English attitudes towards Scotland have been conditioned over centuries by the political relationship between the two countries and how it impacted on the dominant areas for the production of English print culture (London and the south east). Before 1603, this area of England had little contact with Scotland; in that year, the arrival of a Scottish court in London heralded a much expanded Scottish presence in English publications. Highlanders and Lowlanders were not separated in English stereotyping at this stage. Political tensions in the 1640s and 1650s, and initial Scottish hostility to the Union of 1707, led to more negative stereotyping of Scots and Scotland, which in turn gave way to the benign stereotyping of the era of the British Empire, when Scottishness was an acceptable ‘local nationality’ within the wider Pax Britannica. During this period, significant distinctions can be seen between ‘Highland’ and ‘Lowland’ or military/international and civil stereotypes. Following the decline of the Empire and the reawakening of political nationalism in Scotland, the imagery of the early modern era made a reappearance, and the visual distinction between ‘Highlander’ and ‘Lowlander’ was once again eroded.

**Keywords** Scotland; England; Lowland; Highland; phallicism; stereotype; Celt; Teuton; cinema

**Early beginnings**

In the centuries before the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, while Anglo-Scottish military hostility was frequent, and there was a more widely established national hostility, the distinctive imagery of the Scot in England was relatively undeveloped, particularly in the south of the country, where printing first took hold at the end of the 15th century. The view of the Scot in northern England in this period is still under-researched, but the dominance of the south in technological innovation and its cultural impact in the spread of an ‘imagined community’ was naturally slow to depict the Scots in detail, for as a nation they remained unfamiliar in this part of England. Transport links at this time heavily favoured sea travel. The coming of a band of the Scottish court with their king in 1603 marked the first occasion on which many English people in London had ever seen a Scot: only 272 Scots had been naturalized in England during the whole of the 16th century, compared to 1,162 French in one year.
alone (1544) (Dobson, 1994: 9). ‘Great Britain’ was very far from being an organic, as opposed to an elite, concept.

After the arrival of large numbers of Scots in the wake of the Union of the Crowns, this changed. During the 17th century, many ballads or songs of Scottish origin or association were printed in London as broadsides. The view of the Scot they projected—often typified as a ‘Jockey’—was on the whole vague and favourable, although in a number of songs (such as ‘The Broom of Cowdenknowes’ / ‘The Northern Lass’) little distinction was made between Scotland and the ‘north countrie’ in general. In many songs only the occasional presence of the tartan and blue bonnet as signifiers betray a clear identification of the Scot as opposed to northern Englishman (Bartley, 1954: 148–50). The tone of these Scottish broadsides was sometimes slightly patronizing, as in ‘The Distracted Jockey’s Lamentation’; they were often pastoral in setting, and as such they formed an important influence on the later development of a distinctively Scottish-based use of pastoral as a genre, for example in Allan Ramsay’s The Gentle Shepherd (1725). Among the Scottish qualities that were foregrounded were those of virility and constancy (like ‘The Scotche Lasse’s Constancy’).

