war effort. While this frustration was visible, there was also a level of concern surrounding the unknown that came with this realization. The author of “Strictures on the Philadelphia Mischianza” goes on to add that, “the empire here in Britain itself, is shaken and endangered; at such a time of public calamity, when every good Englishman was trembling for the commonwealth...”<sup>132</sup> With the loss of the American colonies looming over the heads of the British public, British individuals now had to come to terms with this major change while also

---

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>131</sup> Israel Maudult, *Strictures on the Philadelphia mischianza or Triumph upon leaving America unconquered. With extracts, containing the principal part of a letter published in The American crisis. In order to shew, how far the King's enemies think his general deserving the public honours.*, Philadelphia: Francis Bailey, 1780, preface pg. 1, <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/62815454>

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 3.

majorly reshaping their identity as British subjects to align with their new understanding of just what being a British subject now meant, which is shown in the images below.

### Holding On To Slipping Power and Desire for the Past

With these complex discussions about a changing Great Britain occurring frequently, articulations of what some envisioned England's standing on the world stage to be became a more frequent part of political caricatures.



W. Reginald, *The balance of power* (engraving), in "The balance of power," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006685505/>.

"The Balance of Power," published by R. Wilkinson on January 17, 1781, is perhaps one of the most blatant caricatures on the topic. Quite literally a show of the distribution of power within Europe and the Americas, the caricature places a valiant Britannia on one side of the scale holding the sword of justice, while a disorderly France, Spain, America, and Holland all clamber

onto the other side of the scale in the hopes of overpowering Britannia.<sup>133</sup> America is of particular interest, as she is represented as a fully Native woman with a feathered headdress, taking on a more Indigenous form than previous embodiments of America—or locations within the colonies—have.<sup>134</sup> As America sits on the scale in dejection, she states that her “ingratitude is justly punished,” implying Wilkinson’s feelings about the colonies were far from sympathetic.<sup>135</sup> While little information is available on R. Wilkinson, as a viewer, we can at least gather that he sympathizes with England and desires to make a statement about what he perceives an English identity to mean in relation to that sympathy.

This image is largely bound up in the realities of the American war at this point. According to David Ramsey, “France, Spain and Holland were in the years 1778, 1779 and 1780 successively drawn in for a share of the general calamity.”<sup>136</sup> What once started as a conflict between mother country and her colonies would over time develop into a complex war that involved a number of European allies, many of whom had a direct incentive to aid the colonists: ridding England of some of the global power it wielded.<sup>137</sup> This may be in part what also contributed to the anxiety about the decline of the empire in the “Strictures on the Philadelphia Mischianz” piece.<sup>138</sup> With enemies on all sides, British subjects would often try to affirm their identity as members of the most powerful state in the globe. For instance, a song titled “Lt. Col. Holroyd’s Light Dragoons,” published in 1780, is another example of this sort of active identity affirmation that attempted to fight back against the unsurety of a global war:

---

<sup>133</sup> “The balance of power,” *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006685505/>.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> David Ramsey., *The History of the American Revolution*, ed. Lester H. Cohen (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund Inc., 1990), 526.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 392.

<sup>138</sup> Maudult, *Stricture on the Philadelphia*, 3.

No Spaniard nor Frenchmen our women need fear,  
 While Holroyd's Dragoons in  
 Their cause will appear.  
 The Fair to defend, they will risqué their,  
 hearts blood...<sup>139</sup>

In this piece, the reader is introduced to an attempt to minimize the looming threat of the Spanish and French. Holroyd's unit is deemed the protector of English women, and because of that, Englishness in general. In "The Balance of Power," Britannia largely serves the same purpose. According to Katherine Wilson, Britannia was "made to stand for a living woman, albeit one who was the mother of the race," and therefore she was able to become the vehicle through which British meanings about their own position in the global world was communicated and debated.<sup>140</sup> Britannia, wielding the sword of justice, stands in for the average British woman, expected to perform femininity well in order to soothe anxieties about the fragile state of England during the period.<sup>141</sup>

One of the interesting components of this caricature; however, perhaps lies in the inscription beneath it, which details Wilkinson's views in further relation to his image:

America duped by a treacherous train,  
 Now finds she's a tool both to France and to Spain...  
 The Americans too with Britain will with Britons unite,  
 And each to the other by Mutual Delight.<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>139</sup> *Lt. Col. Holroyd's light dragoons : song, in honour of the 22d light dragoons* (broadside), in "Lt. Col. Holroyd's light dragoons : song, in honour of the 22d light dragoons," *The American Revolution Institute*, The American Revolution Institute, accessed June 2, 2020, <http://cdm16923.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16923coll7/id/29>.

