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ABSTRACT

The role played by anti-Scottishness in English political culture has been briefly explored by historians, who have focused overwhelmingly on the hostile response to the earl of Bute in the 1760s. This article puts that episode into a longer perspective by looking at the ways in which political prints represented Scots across the long eighteenth century. By examining the antecedents of the Bute episode and the subsequent history of a politicised anti-Scottishness it aims, first, to suggest how political prints can be used to explore the interaction between politics and both popular and elite culture and, secondly, to demonstrate that foregrounding the issue of anti-Scottishness in English political culture can help to nuance our understanding of English and British patriotisms in the long eighteenth century.

Numerous commentators have, over the past decade and more, addressed the notion of a 'crisis' of Englishness and this has had a discernable impact on the historiography of national identities.[2] The roles of both Scottish nationalism and Scotland's evolving constitutional position within the UK have played no small part in the contemporary debate. In particular, questions pertaining to the relationship between nationality and the politics of the constitution were briefly raised by the prospect of a Scottish politician, with a power base in a devolved Scotland, taking over the reins of a UK parliament. Gordon Brown certainly took the prospect of an insurgent 'Englishness' seriously enough to spend a good deal of effort in 'ham-fisted attempts at identity politics' (even to the extent of proclaiming his support for

[2] For recent work dealing with Englishness see Robert Colls, *Identity of England* (Oxford, 2002); Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge, 2003); Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character 1650–1850* (Oxford, 2000); Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of An Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven and London, 2006).

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the English football team).[3] The press attention to this issue involved visual representations that played on Brown's Scottishness, and visual and textual comment that associated him with what are seen as quintessentially Scottish values: in particular, thrift, humourlessness and a kind of autocratic clannishness. Indeed, the wider prominence of Scots in Labour governments at Westminster even after devolution prompted considerable comment from the English press and some attempts to historicise this critique of the 'undue influence' of Scottish politicians.[4]

Of course this pivotal role of nationality in politics is no new phenomenon. It has, however, been a long time since John Brewer's investigation of popular politics on the accession of George III explored the earl of Bute's Scottishness as a source of his unpopularity and a ready stick with which a hostile media could beat him.[5] This quintessential episode of anti-Scottishness also featured in Linda Colley's justly influential account of the development of a sense of Britishness during the long eighteenth century. For her the very prevalence of anti-Scottishness in the 1760s was evidence of how well the Union was starting to work and that 'the barriers between England and Scotland were coming down'.[6]

This article aims to complement both of these explanations by examining areas that are left unexplored. Brewer's work, understandably, did not put the hostility aimed at Bute and Scottish politicians more generally in any wider chronological context. He is certainly right, however, to suggest that anti-Bute propaganda rested on a popular anti-Scottishness of longer provenance, stretching back to 1745 and before. So too Colley, whose principal concern was to explain and anatomise the growth of Britishness after *c*.1745, paid less attention to the continued existence of a virulent and, at times, politically significant anti-Scottishness after the response to Bute's premiership. Partly with a view to nuancing Colley's account, some scholars have rightly pointed to the continuing capaciousness of the idea of 'patriotism' both during and after the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.[7] It is one aim of this article to explore how far a politicised anti-Scottishness persisted as a constituent element of oppositional patriotisms after its mobilisation against the earl of Bute. At the centre of this argument is the idea that Britishness was in part 'forged' against an 'other' much closer to home than the

[3] Colin Kidd, 'Brown v. Salmond', *London Review of Books* 29 (Apr. 2007).

[4] Roland Quinault, 'Scots on Top? Tartan Power at Westminster, 1707–2007', *History Today* (Jul. 2007) 30–6; David Stenhouse, *On the Make: How the Scots took over London* (Edinburgh, 2004), ch. 1.

[5] John Brewer, 'The Misfortunes of Lord Bute: A Case-Study in Eighteenth-Century Political Argument and Opinion', *Historical Journal* 16 (1973) 3–43.

[6] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven and London, 1992), 121.

[7] See particularly Philip Harling, 'The Duke of York Affair (1809) and the Complexities of Wartime Patriotism', *Historical Journal* 39 (1996) 963–84.