The Age of Conflict

A renewed sense of Scottish separateness was probably accentuated by the Bishops’ Wars of 1638–1641 and the war in the Three Kingdoms which followed, when the ballads of the conflict manifested a view of the Scot as not a ‘Briton’ (Pittock, 1999: 18). Certain more positive features began to reverse themselves in representing the country and its inhabitants, in an incipient appearance of a pattern of imagery later to establish itself as typical. The Scot was, for example in the ‘Jocky and Jenny’ cycle of broadside ballads, associated with fertility and an earthy, natural vigour. In the middle of the century, there is perhaps an increase in the representation of Scots of both sexes as filthy and coarse: ‘their breath commonly stinks of Pottage, their lines of Piss, their hands of Pigs turds, their body of sweat’ as James Howell put it in 1649, while in 1701 Scotland Characterized described the Scot as ‘nasty and verminous’ (Bartley, 1954: 158). James VI and I received similar treatment at the hands of Sir Anthony Weldon, the author of The Court and Character of King James I (1651) and A Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland (1659), in which he notes that in Scotland ‘the aire might be wholesome, but for the stinking people that inhabit it . . . Pride is a thing bred in their bones, and their flesh naturally abhors cleanliness’ (Weldon, 1659: 1, 19). Weldon also provided a prejudiced version of the king. Though it is rarely if ever made explicit, there seems to be a link between the animalistic farmyard smells by which Scots were characterized, and the implication that they were sexually vigorous, one which intensified in an era of political tension, where Scottish armies were again present in England, in 1638–1641, 1643–1645, and 1651, when the Scots army at Worcester were described as ‘barbarians’ (Pittock, 1999: 26). This language was not uncommon in the first years of the Cromwellian ascendancy: ‘Scotsmen, Negroes and Indians’ were bound together in a single class in the 1652 Massachusetts Bay regulations governing the formation and recruitment of militia. Their troublesome-ness in the British Isles was surely driving such racializing, which had disappeared in the regulations by 1655 (Dobson, 1994: 36). The idea of the Scot as dirty and appetitive remained, however, no doubt in part driven by the well-known coarse and
direct language of the Scots, captured readily by English ears as in John Lacy’s *Sawney the Scot* (1667), where the hero says ‘ye may put ean finger in my mouth, and another in mine Arse, and feel both ends of my dinner’ (Bartley, 1954: 153). The association of the Scots with greed was to be intensified in the century that followed. A new name, ‘Sawney’, became more popularly used of the Scots in general: Sawney appears to be less common during the era of the ‘Jocky and Jenny’ songs. This generic nickname was a corruption of ‘Sandy/Alexander’, but it was also insultingly linked to the legend of ‘Sawney Bean’, whose cannibal family had allegedly devoured wayfarers in southwest Scotland in the 16th century: It hence carried overtones of perverse and insatiable appetites, whether for food, sex, or political power. In 1685, ‘Sawney and Jockey’ was printed as a ballad at the time of Argyll’s rebellion, and political use of this song tradition increased (Pittock, 2003a: 510–1).

Distinctions between ‘Highlanders’ and ‘Lowlanders’ (the terms are placed in quotation marks because they represent spatially and linguistically inconsistent cultural markers which varied over time, rather than objective divisions) were much more likely to be made in the 17th and early 18th centuries by Scots than by Englishmen, and were often accentuated by religious difference, either real or imagined. There was an assumption that all Jacobites (supporters of the exiled Stuarts after 1688) were ‘Highlanders’ and that all ‘Highlanders’ were Catholics, which was totally erroneous, but which became a staple of later British historiography: Curiously, when Highland regiments were raised to fight for the British army in the 1750s, no more was heard of their alleged Catholicism, nor had any mass conversion taken place.

In a somewhat earlier era, the alignment of ‘popery and slavery’ in popular Whig language in the later 17th century (Cruickshanks, 2000: 33) gave rise to the view that such slavery was in some sense a voluntary condition for Catholics, implying that their religion was a signifier of an inferior stage of development, possibly even of being less than human. Hence Irish Catholics began to be described in animalistic terms, while extreme Protestant Scots like William Cleland used the term ‘monkeys’ to describe his ‘Highland’ compatriots as early as 1678 (Hopkins, 1998: 185). By the mid-late 18th century, the comparison between ‘Highlanders’ and other ‘primitive’ peoples was routine throughout Great Britain, aided by Scottish Enlightenment writers who, in their eagerness to engage with a British state which suspected their loyalty in the wake of the 1745 Jacobite Rising, exaggerated and racialized the differences between ‘Lowland’ and ‘Highland’ Scotland. Before 1770, however, the English representation of Scotland made little if any distinction between kinds of Scot, though the suspicion that the country as a whole was politically disaffected remained key to anti-Scottish antipathy. After 1707, armed resistance to the Union understandably fed a negative view of Scots and Scotland, which changed humorous observation mingled with distaste at perceived personal coarseness into something bordering on outright hatred born of fear.