<sup>140</sup> Wilson, *The Island Race*, 93-94.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>142</sup> "The balance of power," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006685505/>.

America is not shown to have desired to continue the war of her own design, but it is instead written that she is tricked into doing so by both the French and the Spanish. The inability to recognize America's agency is not new, but in combination with the usage of an Indigenous woman in the art above, new meaning is brought to the implication. The British often attributed little agency to Native women, depicting them as overworked and subject to tend the crops by Native men while English women avoided field work.<sup>143</sup> Simply put, English subjects failed to understand the lived reality of Indigenous women as both diligent farmers, important overseers of trade and economy, and valued members of the community, in large part because their desire to believe their superiority over the Indigenous men and women they encountered won out over facing the opposing reality.<sup>144</sup> What Kathleen Brown calls a "gender frontier"—or a place in which differing cultures meet and interact—this meeting place of competing ideas about gender norms meant that there was often friction when it came to how opposing cultural norms were disseminated. By drawing America as a Native woman, Wilkinson is associating the duping of the American colonies into aligning themselves with Spain and France with the lack of agency British men afforded to Native women, therefore keeping an avenue of reconciliation open for when the war ended.

Such a reconciliation could also be highlighted in the caricatures of the period, often straddling a line between acknowledging the looming independence of the American colonies while also hoping that somehow they would return to their original state as British subjects.

---

<sup>143</sup> David D. Smits, "The "Squaw Drudge": A Prime Index of Savagism," *Ethnohistory* 29 no. 4 (1982): 285, [www.jstor.org/stable/481102](http://www.jstor.org/stable/481102).

<sup>144</sup> Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indigenous Prosperity and American Conquest : Indian Women of the Ohio River Valley, 1690-1792* (Williamsburg, Virginia: Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 6, 33, 43, 69.



Thomas Colley's "The Reconciliation Between Britannia and Her Daughter America" is one example of this practice.



Thomas Colley, *The reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America* (etching), in "The reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.37325/>.

Unlike a caricature like "The Parricide," Colley's work paints a much more optimistic tone of the relationship between Britain and the American colonies. In this image, we see a splendidly dress Britannia, spear in place with an accompanying shield that says, "George for Ever."<sup>145</sup> America, drawn as an Indigenous woman, rushes toward Britannia as well, adorned in fully Native clothing with her own accompanying spear on which atop sits a liberty cap.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Thomas Colley, *The reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America* (etching), in "The reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.37325/>.

<sup>146</sup> "The reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.37325/>.



Disrupting this happy reunion are the personifications of France and Spain, who are attempting to pull America away from Britannia via a rope tied around America's waist.<sup>147</sup> Meanwhile a personified Holland sits upon a barrel and contemplates joining in the efforts to separate the mother and daughter's reunion.<sup>148</sup> Britannia is seen telling America to "be a good girl" and give her affection, while America replies by telling Britannia, "Dear Mama, say no more about it."<sup>149</sup> Off to the side, we see Charles James Fox, who has recently been appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs, directing Augustus Keppel—lord of the admiralty—toward the actions of Britain's enemies.<sup>150</sup> Despite the actions of Spain, France, and possibly Holland, Britannia and America's reunion is sketched as a splendid one.

Colley's decision to create this image, in part, speaks to the concern many British subjects had about how continuing to wage the war against America might affect the morals and very basis of British identity in the long run. As has been discussed, not all British men and women were eager to see America defeated, and the reasons for this changed as the war carried on. The unidentified author of *A View of the History of Great-Britain: During the Administration of Lord North to the Second Session of the Fifteenth Parliament* writes of this sentiment in their 1782 work:

Despair of reducing America ought to incline us to turn our eyes to out desperate situation: to show the ruin which awaits us in bankrupt fortune and exhausted strength, if we continue the contest. Let us then at length aim at conciliating the affections of the Americans, and Invite a revival of their old habits. Let the long subsisting private friendships among individuals in both countries, the ties of kindred, the influence of

---

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Thomas Colley, *The reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America* (etching), in "The reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.37325/>.

<sup>150</sup> Keppel, Augustus (1735-1786)," in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 31, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892), 41, <https://archive.org/details/dictionarynatio47stepgoog/mode/2up>; "The reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.37325/>.

religion, manners, and language, and the cement of commercial intercourse once more be rendered operative; and fully to effect these salutary purposes...<sup>151</sup>

The above quote points to the reality of a changing war. Rather than continue to wage war on the Americans, it is instead framed as more beneficial to end the conflict in the hopes that the similar backgrounds and customs of both America and Britain can bind them together again, in whatever way that might look like. The artist's support for a similar line of thought is signaled in the inclusion of Charles James Fox, who was often in opposition to Lord North in that he desired a much quicker return to peace that reflected sympathy for the American colonists.<sup>152</sup> Fox is portrayed in a typically masculine dress and stature, which highlights the author's support for Fox's arguments. Colley, rather than painting those in opposition to Lord North as effeminate, does the opposite, showing a differing side in the complex debate surrounding parliamentary politics and the question of America.

