

**IMAGE AND INVENTORY: *PICTURE POST* AND THE BRITISH  
VIEW OF SCOTLAND, 1938-1957**

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*Introduction*

The vexed issue of the relationship between nationhood and the Union pervades recent Scottish historiography, much of which has focused on the kinds of nationalism that developed in response to perceptions of the British Empire.<sup>1</sup> For the twentieth century, Cameron, Macdonald and others have recently delineated the political, social, economic and cultural landscape through which Scotland's relationship to the United Kingdom may be understood.<sup>2</sup> Their analyses contribute to defining a frame of reference through which "Scotland" may be envisioned,<sup>3</sup> an imaginary largely generated from within – by Scottish historians discussing "our" accommodation to or rejection of Britishness. It may prove instructive to compare such inside stories with external notions of Scottishness, these latter ranging from racist caricature, through invented traditions, to academic accounts of Britishness itself.<sup>4</sup> The ensuing discussion argues that in the emergence of a documentary way of seeing during the earlier twentieth century, there exists evidence of a popular British conception of Scotland that may be compared both with the official canon of Scottish history and an everyday popular

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consciousness of nationhood (albeit still largely to be researched). This article considers the role of *Picture Post*, Britain's most popular photo-weekly, in visualising Scotland during a period of significant economic and social change after the Depression and prior to the advent of mass television.<sup>5</sup> It explores how the magazine constructed a journalistic space through which Scotland's encounter with modernity could be understood by the wider nation-state. The research involves a contents analysis of two hundred articles, including approximately two thousand photographs, alongside readers' letters and editorials, and assesses the combination of image, narrative and dialogue in creating perceptions of Scotland.<sup>6</sup>

#### *Who Were "We"?*

Recent overviews of "Britain" in the mid-twentieth century have tended to the Anglocentric. For example, bar passing mention of town planning in Glasgow, Kynaston's *Family Britain* scarcely mentions Scotland.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, studies of the ways in which different media forms have constructed visions of national identity are more inclusive, Hajkowski's analysis of the BBC devoting sections to each constituent nation while contending that the organisation was committed to multinational Britishness.<sup>8</sup> How might this compare with other contemporary media such as popular journalism and press photography?<sup>9</sup> In its avowed social realism, *Picture Post* was part of an ameliorist documentary humanism incorporating the ethnography of Mass Observation, Grierson's documentary film-making, and Orwell's investigative prose. Its origins lay with the photo-journalism of German magazines during the 1920s, especially the pioneering work of Hungarian refugee Stefan Lorant who, having edited four German and one Hungarian picture magazine, became founding editor of the British *Weekly Illustrated* (1934) and *Lilliput* (1937) before creating *Picture*

*Post*. Prior to this, pictorial publications (*Illustrated London News*, *Sphere*, *Tatler*, *Sketch*, and *Bystander*) had catered to the aristocracy.<sup>10</sup> By contrast, through the juxtaposition of image and story, *Picture Post* sought to map ordinary lives while implicitly reforming society. Yet, in focusing upon its innovative means of capturing “a new social reality: the domain of everyday life”, via “the punchy radicalism of the photo that shows and the caption that tells”, critics have neglected some of its more conservative aspects such as a rather banal imperialism.<sup>11</sup> When one recent commentator remarks that *Picture Post* “venture[d] forth into strange landscapes to try to present to [its] readers a varied world - yet one that all people could feel at home in” he is referring to the sense in which England was that home - it was “strongest in capturing the native strengths of English life.”<sup>12</sup> The “we” being addressed were always its predominantly English readers, although, as we shall see, this deictic position latterly shifted as a debate over the position of Scotland within the British nation-state unfolded.<sup>13</sup> To this extent, its absorption with British national character is one that over-rides and enfolds the delineation of Scotland and the Scots – they are not “other”, but differently British. Against this, Normand notes “a lacuna in Scottish documentary photography from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the early years of the 1960s.” There was, he says, an increasing use of photography in Scottish newspapers, yet “this was never “photojournalism”, merely illustration, with little sense of a “self-conscious “documentary” convention ... the tradition of documentary photography was carried by outside photographers moving to the country in search of a subject.”<sup>14</sup> The two major figures in the development of broadcast and visual media as public education, “Father of Documentary” John Grierson and BBC Director General John Reith, left Scotland to promote strongly centralised and core British operations, while more generally Harvie attributes the absence of Scottish political

culture during this time to the weakness of serious journalism as home-bred talents migrated south.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, we cannot effectively explore Scottish national consciousness so much as a particular British consciousness of Scotland. In assessing *Picture Post's* part in moulding such two issues require attention: firstly, the subject matter - an inventory of what constituted appropriately "Scottish" themes; and, secondly, how the "latent cultural attitudes encoded therein" contribute to an invention of "Scotland."<sup>16</sup>

Although *Picture Post* ran from 1938 until 1957, coverage of matters Scottish by the magazine was chronologically uneven, with just 22 stories in the first seven years, 59 during the next decade, then 101 in its final three years. This apparent late upsurge was due to a deliberate editorial decision to focus on Scotland in 1955, with no less than 98 articles in that year alone. In the years before, much boils down to the presentation of stereotypes: picture stories about the kilt, ships being built, launched, and famously painted by Stanley Spencer, and miners coming from the "filth of the pit" to "the row of mean, sordid houses", of "grey fishing villages."<sup>17</sup> There is the scenic beauty of the landscape. And there is Glasgow. Scotland in the round is imagined rather dichotomously, either as a place of "grave beauty" and "wild, infertile districts such as the Highland [deer] forests"; or it is the home of scandalous urban poverty, appalling housing and rickets.<sup>18</sup> Latterly, we have essays such as "Scotland in the Snow", a travelogue waxing lyrical over "lovely, varied scenery", photos of "a turquoise sea glittering over white sands - and a medley of tiny islets", taken by Kurt Hutton.<sup>19</sup> But the photo-essays that stand for posterity are Humphrey Spender's vivid evocation of class, work and leisure in Glasgow and Bert Hardy's "Forgotten Gorbals" assignment.<sup>20</sup>



Fig. 1. Poor housing and poverty. Glasgow, 1939. (Photo. Humphrey Spender. Copyright Getty Images).

Both deliver the striking exposé. This is classic documentary photography, not the “eccentric monochrome Britain as an endless procession of *types*” found in Bill Brandt’s *The English At Home* (1936), but insight into real life at work and on the street.<sup>21</sup> With “Glasgow: How a City is Run”, this embraces other levels of social engagement - municipal socialism and civic activity.<sup>22</sup>

A smattering of articles extends the ethics of *Picture Post* to the exploration of issues that happen to be located North of the Border.<sup>23</sup> Yet precisely because of its adherence to an overarching sense of Britishness, no coherent idea of Scottish national identity in or for itself emerges. Instead, Scottish articles may be conveniently subsumed under a handful of stock categories, each of which played a part in the representation of British culture, in the Geertzian sense as “the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves.”<sup>24</sup> The “we” here was an English one that looked *at* Scotland.

My explicit aim is to indicate the constituents of this vision, not to explain its derivation. Nevertheless, it is germane to note that histories of *Picture Post* have emphasised the political significance of editorial connections, continuity and control: firstly, Lorant's anti-fascism, importation of fellow-refugees to the staff and recruitment of Tom Hopkinson, who had assisted him at *Weekly Illustrated* and *Lilliput* and who succeeded him as editor in 1940; secondly, the relatively unhampered reign of the socialistic Hopkinson throughout the 1940s; and, thirdly, owner Edward Hulton's dismissal of Hopkinson in 1950 following publication of an article concerning treatment of political prisoners during the Korean War, which he described as "communist propaganda." Despite having twice stood unsuccessfully as a Conservative election candidate, Hulton supported a mixed-economy welfare state and welcomed Attlee's Labour victory in 1945. However, by 1950 his support had swung back firmly to the Tories. Hopkinson was replaced by Ted Castle, husband of Labour MP Barbara, who was himself sacked six months later. There ensued a period of "vacillating market strategy, frequent changes of editor and mounting losses", forcing the magazine's eventual closure.<sup>25</sup> Although these factors help to clarify *Picture Post's* preoccupations, the analysis reveals no clear ideological breaks in a portrayal of Scotland which consisted of the following themes.