This can be seen in the political prints of the era, especially those published at the time of the 1745 Rising, when a largely Scottish Jacobite army penetrated England as far as the Midlands. In Dubois’s famous *Highland Visitors* print of January 1746 (British Museum 2671, henceforth BM, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, 1870–1954), a typical English village (with pub, church, and smoke from every chimney, representing a fire in every hearth and hence prosperity) is being violated. Scots are stealing, knocking men down in the street, and ravishing women. In a house in the far right of the picture, two men leave by one open door with the
household possessions while two others can be seen through the other carrying out gang rape. Fortunately for this rural core of English value, the serried ranks of the disciplined British army can be glimpsed on the horizon. The greed, lawlessness, violence, and uncontrollable sexuality of the Scot is made clear, while in Hogarth’s notorious Sawney on the Boghouse (1745-BM2678), a Scotsman sits with his feet stuffed down the pans while he urinates between them on the floor. His sword leans against a wall, a reminder of a more violating phallicism than that of soiling the facilities of a civilization he moves in as a savage and does not understand.

Scotland in the British Empire

It might be thought that the end of the Jacobite risings would have brought more agreeable images of the near neighbours who were officially as British as any Englishman. But for some time this was not the case. In 1762, the appointment of the first Scottish Prime Minister, the Earl of Bute, was seen as leading to a fresh invasion of Scots, now greedy for place, patronage, and power rather than a Stuart restoration. In The Whipping Post (1762-a version is at BM3945), ‘Mac’ the Scot (distinguished as in the previous century by bonnet and tartan) is portrayed as flogging Britannia with a thistle, while her respectable and bewigged English husband looks on and the British lion sleeps. The clothes of Britannia (whose portliness represents British prosperity, at risk from the Scot) are drawn down below her thighs as she is tied to the upright post, drawing attention to the fact that she is being sexually as well as physically violated. Similarly in The Scrubbing Post (1762-a version is at BM3946), a group of Scots are taking turns to rub themselves up against a distinctly phallic post to ease their flea-ridden bodies of the ‘itch’: the link to venereal disease seems clear, as the next in line for the use of the post has his kilt raised in front to his waist. The stereotype of the Scot as big, virile, and hairy has never quite disappeared in the 250 years since, though it has had periods where it represented a more positive set of values.

The hunger of the Scots was taken as correspondent with their greed in the Wilkesite press, whose leader John Wilkes infamously called them ‘the very bastards of creation’ (Young, 1995: 27). ‘A fig then for Sawney, his malice is vain’ was the song of Wilkes’s supporters, whose ‘arrogant English chauvinism’ has, as Linda Colley (1992: 106, 113) rightly says, been played down by British historians. In Famine (1763), the frontispiece to the Wilkesite Charles Churchill’s attack on Scotland, a starving flea-bitten Scot with ragged clothes (revealing a buttock in yet another sexually charged reference) stands outside a cave with the gaping deformed jaw which was to become an image of the equally starving Frenchman in Gillray’s French Liberty and British Slavery of 1792. Perry Curtis (1997: 150) has identified Gillray’s images of Jacobins as ‘protosimian’, but in fact Scots were presented as subhuman in a cartoon tradition before Gillray’s career began. In The Caledonians Arrival in Money-Land (1762-BM3857), Bute is depicted showering ‘Places, Posts, and Pensions’ on his Scottish friends, family, and associates:

Which he to them does freely give,
That they in Wealth, & Pride may live,
Their Bellys full and finely drest.
And it was not just their ‘bellies’ which the cartoons mocked. Scots were still seen as sexually appetitive to an unusual degree. In *The Scotch Broomstick & the Female Besom* (1762-BM3852), a Scot (Bute) in tartan and bonnet rides a broomstick (the overtones of witchcraft, malignity, and phallicism are obvious) towards a woman (the Princess of Wales) holding out a besom (a gathering of short sticks, representative here of the female sexual organ). A ‘new broom’ is of course one fresh in office; ‘Scots broom’ is a variety of the plant which is difficult to get rid of once it has a foothold. Below, Scotsmen and women ogle the pair and talk dirty to each other: The men hold the phallic chanter of the bagpipes. Appetite for sex and power is transparent, as is the case in *The Flying MACHINE from EDINBURGH in one Day* (1762-BM3859), which shows a witch, clung to by two Scots, flying south in search of ‘the Garden of Eden’ on an unmistakably phallic broomstick. In *Sawney Discovered or the Scotch Intruders* (1761-BM3825), obsequiousness, greed, and sexual voracity are combined with a hint of continuing treachery: ‘I wood not have left the French service but having such hopes from our new Intrest’ says one, while it is hinted that they ‘may be Gratefull to the French’ even if their ambitions in England are fulfilled. Treacherous Scottish aggrandizement is likewise the theme of *Scotch Collops an Antidote for an English Stomach* (1761-BM3811) (Pittock, 1999: 27, 55), while *The Caledonian Slaughter-House or the Death of John Bull* depicts the Scots as a genocidal threat. Scottish obsequiousness (satirized in Sir Pertinax Macsycophant in Charles Macklin’s *True-born Scotsman of 1764*) was of course yet another treacherous trait, born as it was perceived to be of deference to the absolutist claims of power; another Jacobite flaw. In 1799, Archibald MacLaren answered Macklin by depicting the character of MacSympathy in *The Negro Slaves* as the essential Scot, opposed to slavery and oppression wherever it was to be found.

By the later part of the 18th century, perceived Scottish opportunism began to impact on stereotypes of the Scot to create a new image of him as a careerist, a professional man, shrewd, educated, and possessed of integrity, as in MacHoof the classicist horse doctor, or MacRheterick the tutor in George Colman’s *Spleen* (1776) (Bartley, 1954: 236). As it did so, and no doubt also under the influence of the new British historiography being developed by (in the broadest sense) Whiggish writers like David Hume and William Robertson (Pittock, 2003b), the stereotype of the ‘Lowland’ Scot began to detach itself from that of the ‘Highlander’. In the campaign for a Scottish militia in the late 1750s, prominent Scots had stressed the trustworthiness of the Lowlands, and protested the lack of Jacobitism there, and the idea that it was the ‘Highland’ Scots who alone had been Jacobites was reinforced in a variety of contemporary thought, including the stadial history of Adam Smith, the racial views of Hume and Pinkerton, and the cult of primitivism. The (costly) achievements of the Highland regiments in the war of 1756–1763 and the publication during that war of Macpherson’s *Ossian* helped to create a new stereotype of the ‘Highlander’ as loyal (if wild and fierce), and imperial poetry of the 19th century could rhetoricize the ‘Highlander’ as a parallel type of the colonial opponent who showed the Afghan or Zulu what they might become, in the shape of this once antagonistic primitive people who now displayed the virtues of British domestication. So it was that Gladstone in his Midlothian campaign of 1880 ‘likened an attack on “high-spirited and warlike people” of Afghanistan to an attack on “the mountain clans” of Scotland, an act of folly that risks “making ourselves odious and detested”’
As early as the 1760s, former Jacobite ‘Highland’ officers like Allan MacLean, colonel of the Royal Highland Emigrants (84th Foot), were being used in Canada to enlist native troops, and the idea that Highland Scots in particular were good at making sympathetic contact with fellow-primitives became emplaced, being boosted by the existence of Scottish Native American chieftains such as John Ross (1790–1866) of the Cherokee or Alexander MacGillivray of the Creeks (1759–1793) (Bryan, 2003: 12), or by the absorption of Scottish settlers into Maroon culture in Jamaica (Covi et al., 2007: 26). John Norton, the Mohawk chief, sang Scots songs and translated The Lady of the Lake into Mohawk. These relationships were internalized by Scottish writers: Henry Mackenzie’s Cherokee quote Ossian (Fulford, 2006: 4, 9, 103). Distinctively ‘Highland’ associations began to feature among the large number of Scottish associations developing overseas within the British Empire (which incidentally preserved and projected a Scottish national identity abroad which often went unrecognized at home). The ‘Order of the Scottish Clans’ at St Louis, ‘Clan Gordon’ in Vermont and many others displayed this (Harper, 2004: 356–7), while even Scottish societies without explicitly ‘Highland’ identities often presented themselves in such garb, like the St Andrews Society of San Francisco. Highlandism became the acceptable image of the Scot for global and military consumption, just as the ‘Lowlander’ became in large part the governing image of civil representation. The ‘Lowlander’ obviously prospered internationally as well: But when he did so, he often chose (as in the ‘Highland’ associations) to represent himself or allow himself to be represented in ‘Highland’ guise. Indeed, apart from their professional qualities and some facets of their character, there was little that was broadly culturally Scottish about English images of the ‘Lowlander’ in this period, and many Scottish networks of the late 18th and 19th centuries are hidden by virtue of the fact that historians can view their nationality as generically British or even English: Byron’s Scottish links are only one high-profile casualty of this approach. Publically available Scottishness on the other hand became increasingly ‘Highland’: This can be seen for example in the British Army, where the military reforms in 1881 ‘ordered Lowland regiments to wear trews and Highland-style doublets’ (Spiers, 2006: 213), or in the stage Scottishness of the music-hall supremo Harry Lauder (1870–1950).