Even so, while "The Reconciliation" attempts to portray a happy reunion, its inclusion of an America that, unlike previous caricatures, appears to be fully Indigenous, points to the idea that while a reunion is ideal, the old America that many English subjects associated with traditional Englishness is gone. This hits back on Snader's argument that that idea that American colonists might "go native" provoked "British anxieties about American transculturation."<sup>153</sup> The British association of Americans with a foreign, Indigenous land provoked constant worries about the strength of British culture and identity. This was often emphasized in accounts sent

---

<sup>151</sup>A view of the history of Great-Britain: during the administration of Lord North to the second session of the Fifteenth Parliament / In two parts; with statements of the public expenditure in that period. (London: n.p, 1782), 409, accessed June 18, 2020, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc1.0037125990>.

<sup>152</sup> "Fox, Charles James (1749-1806)," in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 20, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1889), 98, <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati20stepuoft/mode/2up>; "Parliamentary History," *The London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* vol. 49 (1780): 24, accessed June 17, 2020, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015021304061>

<sup>153</sup> Snader, *Caught Between Worlds*, 173 and 175.

back home by British visitors to the colonies, such as Cadwallader Colden did in his piece titled *The History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New-York in America*:

No arguments, no Entreaties, nor Tears of their Friends and Relations, could persuade many of them to leave their new Indian Friends and Acquaintance; several of them that were by the Caressings of their Relations persuaded to come Home, in a little Time grew tired of our Manner of living, and run away again to the Indians, and ended their Days with them. On the other hand, Indian Children have been carefully educated among the English, clothed and taught, yet, I think, there is not one Instance, that any of these, after they had Liberty to go among their own People, and were come to Age, would remain with the English, but returned to their own Nations, and became as fond of the Indian Manner of Life as those that knew nothing of a civilized Manner of living. What I now tell of Christian Prisoners among Indians, relates not only to what happened at the Conclusion of this War, but has been found true on many other Occasions.<sup>154</sup>

Colden's account emphasizes what many perceived to be the ability of the Native identity to culturally win out over its English counterpart. By depicting America as a fully Indigenous woman, Colley is arguably using this common British concept of the Native "other" to highlight the reality of a new America, one that is no longer British in nature but something wholly different. In this way, Colley utilizes the Indigenous form to further emphasize difference, once again placing the Native body in a space of ideological imagery.

While Colley's work highlights a positive reconfiguration of the British identity that worked to accept a possibly independent America, James Gillray's "Britannia's Assassination, or – The Republican Amusement", created on May 10, 1782, takes a different approach to the question of American separation.<sup>155</sup>

---

<sup>154</sup> Cadwallader Colden. *The History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New-York in America: A Critical Edition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), 193.

<sup>155</sup> "Britannia's assassination, or -- the republican amusement," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3a45655/>.



James Gillray, *Britania's assassination, or -- the republican amusement* (etching), in "Britania's assassination, or -- the republican amusement," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3a45655/>.

Rather than depicting a peaceful reunion, Gillray instead uses his medium to create an image of treasonous assassination. In the middle of the frame we see a statue of Britannia, which is missing its head and multiple limbs.<sup>156</sup> Members of the new ministry, including Fox, Wilkes, Dunning, Richmond, Burke, and Keppel are all illustrated as the figures behind the assassination of Britannia's statue, while a Native man representing America—as well as personifications of France, Spain, and Holland—are seen running away from the scene with pieces of Britannia.<sup>157</sup> While Thurow and Mansfield are seen attempting to end the desecration of Britannia, it is too

<sup>156</sup> James Gillray, *Britania's assassination, or -- the republican amusement* (etching), in "Britania's assassination, or -- the republican amusement," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3a45655/>.