#### *Empire and Identity*

History was evident in articles such as those concerning institutional differences from England and coverage of occasional pageants.<sup>26</sup> Mostly, it was a narrative conveying residual strengths of the British Empire, with an increase in royal visits suggesting "concessions to combat the perception of Scotland's diminishing nationhood."<sup>27</sup> The symbolism is clear from depictions of George VI opening the Empire

Exhibition in Glasgow and the richly ceremonial images of Queen Elizabeth's 1952 trip to Edinburgh.<sup>28</sup> A photo-essay of her rain-sodden voyage in the Hebrides was rather less formal, although the opening line of text served to remind readers of the ritual aspect: "To go to Scotland in August has been a habit with the Royal Family since Queen Victoria's time."<sup>29</sup> "Bed Socks for a Queen" sought to make the link between everyday working life in Scotland and the wardrobes of the grand: "Through five generations, this factory in Edinburgh has been making quality footwear for monarch, soldier, sportsman and glamour girl."<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile, the effort to convey an impression of Anglo-Scots unity led to some extraordinary tweaking of the historical record. A wartime propaganda piece juxtaposed photographs of Fort George with images of Culloden Moor where:

the names on the stones are the same names which label wooden crosses in the sands of the Egyptian desert now. The men of the Highland Division – the men who stormed the Axis lines at El Alamein – are the kith and kin of the clansmen who rose for Bonnie Prince Charlie in the '45 ... neither the men nor the lands they live in have changed ... they're fighting for the same age-old Highland cause.<sup>31</sup>

Scottish military stories were few, although articles about clan gatherings, Highland games, and the aforementioned kilt, in conflating "Highlander" with "Scot", provided a spurious sense of national singularity.<sup>32</sup>



Fig. 2. “The Queen in the Islands”, 1956 (All reasonable attempts have been made to trace the copyright holder).

Unsurprisingly, discussions of a separate national identity were few during the war years. However, an intermittent dialogue around nationalism had developed in the immediate



preamble. One reader blamed Westminster's dismissal of independence claims for Scotland's manufacturing industry falling into dereliction.<sup>33</sup> Yet, railed Compton Mackenzie embracing the Scots audience, "it is our own fault"; so long as "we" submit to London control, we can only blame ourselves for industrial decline, unemployment and rural depopulation. His 1939 article stressed growing political support for the Nationalists, sporting a photograph of graffiti with the caption: "Few Englishmen have heard much of the discussion on Home Rule for Scotland - but a plea for it covers almost every bridge on the Edinburgh-Glasgow road."<sup>34</sup> In the same issue, "An Englishman", "concerned to note the great preponderance of Scots in high places", asked "where should we [presumably meaning the Anglo-British] be if the Scots behaved as have the Irish? This form of favouritism should be stopped."<sup>35</sup> Mackenzie's article unleashed a slew of correspondence: some questioned the wisdom of publishing material suggesting British disunity in the face of impending world war, blithely adding that "Scotland sends its best to England and we are glad to have them"; others, including the SNP, indicated that under self-government Scotland would be "a partner in the British Empire with the same status as England."<sup>36</sup> (A later reference in an article to BBC reporters at the Coronation from "each of England's satellite states" caused understandable outrage.<sup>37</sup>)

Political nationalism resurfaced very quickly in 1945. Responding to a line in the King's speech at the opening of the first post-war Parliament that "the special problem of Scotland" would gain ministerial attention, the Nationalist John Kinloch described how the country's greater resources, output and manpower were accompanied by greater unemployment, poverty and death rates, a predicament he attributed to "Scotland's subordinate governmental position."<sup>38</sup> When subsequently the devolution-minded Scottish National Assembly drew up a Covenant supported by

thirty-six percent of the Scottish electorate, Fyfe Robertson remarked that “the English press can almost be accused of a conspiracy of silence” for ignoring important constitutional concerns.<sup>39</sup> His subsequent investigation asking “Are 2,000,000 Scots Silly?” reported “a new liveliness and confidence largely due to a new awareness of nationality.”<sup>40</sup> Despite Robertson’s claim of “massive” English indifference, the article sparked a rush of letters, an edited postbag being published under the heading “The Question That Has All Britain Talking.”<sup>41</sup> For all this, the next month, as “Queen Elizabeth of Scotland” rode in state up the Royal Mile, a decidedly unionist *Picture Post* praised the protective loyalty of the Royal Company of Archers, contending that “If the Scottish Republican Army were to start any trouble they would soon resemble a row of over-patriotic pin-cushions.”<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, the interstices of debate were populated with bickering about the relative social failings of Londoners and Glaswegians, the illogicality of Princess Elizabeth becoming Queen Elizabeth II of Britain rather than England, the unavailability of alcohol on the Sabbath, and rival claims to the Stone of Destiny.<sup>43</sup>

#### *Fame, Sport, Arts and Entertainment*

In *Picture Post*’s pages modern Scots Great Men were few, and Great Women still fewer. The traditional hierarchies of class and gender were conventionally observed, with social mobility restricted to the lad o’ pairts mythology. The rise to prominence through stereotypically Scottish “character” traits is evident in President of the Board of Trade, Sir Andrew Duncan, an Ayrshire lad regarded as “the incarnation of the pushful Scot ... the type of Scotsman who dominated English industry and commerce and governed the Empire throughout the nineteenth century... His beginnings were as humble as those of the successful Scot must be ... the successful Scot “working his passage”, for his earnings as a teacher paid for

his legal education... The Scots go-getter has gone and got.”<sup>44</sup> By contrast, the Earl of Dalkeith, pictured managing one of the family estates in Selkirkshire, represents the Anglified young aristocrat.<sup>45</sup> Together with the photo-story “Scots Elect Two for House of Lords” (1 Feb. 1941), these articles hardly present men of the people. The 1955 series “A Gallery of Famous Scots” featured again the great and good (Sir John Cameron, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates and Sir R. Bruce Lockhart, diplomat),<sup>46</sup> but also attempted to convey pride in more artistic endeavour, with pieces about the “blue-eyed young Glasgow Highlander” and budding adventure novelist Alistair MacLean, artist Anne Redpath, who “keeps alive the Scottish tradition in the arts”, by painting “homely objects”, and writer Naomi Mitchison, here regaled for her familiarity with “the problems of making a living” in the local fishing industry, a sympathetic characteristic shared by Sir Compton Mackenzie, who advocated closing the Minch to English trawlers.<sup>47</sup> There were nods in the direction of nationalism, both historically (William Wallace), and, topically, with a piece on John MacCormick, leader of Scottish Covenant movement, yet this scarcely reflected the liveliness of debate in the earlier 1950s.<sup>48</sup>

Such sports coverage as existed tended towards elitist pursuits - deer stalking and grouse shooting, yachting, rugby union, and - guaranteed to captivate visually - skiing.<sup>49</sup> Despite its mass popularity, and, indeed, its importance as a lightning-rod for the solidarity of skilled workers, football received scant coverage. Until the 1955 initiative which saw the launch of “A Great Scottish Football Series” profiling all the major teams in successive issues, the only stories are a piece considering the precarious survival of amateurism,<sup>50</sup> and two negative articles about fan behaviour. “The Football Ticket Stampede” (29 Mar. 1952) attempted to explain an incident when 12,000 Glaswegians waiting for tickets for the England v. Scotland game ran amok. Meanwhile, “Glasgow’s

Football War”, by Denzil Batchelor, a renowned cricket reporter and wine connoisseur, despite indicating the relatively trouble-free nature of the particular game being covered, noted that the Rangers v. Celtic match was traditionally considered “an opportunity to get rid of your empty bottles and vent your religious bigotry.”<sup>51</sup> The article drew indignant responses from readers, some accusing the author of being anti-Celtic, others anti-Rangers, others simply arguing that in highlighting the Old Firm’s routine rivalry he was promoting a caricature: “He airs, in true English fashion, the old lie that civil war is our national pastime.”<sup>52</sup> Outside Glasgow, argued another, “people go to see a football match, not two teams representing different religions.”<sup>53</sup>