The tartan, signifier of Scottishness since at least the 17th century, was proscribed outside the British army between 1747 and 1782: Its association with Jacobitism and Scottish patriotism (Lord Balmerino, one of the Jacobite leaders, symbolically wore a tartan blindfold on the scaffold) had rendered it a mark of treachery to the British state. The war of 1756–1763 led to new interest in the valour of ‘Highland’ troops, and in their history, while the incorporation of the strength of the Scottish military into the British Army was marked not only by recruiting drives, but by the extension of the press gangs to Scotland in 1755 (Devine, 2003: 297–8). In 1778, the Highland Society of London was formed, while in 1789 the future George IV wore tartan at a masquerade ball. ‘Highland Games’ and other half-invented traditions sprang to life in the 1780s, and by 1815, when the London Highland Society carried out a ‘register of chiefs’ tartans’, the idea that tartan in definite patterns was associated with different families and was a badge of rank, entitlement, and status was beginning to take shape. Tartan had a prestige fed by further military successes for the ‘Highlanders’ and other
Scottish troops in the Napoleonic Wars. At Waterloo alone, the charge of the Scots Greys and Ensign Ewart’s capture of the colours fed the legend in the British press. It was this dimension of the Scottish soldier, the ‘Highlander’ in particular, as monarchist, brave and loyal, which Sir Walter Scott took advantage of in the infamous Royal Visit of 1822, when George IV visited Edinburgh. The presentation of Scotland in a sea of tartanry in the immediate aftermath of the Peterloo Massacre of 1819 and the western Scottish rising of 1820 subtly suggested that the erstwhile treacherous Jacobites would now make excellent friends of a Crown and unreformed Lords and Commons. Scott’s Scots were presented as Tory absolutists, who promised a resource not only of local colour but also of invincible military force for the King and against reform. On 28 August 1822, Robert Peel wrote to Scott to ask him to convey the king’s ‘particular thanks’ to ‘the Highland chiefs and their followers’, acknowledging the survival (as represented by Scott) of a feudal system which had in fact been abolished by the British Government in 1747 (Pittock, 2007: 163–7). Scotland had become a mysterious, colourful, and above all loyal country, whose chieftainries the British state now celebrated, having 80 years before destroyed them. In 1824, a significant number of Jacobite titles were restored.

The reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901) saw this process intensify. Not only did the royal family decorate Balmoral in tartan, enjoying reviewing clansmen with antique weapons and fishing in the traditional manner (with a leister, or fishing spear), but large areas of the Highlands were cleared not only for sheep but also for deer, as wealthy Englishmen came north to enjoy the ‘primitive’ world on their doorstep. On 7 September 1921, during the Irish crisis, Lloyd George’s cabinet met in the Town House at Inverness: The leading figures of the British state were all enjoying a sporting or recreational summer in Scotland.

Heavily caricatured and dubiously racialized as popular images of Scotland were in the 1770–1914 era, they nonetheless accepted Scottish nationality as contributing something definitive and distinctive to the British Empire: Hence the famous painting of the Scots Greys at Waterloo by Lady Elizabeth Butler was entitled Scotland Forever! (1881). If ‘Highland’ Scottish regiments suffered disproportionate casualties in British imperial wars, they nonetheless were accepted—even in the English provincial press: As a ‘national’ contribution by Scotland to the Empire, and a source of legitimate national pride (Spiers, 2006: 71, 138). After the massive losses of World War I, it was a Scottish National War Memorial (my italics) that was designed for Edinburgh Castle. In 1940, a cartoon on the Dunkirk crisis headlined ‘BRITISH ARMY LEAVES DUNKIRK’ showed one Scottish soldier saying to another, ‘You know, Willie, if the English give in we might have a bit of a fight on our hands’. The national reputation of the Scottish soldier still stood very high (Kington, 1977: 22).

Yet it was just at this time that Scotland began routinely to be described as a ‘region’ in the World War II planning documentation, and its national status within the British Empire began a long decline eventually challenged by the growth of political nationalism (Pittock, 2008). The old images of the country nonetheless lingered in popular representation, as in Brigadoon (1954) or even as late as Highlander (1986). In 1968, Carry On Up the Khyber revisited the siege of the Residency in Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny with the irony and farce typical of Sid James, Kenneth Williams et al. At the climax of the film, apparently inevitable victory for the natives is forestalled by the Scottish soldiers lifting their kilts: The sexual voracity and
power of the Sawneys feared in the England of the 1760s was not entirely exhausted in the repertoire of stereotype, but by the 1960s it had become a subject for knowing, if appreciative, mockery. The era of the international ‘Highlander’, the Scottish soldier in the British Empire, was at an end.

Throughout this period, the idea that the ‘Lowlander’ was a Teuton of Germanic descent (in fact an Anglo-Saxon like his English brethren) had done much to separate the stereotype of the ‘Highlander’ (mostly military and concerned with bravery and honour) from that of the ‘Lowlander’ (mostly civil and concerned with integrity and success). This was only very shallowly a racial stereotype, and was in effect more of a situational one: ‘Lowlanders’ in the British Army usually participated in the ‘Highland’ stereotype, and for ‘Highland’ merchants or shipping magnates the same might happen in reverse.

The capacity of the ‘Lowlander’ for social aggrandizement and professional integrity corresponded with the virtues of the ‘Highlander’ in the military sphere in many English images of Scotland. Warren Hastings’ controversial administration in Bengal was one of the places where Scottish talent first began to dominate. In 1775–1785, 47% of writers and 60% of ‘free merchants’ in Bengal were Scots, while Hastings chose Scots such as George Bogle and Major Alexander Hannay (perhaps the source for the name of John Buchan’s hero) for sensitive missions abroad. For Edmund Burke in his attack on Hastings these were ‘hard unscrupulous men’ whose Scottishness (with its old associations with Jacobitism) lent cultural support to Hastings’ own tendencies to despotic absolutism (Colley, 1992: 128, 130).