<sup>157</sup> "Britania's assassination, or -- the republican amusement," *Library of Congress*, Library of Congress, accessed June 2, 2020, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3a45655/>.

late—the new ministry has succeeded in tearing apart the figurative embodiment of the British Empire.<sup>158</sup>

Now, Gillray takes a different view of the new ministry than Colley, in comparison to “The Reconciliation,” we as viewers can begin to unpack Gillray’s thoughts about the political developments in relation to the American situation in 1782. Perhaps nothing is more blatant in this piece than the way in which he depicts the weakened masculinity of the new ministry members. Coincidentally, a majority of these men were Rockingham Whigs or at least associated with the faction, and therefore they were all connected to calls for an end to the American conflict, as opposed to continuing coercive measures.<sup>159</sup> Edmund Burke, one such Rockingham Whig, gave a speech to Parliament on March 22, 1775—seven years prior to Gillray’s work—calling for a “simple peace” to be pursued with the colonists without supporting outright usage of force to attain that peace.<sup>160</sup> With the Rockingham Whigs attaining control of Parliament in 1782 after the fall of North’s administration on March 20<sup>th</sup>, those who opposed ministry members like Burke knew that what awaited them was no longer a hard-lined approach to colonial surrender, but instead a policy that threatened to break apart the British Empire, a concept that threatened

---

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> "Burke, Edmund (1729-1797)," in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 7, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1886), 41, <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati07stepuoft/page/354/mode/2up>; "Dunning, John (1731-1783)," in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 16, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1888), 215, <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati16stepuoft/page/214/mode/2up>; "Fox, Charles James (1749-1806)," in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 20, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1889), 98, <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati20stepuoft/mode/2up>; "Keppel, Augustus (1735-1786)," in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 31, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892), 41, <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati31stepuoft/mode/2up>; "Lennox, Charles (1735-1806)," in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 33, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1893), 45, <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati33stepuoft/mode/2up>; "Wilkes, John (1725-1797)," in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 61, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1900), 248, <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati61stepuoft/page/248/mode/2up>.

<sup>160</sup> Edmund Burke, “Speech to Parliament on Reconciliation with the American Colonies, 22 March 1775, selections,” *National Humanities Center: 1-2*, PDF, accessed June 8, 2020, <https://americainclass.org/sources/makingrevolution/war/text1/burkereconspeech.pdf>.

their vision of British identity.<sup>161</sup> Gillray, in many ways, highlights his distrust of the new ministry through his envisioning of its ability to figuratively decapitate Britannia.

While North's administration had fallen, there had still been those among his ministry, as well as North himself, who spoke out between 1778 and 1782 against making direct peace and concession with the colonists. Within the 'House of Commons,' published in *The Westminster Magazine's* 1781 issue, Lord Germain is recounted as disagreeing with the end of the American War:

Lord George Germain declared he regarded the Motion as amounting to a resolution to abandon the American war altogether; he made no scruple to avow, that if the House came into it, he would immediately retire; for, be the consequence what it might, he never would be the Minister to sign any instrument which gave Independence to America. His opinion ever had been, and his opinion then was, that the moment the House acknowledged the Independence of America, the British empire was ruined. This nation could never exist as a great and a powerful people unless our Sovereign was likewise the Sovereign of America.<sup>162</sup>

Lord Germain, even when the war was severely in question in 1781, was still quick to pull his support behind continuing the conflict with the colonies. Not only that, but he connects that desire with his belief that if Britain lost the American colonies, the British Empire would be no more. The inability of the Rockingham Whigs to hold together the empire in this case is then a case of emasculation, as their desire to destroy the personification of the country connects with earlier wartime views that "effeminacy was widely identified as the root cause" of the current destruction of the British Empire.<sup>163</sup> Through the destruction of Britannia at the hands of the

---

<sup>161</sup> "Burke, Edmund (1729-1797)," in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 7, ed. Leslie Stephen (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1886), 41, <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati07stepuoft/page/354/mode/2up>.

<sup>162</sup> "House of Commons," *The Westminster magazine, or, The Pantheon of taste*. vol. 9 (1781): 701, accessed June 19, 2020, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433104832856>.

<sup>163</sup> Conway, *The British Isles*, 85-90.

Rockingham faction, Gillray depicts another discussion being had about the future of the British identity, one that did not rest on reconciliation but a death of tradition.

Nothing might more blatantly show Gillray's attempt at this than illustrating an Indigenous man—representing America—running away with the head of Britannia. In short, such imagery hits again upon the point that with the colonies leaving the empire, Britannia is no more. America takes on the image of the “savage,” a stereotype placed upon Native men by British society both in the colonies and within the mother country that depicted them as “cruel, dangerous, and irresponsible.”<sup>164</sup> Having transformed into the image of an Indigenous man, America no longer shares similarity to British identity and instead takes on the characteristics of the “other,” or the Native. In this way, Gillray can work to communicate to his audience the “savage,” and therefore uncivilized, nature of the Americans' decision to separate from Britain.<sup>165</sup> By doing so, Gillray can critique the American colonists by separating them from any part of the colonial experience that might make them British in nature, and then therefore similar to the British public at home.