As a topical periodical, *Picture Post* always carried plenty arts and entertainment stories. The latter increased somewhat during the 1950s when the scramble to maintain sales intensified, and markedly as television encroached upon its market, while the advent of the Edinburgh Festival in 1947 drew considerable coverage.<sup>54</sup> Earlier high arts material – in 1938 painters Raeburn and Landseer appeared in the “Great British Masters” series while Burns and Stevenson were lauded – gave way to theatre, film, and celebrity coverage, some glamorous – “Dior in Scotland” (21 May 1955), a colour spread previewing *Brigadoon* (21 May 1949) – some more locally meaningful – Scotland’s comedians, Dundee Rep on the road, Glasgow University rag week, the Wick Junior Choir charming London as they “made a hit in their kilts and white jumpers.”<sup>55</sup>

#### *Moral and Social Issues*

For a country supposedly steeped in Presbyterian culture, discussion of religion was rather thin: a photo-essay on the parish kirk of Burntisland, showing “the whole history of the Reformation made permanent in stone”; a quirky tale about the Arbroath padre using ship-to-shore radio telephones to

entertain fishermen; and a story about the activities of industrial chaplains questioning the contention that “the Church has lost touch with the workers.”<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, complemented by articles on the Iona community’s mission “to bring Christianity to the workers of Glasgow”, this struck a tone very much in sympathy with the magazine’s visual ethos, where locals were pictured engaging in social activity.<sup>57</sup>

Commentary on social issues ranged from health and education to youth crime and immigration. In a debate conducted via the letters page concerning the scourge of “young thugs”, a reader commented:

Give one family a house with modern conveniences; another a room in which there are no sanitary arrangements, in which plaster is falling off the walls and people are forced to sleep four or five in one bed. Which will be the readier to conform to social laws? Which will produce the delinquent children? This is glaringly obvious in Glasgow, where housing conditions are the worst in Scotland and criminal figures are the highest.<sup>58</sup>

The problems of the “swarming tenement” were being dealt with, but “not always imaginatively” through re-housing schemes lacking in social amenities, as the image of the violence-prone slum continued to cling to the city.<sup>59</sup> Some Glaswegians protested that this was distortion, others that “slums are not an excuse for filth”, while “I’ve had it drummed into me that England [sic] is the most democratic country in the world. I find it hard to believe after seeing those slums.... Thank you for opening my eyes.”<sup>60</sup> Post-war responses to social medicine were nevertheless redolent of an innovative approach so that although, for example, a doctor attributed Scotland’s singular failure to show improvement in tuberculosis mortality to “scandalous overcrowding in insanitary, badly-ventilated and sunless houses” and lack of

hospital accommodation, *Picture Post* could show people being encouraged to attend mobile X-ray units using incentives such as raffle tickets and images of futuristic infirmaries.<sup>61</sup> Elsewhere there were attempts to dispel detrimental cultural stereotypes, with, for instance, the reputedly “inferior” Scottish diet called into question.<sup>62</sup>

The education system was revered as being rather better than England’s: “Little Scotland, with a population equal to Finland, still sends forth from her highlands and islands a steady stream of talent to rule the Empire. This is because she has possessed universal education since the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century ... and courses of University standard in village schools.”<sup>63</sup> This was less flattery than praise designed to shame the English into action. Nevertheless, articles about adult education and the inculcation of “character” in girls’ secondary schooling continued to stress Scotland’s national distinction.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, despite Glasgow’s razor gangs, a decline in violent crime, compared to a rise in England, was attributed to differing domestic practices and values: “*early* discipline in home and school is stricter, the home is a tighter and better-functioning unit, and what is left of regular church-going and Presbyterian morality is still potent.”<sup>65</sup>

In stark contrast to the claustrophobic poverty of the slums - and, indeed, the Clydebank blitz - the wartime sense of rural Scotland as distant panacea is evident from an advertisement jointly placed by the LMS and LNER railway companies reading: “What do you seek for your 1940 holiday? A mountain retreat? A lochside resort? A seashore playground? Go to Scotland, where solace comes to weary minds and balm to fretted nerves.”<sup>66</sup> While similar evocations studded the text of advertisements regularly taken out by bus and ferry companies and holiday resorts, there were also features on yachting on the Clyde, the diverse delights of Arran, the new pastime of pony-trekking, and school adventure holidays. Such escapism was highlighted by

photographs of spectacular mountain scenery, majestic sea cliffs and snowbound landscapes.<sup>67</sup>

“Scotland is a lovely place for wildness and beauty, but not in its towns ... such a waste to have all those open and often wasted spaces and such huddled towns”, wrote one correspondent.<sup>68</sup> By 1945 readers were suggesting that the “private wilderness” be handed over to ex-servicemen to farm - “Why does the Government talk about emigration to the Dominions, when Scotland is almost vacant” – and, indeed, land settlement schemes were being developed.<sup>69</sup> The question was posed: “Why can’t the Highlands ... be opened up for the Gorbals dwellers?”<sup>70</sup> *Picture Post*’s investigative mission took journalists beyond the superficiality of a romanticised urban-rural dichotomy, although they did appear to require some goading initially. Responding to those who had reacted uncomfortably to images of distress on Tyneside, a reader from Lanarkshire had implored: “Send your cameraman farther and still farther north ... to the Hebrides where the islanders snatch an unimaginably scant living from the soil.” “He is going” replied the editor.<sup>71</sup> “I went on a tour in the Highlands and the conditions are awful”, added another correspondent, “deserted shielings and poverty-stricken crofts, next to mansions whose owners only come in the grouse season and take no interest in their poor tenants”, while a third cited “appalling” unemployment figures and referred to “one long tale of misery” since 1745 with “huge areas denuded of people” to make way for sporting estates. “Visit is being planned” reiterated the editor, although it was not until 1943 and the opening of a debate on hydro-electric power that any investigative reporters tackled the issue.<sup>72</sup>

#### *Reconstruction and Modernity*

These dialogues require some contextualisation. Motivated by the need for co-ordinated scientific production as part of the war effort, *Picture Post* had published a “Plan for Britain” in

January 1941. The document prompted collectivist and redistributive solutions to economic and social problems and provided the springboard by which photo-journalism gave visual expression to a newly imagined social democratic rhetoric that spoke for the people, “a modern ‘we’”, in the name of reconstruction. This modernizing vision of “rationally ordered sites and spaces” developed in concert with the planning perspectives of Tom Johnston, appointed by Churchill as Secretary of State for Scotland in February 1941.<sup>73</sup> A Labour stalwart, Johnston was “a giant figure ... promised the powers of a benign dictator” who set up some thirty-two committees to deal with various socio-economic issues.<sup>74</sup> During the inter-war years the Labour Party had “pushed the notion of a democratic and radical Scotland which had been under the heel of a corrupt aristocracy ... The Scots were a democratic and egalitarian people.”<sup>75</sup> However, such national pride, reminiscent of the Grierson-inspired Films of Scotland Committee of 1938 in its desire to integrate past and future aspirations, did not betray any lasting nationalist commitment and in the immediate post-war years Scottish developments were very much regarded as part-and-parcel of Britain’s wider economic renewal.

Johnston’s single most successful venture, the Hydro Board, was designed to alleviate a British fuel crisis while promoting industrial recovery, re-population and electrification in the Highlands.<sup>76</sup> Power generation carried much symbolic weight in the push for reconstruction. However, initial proposals were strongly opposed. A graphic feature on the Glen Affric scheme set the alliance of “beauty lovers” fearing the loss of sanctuary, holiday resort and sporting preserve against the plight of local people. Haywood Magee captured images of derelict homes and struggling but proud folk. It is pertinent to pause here and discuss this article as an example of how the classic *Picture Post* photo-essay was constructed. As [Fig. 3](#) illustrates the captioning of



photographs provided a strong steer for the reader. Here we have (from top left), first, “The Waters Which Will Produce the Power”, an image of a waterfall which is seemingly both natural and innocuous, but second (top right) a picture of Glen Affric, “The Country which Beauty-Lovers Fear May be Ruined.” The caption adds: “Loch Affric is just one example of the most spectacular country in all Britain... [the preservationists] have been victors in past struggles against any hydro-electric schemes.” A contrast is made with an image of the colossal Boulder Dam below. Meanwhile, the Secretary of State (bottom right) pointing a sermonising finger, “defends his Hydro-electrification Bill... “I Don’t Want to See the Highlands a Derelict Area””. On the following pages, images included a fine, gritty profile shot of Murdo Fraser, “The Crofter Who Wants a Chance to Live: “There’s no living in the croft”, he says. The landlords won’t spend money on the land ... It’s all very well to leave the beauty untouched, but beauty won’t keep people alive.” This point is underlined by and adjacent photograph where the window of a roofless ruined croft looks onto desolation: “Look over there,” says the impoverished crofter, “It’s a bog””.