Unscrupulous, successful, hard, and determined men were wanted, however, as the British Empire grew. In one famous (English) cartoon, an old Scotsman addresses his son on the latter’s return to Scotland, asking him ‘Weel laddie, and what dae ye think o’ the English noo?’, to which the answer is ‘Oh, I didn’t have much of a chance to study them. You see, I only had to do with the heads of departments’: Punch’s implication is that these are Scots as well. Another shows a fat man asking ‘Any use trying to borrow a fiver off you?’ to which the Scot replies ‘Ay, the exercise will do ye guid’ (Kington, 1977: 15, 150). The Scottish ‘Lowlander’ was typically seen as highly educated, professional, tough, and often ambitious. The education that bred him (nearly always a him at this stage) was also increasingly valued in English eyes, not only by virtue of its products, but also because the ancient Scottish universities would educate English dissenters, as the ancient English ones would not; moreover, they were driven by an agenda of instrumentalism, preparation for the professions, alien to the Oxbridge tradition but useful to an Empire that had to be well administered for the many by the few. In George Eliot’s Middlemarch (1871), an Edinburgh education helps to mark out the professionally acute Lydgate from his peers; in Thomas Hardy’s The Mayor of Casterbridge (1886), the highly technically skilled expatriate Farfrae is a not untypical portrayal of the professional ‘Lowlander’ seen through Victorian English eyes: Tough, adamantine, innovative, shrewd, threatening yet sentimental withal and highly mobile in an era when, as Hardy points out in the same novel, a few miles distance could make strangers of labouring-class families. Tellingly, when Farfrae dances at the public celebration he organizes, he dresses as a ‘Highlander’ despite being from Edinburgh, this being the accepted badge of diasporic Scottishness. Nonetheless, the professional and instrumental qualities of Scottish education were resented for their common sense and later their influence on utilitarianism, the components of the ‘Scotch philosophy’ as it was dubbed in 19th-century England.
The Age of Nationalism

The idea of the Scots as outsiders, un-British, dormant since the 18th century, resurfaced again in the 1960s and 1970s as modern Scottish nationalism began to manifest itself, in a process which has certainly seemed to intensify since the 1990s: anti-Scottish columnists are now commonplace in both the tabloid and broadsheet London press. As early as 1977, Miles Kington’s *Punch on Scotland* collection showed deepseated unease with devolution and the question of Scottish difference and, as the reality of home rule grew closer, the depiction of the Scot drifted back towards the antipathetic models of the 18th century. Even in sympathetic portrayals like *Chariots of Fire* (1981), the comparison between the Scot and the Jew as cultural/religious outsiders in British society is very clear in a way which would have been out of the ordinary before 1945 (though John Buchan, it is true, made the comparison in the 1930s, notably in *A Prince of the Captivity* [1933]). The more differently Scotland expressed itself electorally, the more the whole country was seen as alien from Great Britain’s demands of conformity with a core norm. Richard Willson’s *Highland Revolt* cartoon, which first appeared in *The Times* on 28 August 1998, showed the leader of the Nationalists, Alex Salmond, waving a claymore at the head of a Highland charge, while Tony Blair, portrayed as an etiolated Hanoverian commander standing under the Union Jack, says ‘I’Faith Mr Dewar Y’ve been somewhat lackadaisical in the defence of the realm’; meanwhile a puffing Donald Dewar (the Scottish Labour leader) says as he loads another cannonball into the breach, ‘By God, Sir, We’ve thrown in everything we have, but they still keep coming’. The return to the cartoon language of the Jacobite era and to the Scots as barbarian aliens could not be better epitomized; another later cartoon shows Alex Salmond as Charles Edward Stuart and his deputy Nicola Sturgeon as Flora MacDonald, rowing him over to a mountain on which the saltire flies. Among recent cartoons is one of a group of ‘immigrants’ at an ‘English class for immigrants’: one of them holds up a placard which says ‘I have tried telling you several times, my name is Ken and I am from Glasgow’. Here the Scot is seen as one of a gallimaufry of incomprehensible foreigners who have come to live in England. Another, *Somewhere in Scotland this very day*, shows a virtually toothless Scotsman (whose prominently displayed toothbrush is a sign of the pointless redundancy of the gifts of civilization in the tradition of *Sawney in the Boghouse*) pointing at the mirror in his bathroom and saying ‘Are yoo lookin’ a’ me?’, the traditional prelude to a fight. Wearing tartan with a tartan bonnet, this scrawny specimen is, like numerous ‘Sawneys’ before him, virulently aggressive and so primitive in his instincts that he is incapable of understanding the (British?) civilization he finds himself in, except to destroy it, as the clear implication is that he will break the mirror next in his quest to pick a fight with himself.