## **Conclusion**

The ever-changing concept of a British identity before and during the American conflict underwent a radical shift in British thought. The changing nature of Britain's colonial situation meant that what had originally been perceived as a growth of power and influence in the acquiring of the American colonies quickly became a source of anxiety. This anxiety not only challenged the British public's beliefs about gender norms and race, but it also called for that same public to use those norms to communicate the anxieties that came with colonial rebellion

---

<sup>164</sup> Snader, *Caught Between Worlds*, 174.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

and an altered empire. No medium was a more apparent vehicle for these discussions than the political caricature. What might be viewed as simple pieces of art were in fact loaded with symbolism and meaning, making them convenient ways in which British artists and publishers could diffuse a variety of thoughts, feelings, and opinions via the weaponization of British social norms against their opponents.

However, one part of this discussion that became increasingly apparent throughout my time on this research was the inclusion of imagery related to Indigenous men and women. Native communities appear to have become, over time, sources of social, political, and cultural discussion, and in this way they feature throughout a variety of caricatures, including some which I have not been able to study in detail as of yet. With this being the case, I am interested in studying the usage of Native bodies in English caricature further. However, I do not simply wish to regurgitate British thoughts about Indigenous individuals. My hope is to take what I have learned with my research and explore how such imagery compared to the actual Indigenous experience in America. How did Native men and women go about defining a space for themselves in a time in which increasing colonial encroachment changed the ways in which they communicated with each other, as well as colonial agents? In what ways did their own gender norms work against the conceptions held by the British in these caricatures, and how did they negotiate culturally with settlers and those abroad? While my research has thus far made connections between British lines of thought with imagery, gender, and race, I feel I can add further to my knowledge by placing an emphasis on the Indigenous experience in it's own right, rather than adding to a Euro-centric narrative.

Overall, the art of caricature holds a lot to be discovered, and it is important to place focus on its creation. While the written word can provide much to be studied, imagery can give



access to interesting cultural connections that might not be as accessible as texts. This allows the viewer to make a new kind of connection with the past, one that can illuminate dialogues about subjects such as national identity formation in a way that captures new narratives. Not only that, but during a digital age in which the political caricature continues to thrive in the United States, connecting the art form to its past provides a greater understanding of modern modes of communication and cultural transfer. Linking our own process of identity negotiation with similar processes in the past can work to illuminate not only the discussions of societal change within the past but allow us to understand our own changing discussions of societal change in the present.

## Works Cited

### Primary Sources (Cartoons)

- Colley, Thomas. *The reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America* (etching). In Library of Congress. "The reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America." *Library of Congress*. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.37325/>.
- Darly, Matthew, and Mary Darly. *Miss Carolina Sullivan - one of the obstinate daughters of America, 1776* (etching). In Library of Congress. "Miss Carolina Sullivan - one of the obstinate daughters of America, 1776." *Library of Congress*. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/97514668/>.
- Darly, Matthew. *Bunkers Hill or America's head dress* (etching). In Library of Congress. "Bunkers Hill or America's head dress." *Library of Congress*. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673322/>.
- Darly, Matthew. *Oh heigh oh--Or a view of the back settlements* (engraving). In Library of Congress. "Oh heigh oh--Or a view of the back settlements." *Library of Congress*. Accessed July 18, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/95513751/>.
- Darly, Matthew. *The Martial Macaroni* (etching). In The Metropolitan Museum of Art. "The Martial Macaroni." *MET Museum*. Accessed on July 18, 2020. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/395533>.
- Gillray, James. *Britania's assassination, or -- the republican amusement* (etching). In Library of Congress. "Britania's assassination, or -- the republican amusement." *Library of Congress*. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3a45655/>.
- Humphrey, William. *Beautys lot* (engraving). In Library of Congress. "Beautys lot." *Library of Congress*. Accessed July 18, 2020. [https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15001/?source=post\\_page-----e2d83cd3f7c1-----](https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15001/?source=post_page-----e2d83cd3f7c1-----).
- Humphrey, William. *The taking of Miss Mud I'land* (etching). In Library of Congress. "The taking of Miss Mud I'land." *Library of Congress*. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673331/>.
- Reginald, W. *The balance of power* (engraving). In Library of Congress. "The balance of power." *Library of Congress*. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006685505/>.
- The able doctor, or, America swallowing the bitter draught* (etching). In Library of Congress. "The able doctor, or, America swallowing the bitter draught." *Library of Congress*. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97514782/>.
- The parricide A sketch of modern patriotism.* (etching). In Library of Congress. "The parricide A sketch of modern patriotism." *Library of Congress*. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.33533/>.
- What is this my son Tom* (mezzotint). In Library of Congress. "What is this my son Tom." *Library of Congress*. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/95513751/>.