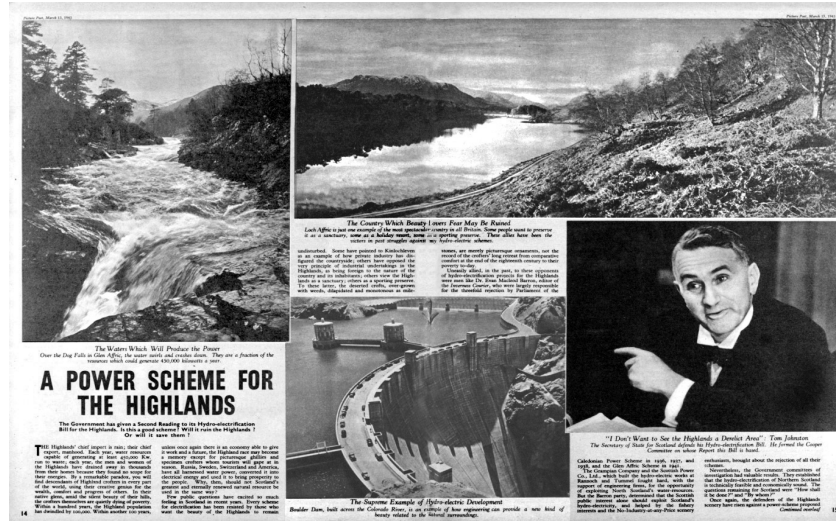


Fig. 3. “I Don’t Want to See the Highlands a Derelict Area.” Hydro-electricity, 1943 (Copyright Getty Images).

There followed four pictures under the emotive banner “AFTER 150 YEARS OF STRUGGLE THE CROFTERS ARE A DYING RACE”: “The Homes From Which the Men Have Departed” (“During the last century the Highland population has gone down by 100,000. After another century, it might be extinct”); “The Homes Which Are Inadequate for a Proud People” (“This croft illustrates in its tidiness and good order the qualities of its hard-working occupants”); grouped around a hearth, “The Bright Lively Children Whom the Highlands Can’t Afford”; and (image of a man behind horses and plough) “The Fields Which Scarcely Repay the Labourer.”<sup>77</sup> While the text conveyed a good deal of technical detail, economic and political, regarding the progress of hydro-electrification, its human dialogue came from conversations with Johnston, Dr Evan Barron, editor of the *Inverness Courier*, and, most engagingly, the local crofters. Subsequently, a reader wrote in to re-iterate the stark

contrast between the lovely landscape and the “abject poverty” and “backwardness” of its inhabitants,<sup>78</sup> while a later feature about the Galloway Power Scheme focused on aesthetic sensitivities. Entitled “Power in Harness: It can be Beautiful”, its modernist images illustrated how “the whole curve of a big dam and the long sweep of white concrete walls to the obedient water below can be a magnificent sight.”<sup>79</sup> “New hope for the Highlands” ran another article, as “Highland glens light Highland homes.” With dams “surprisingly hidden in the hills”, aqueducts and pylons were “a small price to pay for new prosperity” and relative national efficiency, the more so as a UK fuel crisis loomed.<sup>80</sup> Re-forestation and ranching added optimism, yet with “roads inadequate beyond belief”, “archaic farming methods” and “progressive deterioration of morale and opportunity” the Highland economy remained precarious, albeit that the sight of Highland cattle presented “A Highland Idyll.”<sup>81</sup>

#### *The 1955 Push*

In January 1955, *Picture Post* released a special supplement. “Festival Scotland” was both informative and promotional, a shop window of the nation’s attractions and advertisement of its successes. It provided a potted inventory, incorporating articles on religion, the arts, nationalism, food, fishing, Highland games and Gaelic, but also shipbuilding, shopping, manufacturing, the Scottish joke, history and national identity. In a foreword, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh noted that he regarded the Edinburgh Festival as “the focus of the post-war revival of Scotland.” For the tourist, there was advice on “where to go and what to see” from the Secretary of the Scottish Tourist Board as well as guidance on “How to see Scotland”, each itinerary “a gateway to romance” in places “where the *dolce far niente* of the Mediterranean is matched by the quiet Celtic ways and gentle manners.” The most visually striking element was a photo-essay by Paul

Strand, with Hebrideans depicted not as “our” images of “escape, tranquillity and timelessness” but in ways showing how “work and weather have shaped [their] sturdy character and life.”<sup>82</sup>

With continued falling sales a decision was taken to “devote certain issues each week to Scottish subjects and to other matters of particular interest to you who live in Scotland.” From the outset, this was an appeal to a segment of the audience considered provincial, often quaintly so for the benefit of the rest of the readership. A cover image of the Scottish actress Rona Anderson is complemented by a story about her life with husband Gordon Jackson, the pair being photographed “in their London flat.” While it is noted that “both like to spend any available free time with their folk in Scotland”, the clear implication is that the English metropolis is where things happen.<sup>83</sup> Next week came the turn of Mary Ure.<sup>84</sup> Henceforth there were weekly picture-interviews entitled “A Gallery of Famous Scotsmen”, “A Great Scottish Football Series”, and another on “Famous Scottish Regiments.” The masculinist trilogy of Great Men, football and the military was thus imposed as highlighting core elements of Scots identity. There was also a weekly round-up of local observations and opinions called “Under My Bonnet” by Scots author and playwright Albert Mackie. Many pieces were penned, not by journalists but by well-known Scots writers and dramatists, for instance Moray McLaren, who upheld Edinburgh’s virtues over Glasgow’s vices in a flyting with Hector McNeil MP.<sup>85</sup> Similarly, Nigel Tranter stressed the urgency of building a Forth river crossing, whether a bridge or a tunnel: “Right in the heart of industrial Scotland, precious hours are wasted while cars, lorries and ambulances wait for overworked ferry boats.”<sup>86</sup> Doubtless these writers added weight to debate - much nationalistic, much eccentric - yet there is something of the feel of a patrician coterie pontificating from their shared literary quarter in New Town

Edinburgh. Both McLaren and Mackenzie appear in the Gallery of Famous Scots series, the piece on McLaren noting that “here, in Drummond Place, he’s just passed the home of Sir Compton Mackenzie.”<sup>87</sup> While McLaren sought to resolve the Edinburgh v Glasgow controversy by promoting Perth as the capital, a canny reader castigated the exercise as a trumped-up “slanging match ... just another horrible example of what Scots will do for English gold.”<sup>88</sup>

Nevertheless, a certain gritty realism remains apparent, for instance in a fine portrait of Dalmellington. Here much is redolent of the emerging community studies tradition in British sociology, with its analysis of social segmentation, gendered mores, statistics of religious observation, and anthropological, almost colonial distancing – “Even the “natives” can be sub-divided, for the men who have come down from the now abandoned hillside hamlets ... still cling together”; “You can see at the local dances how much Dalmellington is a man’s world ... the young men stood in large clusters talking to each other”; “There are 1,709 adult communicant members of the Church of Scotland.” The daily dominance of the mining industry is evoked in the accompanying pictures and their captions, which highlight the day-shift waiting for the bus at 6 a.m., then leaving the pit at 2.30 in the afternoon; meanwhile, the text beside an image of the Saturday dance notes: “it was a grand evening - even for the back-shift who couldn’t get there till after eleven.” There is also a debunking of stereotypes - “curiously enough, Dalmellington does not look like a typical mining village... you do not find there the long, repetitive rows of houses ... Instead you see a large country village built around a square ... at the edges you find twentieth-century suburban-style houses.” And, with this, a countervailing attempt to normalize: “There are the hire-purchase and television – the preoccupations of all Britain.” Finally, we read: “There is the

insularity of the villages, and, on the other hand, there are the young people's July excursions to Blackpool."<sup>89</sup>

This is mid-1950s Scotland in the throes of modernization. The moment is observed not in the conventional Tönniesian contrasts between *gemeinschaft und gesellschaft*, but in a tension between cultural continuity and economic change. Subsequent readers' letters endorse the "strong community spirit of [Dalmellington's] citizens", extending this sensibility to the city:

Although I have lived in Glasgow all my life I do not think of myself as a Glasgow man. When I was a child the word "home" as it was used by my parents meant not the city tenement, where we lived, but a croft on the Isle of Mull. There may be thousands of Glasgow citizens like me, and perhaps it is because to so many of us our real background is in the Highlands, or the country places, that Glasgow, despite its size, is ... like an overgrown village.