In the early 21st century, when having a Scottish Prime Minister is a real issue to sections of the English electorate, it is interesting to note that the premierships of Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Ramsay MacDonald, the Ulster Scot Bonar Law, and even W.E. Gladstone, whose Scottishness was often stressed in contemporary cartoons, were all relatively uncontroversial, as was the control of major British institutions such as the army by Scots. Since World War II, the development of a centralized British state which claims relative internal homogeneity represents a new departure which lessened the space available for an ‘imperial localist’ view of Scots as
separate but broadly conformist. Scottish political resistance to this new kind of more limited Britishness led in the end to the re-establishment of a Scottish Parliament. As this process (which reached a new stage with the election of a Nationalist government at Holyrood in 2007) has intensified, the challenge to the British state has become more acute. In response, political commentators and cartoonists in England have returned to the images of the hairy, aggressive, greedy, and parasitical Scot common in the 18th century, at the same time as more positive and strongly emplaced representations of Scotland have begun to appear internationally, not least in American cinema.

The professional ‘Lowland’ Scot of Dr Finlay’s Casebook or Star Trek has been left behind by these developments. In similar vein just as the ‘Highland’ Scot of the era of Empire has been compromised, not only by Scotland’s changing outlook, but by the geopolitics of the new era which have themselves contributed to it. British television now tends to present the Scot as fey and backward (The Monarch of the Glen, Hamish Macbeth) or brutal and comic or brutal and dangerous (Rab C. Nesbitt, Taggart), while American cinema has tended to move slowly, if distinctly, towards an increasing portrayal of Scotland in Irish terms as a sufferer under British colonial rule or its values, as in Rob Roy (1994) and Braveheart (1995). There is likewise a strong if intermittent tradition in cinematic representation, which stresses Scottish communitarian values, as in Gregory’s Girl (1980) and Local Hero (1983), or the consequences of abandoning them, as in Red Road (2006) and The Last King of Scotland (2007), which critically anatomizes the stereotype of the professionally successful ‘Lowlander’. One of the most notable features of the present era however is that Scotland and the Scots have almost ceased to enjoy any serious representation in English media or popular culture. As Scotland increasingly expresses its political difference, so there is apparently less and less willingness to engage with that difference south of the Border. Instead, the portrayal of Scots as parasites and subsidy junkies is very marked, and not only in the press. In 2008, the King Report criticized the whole approach of the UK electronic media in reporting and representing contemporary Scotland.

Scotland has been important to English ideas of Britishness, but historically no two-way negotiation on this has been possible: Any Scottish behaviour perceived to challenge existing arrangements, or even to take perceived advantage of them, is met with an outbreak of negative stereotyping intended to stress English solvency, responsibility, civility, temperance, balance, and generosity by highlighting Scots as possessed of the opposite characteristics. These characteristics can represent a direct reversal of the image of the Scot which obtains in a more benign or conformist political atmosphere: For example, the current accusations of reckless Scottish use of English taxpayer’s subsidies is the polar opposite to the stereotype of the Scot as canny and fiscally prudent, while the 19th-century images of ‘Highland’ militarism and ‘Lowland’ ambition have shifted once again towards their 18th-century paradigmatic ancestry in portrayals of the greed and violence of the Scot. In the past, Scottish rebelliousness has likewise mutated into Scottish loyalty, and Scottish hunger into Scottish greed, as images of the country in English eyes swing from one extreme to another depending on the extent to which it is seen as conforming to the political and cultural world of Britishness. The erosion of that world and Scotland’s place in it since 1945 is indicative of further problems ahead for the English image of Scotland, and therefore for the realities of the relationship between the two countries.
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