### Primary Sources (Others)

- A narrative of Sir Henry Clinton's co-operations with Sir Peter Parker, on the attack of Sullivan's Island, in South Carolina, in the year 1776. And with Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, in an intended attempt against the French armaments at Rhode-Island, in 1780.* New York: James Rivingston, 1780. Accessed June 18, 2020, <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/511008632>.

- "An Essay on the great and extenfive Influence of the FAIR SEX." *The Lady's magazine; or, Entertaining companion for the fair sex, appropriated solely to their use and amusement* vol. 2 (1771): 24. Accessed July 3, 2020. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.79263497&view=lup&seq=11>.
- "An Impartial Review of New Publications." *The London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, vol. 43 (1774): 192-199. Accessed July 3, 2020. [https://books.google.com/books/about/The\\_London\\_Magazine\\_Or\\_Gentleman\\_s\\_Month.html?id=SiEoAAAYAAJ](https://books.google.com/books/about/The_London_Magazine_Or_Gentleman_s_Month.html?id=SiEoAAAYAAJ)
- Burke, Edmund. "Speech to Parliament on Reconciliation with the American Colonies, 22 March 1775, selections." *National Humanities Center*: 1-4. PDF. Accessed June 8, 2020, <https://americainclass.org/sources/makingrevolution/war/text1/burkereconspeech.pdf>.
- Burgoyne, General, n.d. In *Bunker Hill: The Story Told in Letters From the Battle Field by British Officers Engaged*, edited by Samuel Adams Drake. Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2008. [https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp\\_16](https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_16).
- Cartwright, John. *American independence the interest and glory of Great Britain; containing arguments which prove, that not only in taxation, but in trade, manufactures, and government, the colonies are entitled to an entire independency on the British legislature; and that it can only be by a formal declaration of these rights, and forming thereupon a friendly league with them, that the true and lasting welfare of both countries can be promoted. In a series of letters to the legislature*. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776. Accessed June 27, 2020, <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/62807350>.
- Chapone, Hester. 'Letter on the Government of the Temper.' In *The Lady's Pocket Library*. Philadelphia: Richard Folwell, 1794. 223-232. <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/62831111>.
- Clarke, John. 'An Authentic and Impartial Narrative of the Battle Fought on the 17th of June, 1775, n.d.' In *Bunker Hill: The Story Told in Letters From the Battle Field by British Officers Engaged*, edited by Samuel Adams Drake. Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2008. [https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp\\_16](https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_16).
- Cowper, William. 'Table Talk'. In *Poetical works of William Cowper*. Ed. by Robert Bell. Vol. 1. London: J.W. Parker, 1854. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.089555618>.
- Fletcher, John. *American patriotism, farther confronted with reason, scripture, and the constitution : being observations on the dangerous politics taught by the Rev. Mr. Evans, M.A., and the Rev. Dr. Price, with a scriptural plea for the revolted colonies*. 2nd ed. London: R. Hawes, 1777. Accessed June 27, 2020, <http://hdl.handle.net/1974/2083>.
- Gilchrist, Peter. *A Treatise on the Hair*. By Peter Gilchrist, Hairdresser. London, 1752. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Gale.Iowa State University Library.Document Number: CW115879016. Accessed September 23, 2015. Quoted in Buchanan, Brenna. "To Dress Against Nature and Reason": fashion and transgressive dressing in the mid-to-late eighteenth century British North Atlantic." Graduate Diss., Iowa State University, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.31274/etd-180810-4895>.
- Gregory, John. *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*. London: n.p., 1808. Accessed June 15, 2020. <https://archive.org/details/fatherslegacyto00greg/page/n5/mode/2up>.
- "House of Commons." *The Westminster magazine, or, The Pantheon of taste.*, vol. 9 (1781): 698-706. Accessed June 19, 2020, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433104832856>.
- "Letters from Sir William Howe (no.73-77) regarding the taking Fort Mifflin and Fort Mercer by British forces, the arrival of John Burgoyne's troops at Rhode Island and an account of the Battle of White Marsh."

(Correspondence, The National Archives, Kew, CO 5/236 1777/11/28-1777/12/13). Accessed July 24, 2020. [http://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2751/Documents/Details/CO\\_5\\_236\\_020](http://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2751/Documents/Details/CO_5_236_020).

Lt. Col. Holroyd's light dragoons : song, in honour of the 22d light dragoons (broadside). In . "The able doctor, or, America swallowing the bitter draught." *The American Revolution Institute*. The American Revolution Institute. Accessed June 2, 2020. <http://cdm16923.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16923coll7/id/29/>.