Against this evocation of the urban village, a rural reader tries to rectify more general perceptions of material recalcitrance: Why is it that English people think we in Aberdeenshire live like the characters in *Trouble in the Glen*? I work on a farm and we have two diesel tractors, a Ford Zephyr, a 17-inch television set, a fridge, and an all-steel kitchen. Every farmer and townsman has a modern car, and there are hundreds of diesel lorries passing by here every day.<sup>90</sup>

The reference to television is telling, for just two years previously, a fellow-Aberdeenshire resident had complained that north of Scotland readers "have not yet the privilege of TV services."<sup>91</sup> However, although *Picture Post* reported that complaints over London dominance at the BBC were being addressed as the network sought to embrace regional broadcasting, they saw no cause for alarm, continuing to represent Scotland as resolutely provincial. (This was, after all, one area of the country where people were still getting

their news stories from *Picture Post*.)<sup>92</sup> In this imaginary of the nation “Edinburgh is a village where everybody meets everybody else”; “[C]haracters abound in the Old Town, for it retains many of the qualities of a self-contained community. Neighbours are known to each other.” Glasgow’s “warm-hearted loyalty” draws much praise, while the nation becomes a cultural space in which each major city is given a defining character.<sup>93</sup> Investigative portraits thus refer to Aberdeen as “The Self-Sufficient City” (30 Apr. 1955) and to “Dundee, the Uncompromising” (25 Jun. 1955).

#### *A Changing Economy in Pictures*

Historical geographers have stressed “the impossibility of understanding modernity ... in an aspatial fashion ... empire, the spatial organization of industrial production, the relations of city and country, or the symbolic geographies of modern or anti-modern statehood ... cannot be understood apart from imperial or postcolonial relationships.”<sup>94</sup> There is a plea long-recognised in the internal colonialism thesis, and earlier dual-sector models of modernisation applied to the “Celtic Fringe” by sociologists.<sup>95</sup> The origins of an economic interpretation of the nation’s role are similarly evident amongst Scottish historians of the post-war era, a time when, according to Finlay, “the Whiggism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was replaced by economic determinism which served the same purpose of stressing the inevitability of British integration.” Likewise, relationships between political economy and society in Scotland, and especially the Highlands, were much discussed in *Picture Post*.<sup>96</sup>

A story about Inverness strikes at the contradictions of capitalism: “Inverness is the great paradox of the Highlands today, the shining example of prosperity and growing population amid economic malaise and depopulation.”<sup>97</sup> These contradictions are played out in a number of articles concerning the Hebrides. “The Last of the Gaelic” bemoans

the “hopeless stand” of a once-widespread language, the “wild, departed spirit” of a dying way of life on Eriskay. Once “peopled by enterprising fishermen”, but now “an island of the old and infirm, with a few horses laden with “creels” to act as transport”, Eriskay’s way of life is being rapidly dispersed by “the dramatic invasion of an air service from the mainland.”<sup>98</sup> By contrast, “The Crofters” Isle” celebrates the “splendid revival of the exporting of Harris tweed” and the ensuing “new prosperity, and a deeper sense of security” of Lewis. Here, rather than destroying it, modernization is seen as a vehicle enabling the continuity of a changeless tradition. In a painterly image, Mr MacDonald, “mends his nets whilst his wife sits down again at her mother’s spinning wheel, which she herself used in her youth.” Another caption reads: “In these snug crofts, most of which having running water and electricity, generations have lived contentedly.”<sup>99</sup> There is a veneer of anthropological otherness, as “the island catches up” with the modern world in Malcolm Dunbar’s photo-essay “Tinkers’ Wedding”, which follows people who “had never been photographed before - and were very shy of the camera” as they celebrate marriage, then segues into images of local funeral customs. But even here we see how “most of the old houses have been turned over to the hens, or turned into farm stores” as modern styles replace them.<sup>100</sup>

In 1952, A. C. MacNeill had lamented the instrumentalism of policies that exploited Lewis’s resources, especially manpower, during the recent war, but ignored the island’s plight thereafter.<sup>101</sup> Ironically, his remarks presaged the imposition of nearby military installations. While the British government was providing some support for crofting, private industrial schemes met with mixed success. Gavin Maxwell’s shark-fishing operation on Soay failed financially, and the island was eventually evacuated.<sup>102</sup> Seaweed-processing came and went on South Uist, where, however, more obviously political concerns had emerged over the



proposed siting of a guided missile range. A local wrote to warn that “the entire peace of the island, as well as its crofting and craftsman traditions are likely to be shattered ... by the arrival of troops.”<sup>103</sup> He was not alone: “The Fighting Priest of Eochar” presents “the story of a courageous Hebridean and his fight to save the future of his parish”, the very place Strand had so sympathetically photographed the previous year. Again, in Dunbar’s images, there are the expressive rugged faces, mirroring the wind-torn landscape; again, the odd juxtaposition of a precious living on the cusp of change: “On her croft, by the rocket site, a woman finds barbed wire - and wonders.”<sup>104</sup> Meanwhile, some Hardy images of figures silhouetted against a broad sky evoke Robert Flaherty’s dramatised documentary style in the film *Man of Aran* (1934), suggesting a vanishing spiritual purity in a mechanistic industrial age: “the eternal bounty and struggle of life in its simplest, and at the same time, most profound form. I came away from the Crofters’ Isle cleansed and refreshed.”<sup>105</sup>

This dialectic of tradition and modernity, development and dependency, finds broader resonance across the Highland region. “No Future for the Highlands?” asks: “What shall we do to arrest the process of decay ... which threatens disaster in the North?” Two images capture the predicament: the first shows “Outward symptoms of the inner malady of depopulation, ruined cottages are familiar to all travellers ... some townships will perish within a generation”; the second, a futuristic shot of Herculean engineering, carries the caption: “Due for completion in 1957, the Loch Shin hydro-electricity scheme employs 900 men, nearly 4/10 of them from the Highlands. But the permanent staff may total only 30.”<sup>106</sup> Against such brooding concern, “The Road to the Isles” is sanguine. A picture of a woman at a water pump might not suggest progress or engagement in the process post-war industrialization. But the caption suggests otherwise: “Where guidewives gossip in Gaelic, in the old village of Glencoe.

Crofting has ceased, and most of then men are employed in the aluminium works at Kinlochleven.”<sup>107</sup>

Vignettes of the triumph of the machine age find their crudest visualization in a photograph of fish being blown sky-high. The caption reads: “Depth charge in the loch. Seventy tons of gelignite are detonated to destroy pike and perch before this water is stocked with young salmon from the hatcheries.”<sup>108</sup> At the sophisticated end of the spectrum lay the construction of Britain’s first large-scale nuclear fast reactor at Dounreay, a site chosen “because any possible radiation effects can be more easily checked in a sparse population.” As with the guided missiles on South Uist, the motives for scientific advancement concerned strategies other than the strictly socio-economic. They indicated the continuing role of Westminster government in the political management of change.<sup>109</sup>

External control of the Scottish economy was welcomed as inward investment. Where Clydeside shipbuilding, like other heavy industries, had figured in the wartime propaganda effort and “men who build the ships that sail the seven seas” were still honoured,<sup>110</sup> by 1955 *Picture Post* captured a mood of post-war optimism in its embrace of manufacturing as the route to economic buoyancy. An article on the “American Invasion” was accompanied by photos of the Queen visiting an adding machine factory, a “bonnie Scots lassie” checking clock mechanisms, more “Scots girls at work on assembling components of electronic devices”, rubber footwear, mechanics at an IBM plant.<sup>111</sup> Here were the newly “thriving towns” of the Central Belt, its oil refineries, rolling mills, and, indeed, fresh orders for the shipyards.<sup>112</sup>

“Let Glasgow Flourish” brings characterful resilience to the fore: “Thrice within a couple of centuries, Glasgow has reeled from the impact of economic forces beyond its control. Each time it has recovered. Now it faces the hazards and opportunities of a new industrial age.... Here is vitality,

energy in abundance. Here is the Vulcan's forge of the North." Cue pictures of busy quaysides, locomotive and tobacco production, golf club manufacturing, and "a pavement of biscuits" on the conveyor belt at the Glengarry Bakery, churning out "a quarter of the total chocolate biscuit output of Britain." In the "breath-taking panorama of Glasgow", was an optimism underpinned by commitment to adaptation and diversity.<sup>113</sup> And not just in the big conurbations. Donald Kilpatrick commented: "Kilmarnock has been called "a planner's delight, ready-made for prosperity." Where else can one find such a remarkable variety of industry? With full employment, progressive businessmen, and a rigorous spirit of craftsmanship, its future seems secure. But is the town really slump-proof?" With images of tractor assembly lines, shoe patterns, distilleries, men at Glenfield and Kennedy, hydraulic engineers, "leading organisation of their kind in the British Commonwealth", and sub-heads such as "Cushioned against depression", the answer was a resounding Yes!<sup>114</sup>



**Fig. 4.** “A pavement of biscuits.” Glengarry Bakery, 1955. (Photo. Haywood Magee. Copyright Getty Images).

Almost cinematically conveyed, the captions to these photo-spreads had the spoken quality of a voice-over:

Mass production without tedium, in the highly modernised assembly department of British Olivetti, Ltd., at Queenslie Industrial Estate, Una Cochrane, of Airdrie, dexterously plays her part in the building of a portable typewriter. Many of these machines go to Australia and New Zealand; also to Africa.<sup>115</sup>

Couthy essays meanwhile featured the export of specialist items from Atholl brose to curling stones.<sup>116</sup> But technologies were changing fast, and while *Picture Post* was

itself to fall prey to the onslaught of commercial television from September 1955, it continued to laud the social benefits of the new welfare state amid the pin-ups of Italian actresses, serialized Cold War thrillers and commentary on the TV schedules. “The Hospital of the Future” provided “an exclusive peep into the first complete new hospital to be built in Britain since the war” at Alexandria. Futuristic architectural images accompanied the “new design for living - for patients and hospital staff.”<sup>117</sup> The fight against urban health problems was still being conveyed with characteristic vigour in March 1957, a double-page feature showing queues awaiting X-raying under the banner “Glasgow Blasts TB.”<sup>118</sup> But by then the magazine was dying on its feet. Eye-catching photo-journalism, so recently powerful as *the* popular medium, gave way to the allure of the domesticated moving image, while the documentary portrayal of the nation continued via the second Films of Scotland Committee from 1955 to 1982.

While nationalization, new towns, engineering projects, tourism and Edinburgh Festival culture were promoted as the New Scotland, so the meaning of nationhood came under fresh scrutiny as unionist-nationalism declined.<sup>119</sup> If *Picture Post* in 1955 caught the beginnings of that process, it was also caught up in the contradictions over the presentation of national identity, and, relatedly, land use and access, that are still important today. “An American in Scotland” opined “they have mountains like the Alps and roads like Burma”,<sup>120</sup> while Nigel Tranter provocatively argued that a new road should be built through the Cairngorms. It was only, he said, “the remoteness of legislators, hunting, shooting and fishing interests, those benefiting from other roads and the sanctity-of-the-wild enthusiasts” that were preventing the construction of “a glorious, a darling road. Twenty-two miles of storied romantic scenery that most countries would give their Tourist

Ministers' eye-teeth for."<sup>121</sup> Likewise, when a reader responding to an article on the "strange collapse" of Scotland's former aviation industry pleaded: "Let us concentrate on our tourist industry and have more beaches, better roads and better hotels rather than more factories, with their dirt and smoke", he was effectively arguing for the preservation of an invented tradition - romantic tourism - within a framework of modern industrial development.<sup>122</sup> In grasping the horns of a dilemma first captured visually through the hydro-electric debate, both writers were perhaps more prescient than they imagined.

### *Conclusion*

This, then, was "Scotland" as seen by *Picture Post*. To the end there was the tone of social realism. Yet to understand its portrayal of the nation we must recognise two changing contexts. The first was the shift in editorial control following Tom Hopkinson's exit in 1950 after a decade in charge. Thereafter the magazine struggled to hold on to editors and to its readership. The decision to cover Scotland more fully in 1955 was just one response to an increasingly parlous situation through which pioneering documentary journalism faded in the face of lack of direction and a growing need to succumb to the stock-in-trade of celebrity and sensationalism as television threatened its basic market. Several reporters left to pursue careers in broadcasting. Periodically, stories about independence appeared,<sup>123</sup> and, as we have seen, debates over national policy were accorded a fair hearing. Nevertheless, even if the socialistic, reforming fervour of 1938 had continued to hold sway, *Picture Post* was never likely to have been anything other than British in its convictions. The second context is an internally Scottish one, and one where 1955 was again pivotal, for it was in this year that two significant events occurred: a General Election on 26 May in which the Unionist party reached its zenith of 51% of the

Scottish vote, never to be achieved again as the end of Empire, decline of sectarianism and, latterly, Tory Anglicisation conspired to create an agenda for national identification dominated by debates between Labour and the Nationalists; and the re-birth of Films of Scotland, a documentary initiative founded by John Grierson in 1938 and now revived to “project Scotland on the screens of the world” pending industrial and local government sponsorship.<sup>124</sup>

*Picture Post* provides the significant link in the chain connecting visual and documentary culture between pre-war propaganda and the modernism of the mid-fifties and beyond. The picture of Scotland that emerges stands apart from an internal, intellectual nationalism yet also refuses any simplistic external populism. True, in its evocation of stock stereotypes (kilts, shipbuilding, Highland landscapes, Glasgow poverty), unreconstructed views of masculine national character, and inevitable pride in schooling and success it reflected many aspects of the symbolically unionist-nationalist profile developed since Scott, with all the contradictions of such. Nevertheless, the investigatory, humanist tenor of its coverage of social issues, particularly when focused at community level (Gorbals, Dalmellington, Lewis and Harris) sees the development of a subtler sociological approach. Such treatment was not reserved for Scotland and its message carries nothing nationally specific – for instance, Hardy and Lloyd’s “Life at the Elephant” (London, 1949) and “Down the Bay” (Cardiff, 1950) were of a piece with “The Forgotten Gorbals” as revelatory reports of urban deprivation and human resilience.<sup>125</sup> Although engagement with modernity was often crudely depicted via technological marvels, or assaults upon Hebridean otherness which did little to undermine the narrative of state-directed economic progress, in some stories there was real subtlety in capturing the apprehensiveness of many locals in the throes of

change. This was human history at the micro-scale and it is all the more valuable for it.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Colin Kidd, *Union and Unionisms: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Ewen Cameron, *Impaled Upon A Thistle* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Catriona Macdonald, *Whaur Extremes Meet: Scotland's Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> David McCrone (2004), "Cultural Capital in An Understated Nation: The Case of Scotland," [http://www.institute-of-governance.org/publications/working\\_papers/cultural\\_capital\\_in\\_an\\_understated\\_nation](http://www.institute-of-governance.org/publications/working_papers/cultural_capital_in_an_understated_nation) (Accessed Nov. 2012).

<sup>4</sup> T. W. H. Crosland, *The Unspeakable Scot* (London: Grant Richards: 1902); Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 15-41; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992). Cf. J. G. A. Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 37-8.

<sup>5</sup> Beginning in October 1938, the magazine was selling 1,700,000 copies a week after only two months, almost two million by December 1943, attaining a circulation of "well over a million copies every week during World War 2." The figure had declined to less than 600,000 by July 1957. Arguably, 80% of the adult British population read the magazine at its peak. No independent figures exist for Scottish sales (Paul Jobling and David Crowley, *Graphic Design: Reproduction and Representation since 1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 187.

<sup>6</sup> A complete run of *Picture Post* is available in the National Library of Scotland. A fully searchable archive may also be consulted via [www.gale.cengage.co.uk/picturepost](http://www.gale.cengage.co.uk/picturepost) (Accessed Nov. 2012).

<sup>7</sup> David Kynaston, *Family Britain, 1951-57* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010). See also Peter Hennessy, *Having It So Good: Britain in the Fifties* (London: Allen Lane, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Hajkowski, *The BBC and National Identity in Britain, 1922-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).