Maudult, Israel. *Strictures on the Philadelphia mischianza or Triumph upon leaving America unconquered. With extracts, containing the principal part of a letter published in The American crisis. In order to shew, how far the King's enemies think his general deserving the public honours*. Philadelphia: Francis Bailey, 1780. <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/62815454>.

"Parliamentary History." *The London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, vol. 49 (1780): 17-25. Accessed June 17, 2020. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015021304061>.

Pennington, Sarah. 'Lady Pennington's Unfortunate mother's advice to her daughters.' In *The Lady's Pocket Library*. Philadelphia: Richard Folwell, 1794. 173-207. <https://ursinuscollege.on.worldcat.org/oclc/62831111>.

"Reflections on the Declaration of the General Congress." *The Westminster magazine, or, The Pantheon of taste.*, vol. 4 (1776): 216-219. Accessed June 17, 2020, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433104832591>.

Talbot, Catherine. 'Moral Stanzas'. In *The Other Eighteenth Century: English Women of Letters, 1660-1800*. Ed. by Robert W. Uphaus and Gretchen M. Foster. East Lansing: Colleagues Press, 1991. <https://archive.org/details/othereightenthc00upha/page/n3/mode/2up>.

The Countess of Ilchester and Lord Stavordale, ed. *The Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox, 1745-1826*. Vol. I. London: John Murray, 1902. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3660569>.

"The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled." 1776. In *American archives: consisting of a collection of authentick records, state papers, debates, and letters and other notices of publick affairs, the whole forming a documentary history of the origin and progress of the North American colonies; of the causes and accomplishment of the American revolution; and of the Constitution of government for the United States, to the final ratification thereof*, edited by Peter Force. Vol. III. 5th series. 982. Washington: n.p., 1853. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015027756462&view=1up&seq=13>.

*The Macaroni and Theatrical Magazine, or Monthly Register* (October 1772): 1. Quoted in Rauser, Amelia."Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 no.1 (2004): 101-117. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053630>.

Widger, David, ed. *LETTERS TO HIS SON: on the Fine Art of becoming a MAN OF THE WORLD*. N.P.: Project Gutenberg, 2004. Last Updated August 8, 2016. [https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H\\_4\\_0051](https://www.gutenberg.org/files/3361/3361-h/3361-h.htm#link2H_4_0051)

## Secondary Sources

*A view of the history of Great-Britain : during the administration of Lord North to the second session of the Fifteenth Parliament / In two parts; with statements of the public expenditure in that period*. London: n.p., 1782. Accessed June 18, 2020, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc1.0037125990>.

Bayers, Peter L."We unman ourselves": Colonial and Mohegan Manhood in the Writings of Samson Occom." *Rescripting Bodies and Subjectivities* 39 no. 1 (2014): 173-191. <https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2841/stable/24569896>.

Bickman, Troy. *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

- Brown, Kathleen M. "Brave New Worlds: Women's and Gender History." *William and Mary Quarterly* 50 no. 2 (1993): 311-328. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2947077>.
- Buchanan, Brenna. "To Dress Against Nature and Reason": fashion and transgressive dressing in the mid-to-late eighteenth century British North Atlantic." Graduate Diss., Iowa State University, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.31274/etd-180810-4895>.
- "Burke, Edmund (1729-1797)." In *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. 7. Ed. Leslie Stephen. New York: MacMillan & Co., 1886. <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati07stepuoft/page/354/mode/2up>.
- Coker, Andrew M. "Mifflin: The Fort That Saved America." *Pennsylvania Center for the Book*. Fall 2009. Accessed on July 13, 2020. <https://www.pabook.libraries.psu.edu/literary-cultural-heritage-map-pa/feature-articles/mifflin-fort-saved-america>.
- Colden, Cadwallader. *The History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New-York in America : A Critical Edition*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017. <https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1526274&site=ehost-live>.
- Conway, Stephen. *The British Isles and the War for Independence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Drake, Samuel Adams. *Bunker Hill: The Story Told in Letters From the Battle Field by British Officers Engaged*. Scituate, MA: Digital Scanning, Inc., 2008. [https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp\\_16](https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=420145&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_16).
- Drexel University. "Fort Mifflin." *Fort Mifflin*. Accessed July 13, 2020. <http://www.pages.drexel.edu/~lf27/pages/fort%20mifflin.html>.
- "Dunning, John (1731-1783)." In *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. 16. Ed. Leslie Stephen. New York: MacMillan & Co., 1888. <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati16stepuoft/page/214/mode/2up>.
- Fantham, Elaine. "Discordia Fratrum: Aspects of Lucan's Conception of Civil War." In *Citizens of Discord: Rome and Its Civil Wars*, by Breed, Brian, Cynthia Damon, and Andreola Rossi, eds., edited by Brian Breed, Cynthia Damon, and Andreola Rossi. Oxford University Press, 2010. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2010. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195389579.003.0013.
- "Fox, Charles James (1749-1806)." In *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. 20. Ed. Leslie Stephen. New York: MacMillan & Co., 1889. <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati20stepuoft/mode/2up>.
- Gould, Eliga H. *The Persistence of Empire: British Political Culture in the Age of the American Revolution*. Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- "Keppel, Augustus (1735-1786)." In *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. 31. Ed. Leslie Stephen. New York: MacMillan & Co., 1892. <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnatio47stepgoog/mode/2up>.
- "Lennox, Charles (1735-1806)." In *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. 33. Ed. Leslie Stephen. New York: MacMillan & Co., 1893. <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnatio24stepgoog>.
- In Library of Congress. "Beautys lot." *Library of Congress*. Library of Congress. Accessed July 18, 2020. [https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15001/?source=post\\_page-----e2d83cd3f7c1-----](https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c15001/?source=post_page-----e2d83cd3f7c1-----).
- Library of Congress. "Britania's assassination, or -- the republican amusement." *Library of Congress*. Library of Congress. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3a45655/>.