<sup>9</sup> For comparative scholarship on the genre of photo-journalism as it relates to national identities see, for example, Blake Stimson, *The Pivot of the World: Photography and its Nation* (Boston, MA: MIT Press, 2006) (on the USA in the 1950s); Justin Carville, "A Sympathetic Look: Documentary Humanism and Irish Identity in Dorothea Lange's Irish Country People," in *Affecting Irishness: The Greening of Ireland*, edited by P. Kirwan and J. Byrne (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009): 197-217.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Hallett, "Obituary: Stefan Lorant," *Independent*, 17 November 1997.

<sup>11</sup> Stuart Hall, "The Social Eye of *Picture Post*" [1972] in "*Down the Bay*": *Picture Post, Humanist Photography and Images of 1950s Cardiff* (Cardiff: Butetown, 2001), 69; John Hartley, *The Uses of Television* (London: Routledge, 1999), 112. Grierson's contribution to a unionist portrayal of Scottish identity in film is discussed in Andrew Blaikie, *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 53-94.

<sup>12</sup> David Marcou, *All the Best: Britain's Picture Post Magazine* (2010) [http://lacrossehistory.org/literature/AlltheBest\(2010\).pdf](http://lacrossehistory.org/literature/AlltheBest(2010).pdf) (Accessed Nov. 2012): 147; Hall, "Social Eye," 69. English regions, particularly the industrial north, were treated similarly to Scotland, being regarded as equally different from the London metropolitan world in which the periodical was based.

<sup>13</sup> For a Scottish case study see Pille Petersoo, "What Does 'We' Mean? National Deixis in the Media," *Journal of Language and Politics*, 6 (2007): 419-36.

<sup>14</sup> Tom Normand, *Scottish Photography: A History* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2007), 100-101.

<sup>15</sup> Christopher Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes* (London: Arnold, 1981), 140, 127.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Howells, "Self-Portrait: The Sense of Self in British Documentary Photography," *National Identities*, 4 (2002): 101-118 (101).

<sup>17</sup> "The Story of the Kilt," 11 Jan. 1941: 29-31; "These Men Built 'Queen Elizabeth'," 1 Oct. 1938: 20-21; "A Ship is Born," 15 Mar. 1952: 40-41; "A War Artist on the Clyde," 2 Oct. 1943: 7-11; "The Land We're Fighting For," 3 Jan. 1942: 7-10. [References to *Picture Post* are indicated by the title of the article. Authors were not consistently given by-lines, nor photographers credited before 1945.]

- <sup>18</sup> “The Land We’re Fighting For,” 9; “A Deer Shoot,” 17 May 1941: 20-3 (20); “The Story of the Kilt”: 29; “The Forgotten Gorbals,” 31 Jan. 1948: 11-16.
- <sup>19</sup> 12 Mar. 1955: 19-24 (19).
- <sup>20</sup> “Glasgow,” 1 April, 1939: 43-51; “The Forgotten Gorbals;” Blaikie, *Scots Imagination*, 199-225.
- <sup>21</sup> David Mellor, “Brandt’s Phantasms,” *Aperture*, 99 (1985), 73.
- <sup>22</sup> 17 Oct. 1953: 13-18 (40).
- <sup>23</sup> “The Problems of the Drifter-Men,” 17 Aug. 1946: 22-5; “The Poles in Scotland,” 2 Apr. 1955: 47-50.
- <sup>24</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 448.
- <sup>25</sup> Colin Seymour-Ure, “Hulton, Sir Edward George Warris (1906-1988),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- <sup>26</sup> “Are Scots French Citizens?,” 12 Nov. 1955: 31, 34; “Bruce Walks Again,” 29 Sep. 1951: 18-20.
- <sup>27</sup> Richard Finlay, “Controlling the Past,” *Scottish Affairs*, 9 (1994), 136.
- <sup>28</sup> “How History was Made in the Year 1938,” 31 Dec. 1938: 10-17; “Scots Welcome Their Queen,” 12 Jul. 1952: 15-20.
- <sup>29</sup> “The Queen in the Islands,” 25 Aug. 1956: 16-19 (17).
- <sup>30</sup> 30 Apr. 1955: 41.
- <sup>31</sup> “Where the Highland Division Now in Libya Comes From,” 21 Nov. 1942: 22-4 (22).
- <sup>32</sup> “The 200<sup>th</sup> Liberator comes in to Prestwick,” 31 Mar. 1945: 7-10; “7,000 Frasers,” 14 Jul. 1951: 21-3; “The Highlander’s Day Out,” 31 Aug. 1946: 24-5; “The Story of the Kilt”.
- <sup>33</sup> RL, 14 Jan. 1939: 60.
- <sup>34</sup> “Scotland and Home Rule,” 8 Jul. 1939: 46-50 (46); Harvie, *No Gods*, 134.
- <sup>35</sup> RL, 8 Jul. 1939: 63.
- <sup>36</sup> RL, 29 Jul. 1939: 66.
- <sup>37</sup> RL, 18 Apr. 1953: 4.
- <sup>38</sup> “Scotland Wants a New Deal,” 13 Oct. 1945: 25-6 (26).

<sup>39</sup> “Will Scotland Achieve Self-government?,” 5 May 1950: 36-9, 49 (39). Unusually, the fact of Roberston’s being a Scot lends significance to the tone he adopts.

<sup>40</sup> 25 April 1953: 13-15 (15).

<sup>41</sup> RL, 9 May 1953: 4.

<sup>42</sup> “Scots Who Guard Their Queen,” 27 Jun. 1953: 33, 35 (35).

<sup>43</sup> RL, 2 Sep. 1939: 65; RL, 19 Nov. 1949: 51; RL, 23 Oct. 1943: 3; RL, 27 May 1950: 9; RL, 5 May 1951: 43. RL, 21 Jan. 1953: 5 refers to the infamous blowing up of an “E II R” pillar box.

<sup>44</sup> “President of the Board of Trade, Sir Andrew Duncan,” 1 Jun. 1940: 20.

<sup>45</sup> “Farmer Earl from the Border,” 26 Jan. 1952: 11-13.

<sup>46</sup> 19 Mar. 1955: 23-5; 16 Jul. 1955: 29.

<sup>47</sup> “The Reluctant Genius,” 15 Oct. 1955: 21-3; 9 Apr. 1955: 50; “Naomi, Friend of the Gaels,” 8 Oct. 1955: 36; “A Great Scotsman Hits Out, in - A Great Fishing Controversy,” 8 Oct. 1955: 20-4. Mitchison’s husband Dick was a Labour MP.

<sup>48</sup> “Sir William Wallace: A Scot to Remember,” 20 Aug. 1955: 32; 11 Jun. 1955: 33.

<sup>49</sup> “Deer-Stalking in the Highlands,” 9 Oct. 1943: 17-20; “The Glorious Twelfth,” 13 Aug. 1955: 26-32; “The Clyde’s Great Fortnight,” 9 Aug. 1947: 22-5; “The Calcutta Cup and Triple Crown,” 19 Mar. 1955: 26, 28; “Skiground in Britain,” 21 Feb. 1953: 18-19.

<sup>50</sup> “Queen’s Park: League Football’s Last Amateurs Have Their Backs to the Wall,” 2 Feb. 1952: 37-8, 41.

<sup>51</sup> “Glasgow’s Football War,” 15 Oct. 1949: 20-4 (20).

<sup>52</sup> RL, 5 Nov. 1949: 45.

<sup>53</sup> RL, 3 Dec. 1949: 55.

<sup>54</sup> “Edinburgh’s Festival,” 20 Sep. 1947: 7 ff; “Is this Festival Drama?,” 16 Sep. 1950: 36-40; “Bohemians of the Royal Mile,” 10 Sep. 1955: 33-5.

<sup>55</sup> 5 Nov. 1938: 40-5; 24 Dec. 1938; “In Praise of Robert Burns,” 27 Apr. 1946: 21-4; “RLS - Heir of the Romantics,” 11 Nov. 1950: 22-5; “Scotland’s Great Comics,” 26 Mar. 1955: 35-7; “Rep on Wheels,” 2 Feb. 1952: 32-4; “Glasgow’s Gladdest Rag,” 7 Feb. 1953: 11; “A Scottish Choir Charms London,” 7 May 1955. See also: “Vincent Winter – Scotland’s Youngest Film Star,” 30 Jan. 1954: 30; “A World Premiere for Glasgow,” 30 Apr. 1955: 17-18.

<sup>56</sup> “Parish Kirk,” 4 Nov. 1944: 12-13 (12); “The Singing Minister,” 23 Apr. 1955: 17-19; “A New Idea in Industry: the Factory Parson,” 30 Mar. 1946: 12-15 (12).

<sup>57</sup> “Iona belongs to Glasgow,” 6 Aug. 1955: 29-32 (29); “On the Holy Island of Iona,” 3 Oct. 1942: 12-15.

<sup>58</sup> RL, 6 Dec. 1952: 47.

<sup>59</sup> “Seamy Side of Five Cities,” 20 Dec. 1952: 33, 35 (35).

<sup>60</sup> RL, 14 Feb. 1948: 28. Housing black-spots were also candidly observed in Edinburgh (30 Jan. 1954: 16-21 (20). Cf. “Aberdeen – Granite City with a Heart,” 17 Apr. 1954: 21-3, 53 (23).

<sup>61</sup> RL, 4 Feb. 1950: 8; “The Hospital of the Future,” 9 Jul. 1955: 17-20.

<sup>62</sup> “Scots Food – Not So Plain,” 23 Apr. 1955: 20.

<sup>63</sup> “Educate Our Children!,” 2 Dec. 1939: 46.

<sup>64</sup> “The Craigston Experiment,” 8 Sep. 1945: 24-5; “The School for Character,” 18 Jun. 1955: 34-6.

<sup>65</sup> “Close-Up of a Young Thug,” 13 Dec. 1952: 47.

<sup>66</sup> 25 May 1940: 6.

<sup>67</sup> “The Clyde’s Great Fortnight,” 9 Aug. 1947; “Catch-and-Fry Holiday,” 24 Sep. 1955: 47, 51; “To Horse in the Highlands,” 6 Jul. 1952: 44-6; “Celtic Journey,” 8 Jun. 1946: 22-5; “Highland Beauties: A Camera Holiday,” 8 Sep. 1945: 14-15; “Sea-Cliffs of the North,” 19 Jun. 1948; “The Edge of Britain,” 27 Nov. 1948: 27-9; “Scotland in the Snow,” 12 Mar. 1955: 19-24.

<sup>68</sup> RL, 17 Jan. 1942: 3.

<sup>69</sup> RL, 7 Apr. 1945: 3; RL, 28 Apr. 1945: 3.

<sup>70</sup> RL, 14 Feb. 1948: 28.

<sup>71</sup> RL, 28 Jan. 1939: 77.

<sup>72</sup> RL, 19 Aug. 1939: 66; RL, 9 Sep. 1939: 67.

<sup>73</sup> Paul Rennie, “Social Vision: Visual Culture and Social Democracy in Britain during World War II,” *Journal of War and Culture Studies* (2008): 243-59; B. Short, D. Gilbert and D. Matless, “Historical Geographies of British Modernity,” in *Geographies of British Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 9.

<sup>74</sup> T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), 551-2.

<sup>75</sup> Finlay, “Controlling the past,” 135.

- <sup>76</sup> Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 553-4; "Highlands Give Power to Britain," 17 Jan. 1948: 8-11.
- <sup>77</sup> "A Power Scheme for the Highlands," 13 Mar. 1943: 14-17.
- <sup>78</sup> RL, 3 Apr. 1943: 3.
- <sup>79</sup> 22 Sep. 1945: 18-19 (19).
- <sup>80</sup> "Highlands Give Power," 8, 9, 11.
- <sup>81</sup> "Re-building Programme for Britain's Trees," 29 Sep. 1945: 16-20; "Ranching in the Highlands," 4 Nov. 1950: 18-21; "The Highlander's Last Chance?," 21 Nov. 1953: 22; 11 Aug. 1945: 16-18. On the complex politics of reconstruction see John A. Burnett, *The Making of the Modern Scottish Highlands, 1939-1965* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2010): 95-134.
- <sup>82</sup> 2 Jan. 1955: 3, 14, 24-5, 41-50 (41).
- <sup>83</sup> "A Letter to Scotland," 12 Mar. 1955: 5; "The Rona Anderson I Know," 12 Mar. 1955: 31.
- <sup>84</sup> "London Cheers a Glasgow Girl," 19 Mar. 1955 (cover).
- <sup>85</sup> 26 Mar. 1955: 19-22; 9 Apr. 1955: 33.
- <sup>86</sup> "Under, or Over, the Forth," 16 Apr. 1955: 33-6.
- <sup>87</sup> 23 Apr. 1955: 41-3.
- <sup>88</sup> RL, 16 Apr. 1955: 48-52, 7.
- <sup>89</sup> "A Scottish Village that Lives by Coal," 19 Mar. 1955: 37-42.
- <sup>90</sup> RL, 16 Apr. 1955: 7. *Trouble in the Glen* was a 1954 comedy film criticised for its sentimental stereotyping of Gaelic "charm".
- <sup>91</sup> RL, 1 Jan. 1953: 5.
- <sup>92</sup> "Too Much "London" in TV?," 1 Aug. 1953: 36.
- <sup>93</sup> "Under My Bonnet," 7 May 1955: 40; "The Royal Mile," 14 May 1955: 37-41, 42; 26 Mar. 1955: 19-22.
- <sup>94</sup> Short, "Historical Geographies," 3-4.
- <sup>95</sup> Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1975); Ian Carter, "Economic Models and the History of the Highlands," *Scottish Studies*, 15 (1971): 99-120.
- <sup>96</sup> Finlay, "Controlling the Past," 136.
- <sup>97</sup> "The Capital of the Highlands," 17 Sep. 1955: 33-5 (33).
- <sup>98</sup> 23 Jul. 1955: 17-20 (17, 19).
- <sup>99</sup> "The Crofters' Isle," 3 Sep. 1955: 17-20.
- <sup>100</sup> 28 May 1955: 21-3 (21); "The "Buts" of Lewis," 28 May 1955: 24, 27-8.

- <sup>101</sup> “Lewis: Cherished in War – Neglected in Peace,” 5 Jul. 1952: 29-33.
- <sup>102</sup> “Shark Hunting,” 21 Sep. 1946: 7-10; “Farewell to an Island,” 11 Jul. 1953: 17-19.
- <sup>103</sup> “RL, 10 Sep. 1955: 5.
- <sup>104</sup> “The Fighting Priest of Eochar,” 15 Oct. 1955: 33-6.
- <sup>105</sup> “The Crofters’ Isle,” 20.
- <sup>106</sup> “No Future for the Highlands?,” 24 Sep. 1955: 34-6.
- <sup>107</sup> 4 Jun. 1955: 37-40.
- <sup>108</sup> “What Salmon Means to Scotland,” 27 Aug. 1955: 18-20.
- <sup>109</sup> “Atomic Power Puts “A Coalmine in a Ball of Steel”,” 14 Jul. 1956: 16-17, 19 (17).
- <sup>110</sup> “Glasgow Sets Out for the Clyde,” 17 Jul. 1954: 20-22 (22).
- <sup>111</sup> “Scots Who Work for Uncle Sam,” 23 Apr. 1955: 29-32.
- <sup>112</sup> “Under My Bonnet,” 2 Jul 1955: 41.
- <sup>113</sup> “Let Glasgow Flourish,” 20 Aug. 1955: 17-20 (17).
- <sup>114</sup> “Is Auld Killie Slump-Proof?,” 1 Oct. 1955: 33-6 (33).
- <sup>115</sup> “Let Glasgow Flourish,” 19.
- <sup>116</sup> “Drinking a Legend,” 30 Apr. 1955: 20; “Curling Stones: Scotland’s Unique and Booming Export,” 22 Oct. 1955: 38-9.
- <sup>117</sup> 9 Jul. 1955: 17.
- <sup>118</sup> 18 Mar. 1957: 6-7.
- <sup>119</sup> Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860*. (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1999).
- <sup>120</sup> 2 Jan. 1955: 55.
- <sup>121</sup> “No Road This Way?,” 25 Jun. 1955: 41-3 (42).
- <sup>122</sup> “Scotland Lost a Flying Start,” 17 Jul. 1955: 21-3 (21); RL, 24 Sep. 1955: 5.
- <sup>123</sup> “Will Scotland Achieve Self-Government?”
- <sup>124</sup> Notes for speech by Sir Alexander King at a News Conference in the Central Hotel, Glasgow, 21 Nov. 1962: 1. Ref: 4/11/322, Scottish Film Archive, Glasgow.
- <sup>125</sup> “Life at the Elephant,” 8 Jan. 1949; “Down the Bay,” 22 April 1950.