- Library of Congress. "Bunkers Hill or America's head dress." *Library of Congress*. Library of Congress. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673322/>.
- Library of Congress. "Miss Carolina Sullivan - one of the obstinate daughters of America, 1776." *Library of Congress*. Library of Congress. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/97514668/>.
- Library of Congress. "Oh heigh oh--Or a view of the back settlements." *Library of Congress*. Library of Congress. Accessed July 18, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/95513751/>.
- Library of Congress. "The able doctor, or, America swallowing the bitter draught." *Library of Congress*. Library of Congress. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97514782/>.
- Library of Congress. "The balance of power." *Library of Congress*. Library of Congress. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006685505/>.
- Library of Congress. "The parricide A sketch of modern patriotism.." *Library of Congress*. Library of Congress. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.33533/>.
- Library of Congress. "The reconciliation between Britania and her daughter America." *Library of Congress*. Library of Congress. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.37325/>.
- Library of Congress. "The taking of Miss Mud Island." *Library of Congress*. Library of Congress. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673331/>.
- Library of Congress. "What is this my son Tom." *Library of Congress*. Library of Congress. Accessed June 2, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/item/95513751/>.
- Morrill, Dan L. *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. Baltimore: Nautical & Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1993.
- O'Shaughnessy, Andrew Jackson. *The Men Who Lost America : British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Ramsey, David. *The History of the American Revolution*. Ed. Lester H. Cohen. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund Inc., 1990.
- Rausser, Amelia. "'Death or Liberty: British Political Prints and the Struggle for Symbols in the American Revolution.'" *Oxford Art Journal* 21 no.2 (1998): 153-171. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1360619>.
- Rausser, Amelia. "Hair, Authenticity, and the Self-Made Macaroni." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 no.1 (2004): 101-117. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053630>.
- Rose, H. J. *A Handbook of Greek Mythology : Including Its Extension to Rome*. London: Methuen, 1928.
- Sleeper-Smith, Susan. *Indigenous Prosperity and American Conquest : Indian Women of the Ohio River Valley, 1690-1792*. Williamsburg, Virginia: Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press, 2018. <https://spectacled.ursinus.edu:2201/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1809370&site=ehost-live>.
- Smits, David D. "The "Squaw Drudge": A Prime Index of Savagism." *Ethnohistory* 29 no. 4 (1982): 281-306. [www.jstor.org/stable/481102](http://www.jstor.org/stable/481102).
- Snader, Joe. *Caught Between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000.
- The Metropolitan Museum of Art. "The Martial Macaroni." *MET Museum*. Accessed on July 18, 2020. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/395533>.

- "Timeline of the American Revolution." *Museum of the American Revolution*: 1-65. PDF. Accessed June 8, 2020, [https://www.amrevmuseum.org/sites/default/files/MAR\\_Teacher\\_Supplemental\\_Resources.pdf](https://www.amrevmuseum.org/sites/default/files/MAR_Teacher_Supplemental_Resources.pdf).
- Wahrman, Dror. *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Wheeler, Roxann. *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- "Wilkes, John (1725-1797)." In *The Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. 61. Ed. Leslie Stephen. New York: MacMillan & Co., 1889. <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnati61stepuoft/page/248/mode/2up>.
- Wilson, Kathleen. *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2003.
- Ylivuori, Soile. *Women and Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Bodies, Identities, and Power*. New York: Routledge, 2019.