French. Especially after 1745, English-Britishness was also developed in opposition to the Scots, or rather, to particular images of Scotland and Scottishness, which saw them as a political, cultural and social threat.[8]

The final purpose of this article is to suggest that a systematic examination of the history of anti-Scottishness in English political culture might offer some illuminating conclusions. It aims to open this possibility principally by exploring the numerous representations of Scots that can be found in the political prints of the long eighteenth century. In using political prints as source material, questions of methodology – how such prints can be 'read' and what they might tell us – are paramount and are explored in the opening section. The remainder explores developments in the representation of Scots in three chronological sections. First, and very briefly, the period between the Union of 1707 and the rebellion of 1745–6 will be considered. In these years there were few images of Scots and these did little in terms of establishing an iconography of Scottishness. Second, the period including the rebellion itself and the Bute premiership is addressed. Bute's tenure was brief but its impact on images of Scots was very long lasting. Brewer's concern in 1972 was to demonstrate the political sinews of this anti-Scottishness and to demonstrate that Bute after 1760 provided a shorthand version of the developing Whig critique of the 'King's Friends' and secret influence.[9] Recent approaches to the episode, however, have demonstrated the possibility of moving beyond a consideration of its more narrowly constitutional implications.[10] Likewise, this article asks different questions, principally how this period – one of national crisis – established images of Scots which focused on nationality and pushed a certain critique of 'Scotch politics' that chimed with and underlined a strong anti-Scottish critique within English popular politics.[11] Nationality and ethnicity are foregrounded, while issues of constitutional development and political argument take a back seat. The third and final section will explore the subsequent history of this iconography. Bute was far from the last politician in the long eighteenth century to be characterised and criticised on the basis of his nationality and, in particular, the figure of Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, loomed large in British politics. Exploration of the graphic response to Dundas allows us to explore not only the extent to which the critique of Bute's Scottishness was an enduring one but also the

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[8] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge, 1995), 168–70.

[9] Brewer, 'Misfortunes'; John Brewer, 'The Faces of Lord Bute: A Visual Contribution to Anglo-American Political Ideology', *Perspectives in American History* 6 (1972) 95–116; Ian R. Christie, *Myth and Reality in Late-Eighteenth-Century British Politics* (London, 1970), 27–54; Frank O'Gorman, 'The Myth of Lord Bute's Secret Influence', in Karl W. Schweizer (ed.), *Lord Bute: Essays in Re-interpretation* (Leicester, 1988), 57–81.

[10] Anna Clark, *Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution* (Princeton, 2004), ch. 2.

[11] For a compelling interpretation of this period see R. Harris, *Politics and the Nation: Britain in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2002).

reasons for the decline of a strong anti-Scottish component in English
political culture by the middle of the nineteenth century.

I

As it developed from the middle of the seventeenth century a trade
in 'political prints' underwent a number of changes that mirrored
wider shifts in the English print trade. Importantly, the trade moved
away from a dependence on continental models and artists to become
a flourishing domestic endeavour, especially from the middle of the
eighteenth century.[12] These developments culminated in a so-called
'Golden Age' after *c*. 1770 until the 1820s, the rise and fall of which
has framed the most recent (and many previous) studies of political
and satirical prints.[13] In identifying the object of our study among this
mushrooming visual culture, Eirwen Nicholson's arguments about the
need for terminological clarity are well made. In referring to 'political
prints', all prints pertaining to political issues, events and personalities
are included, whether these were satirical in intent or not and regardless
of whether they used the artistic technique of caricature.[14]

In terms of how historians should approach and use this material,
two issues seem paramount. First, there is the question of the market
and the audience for political prints. This is a vexed question, perhaps
impossible to answer entirely satisfactorily, but some of the best work has
demonstrated that any kind of easy association of the 'visual' with the
'popular' is unsustainable. The location of printshops, the price of their
wares, and the ways in which these were used all suggest a market and
an audience primarily among the upper classes, though expanding into
the middle classes, along with so much else, from the 1770s. In addition,
prints, even if limited numbers did make it to provincial markets, were
essentially a metropolitan medium, a conversation largely restricted to
the peculiar cultural marketplace of London. Their dependence on the
ebb and flow of political life is indicated by a sales cycle that closely
shadowed the sittings of parliament, when, of course, there was material
to inspire political printmakers and an audience for their productions.[15]
What this suggests in terms of methodology is that if prints can tell us

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[12] Tim Clayton, *The English Print, 1688–1802* (New Haven and London, 1997).

[13] Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III*
(New Haven and London, 1996); Tamara L. Hunt, *Defining John Bull: Political
Caricature and National Identity in Late Georgian England* (Aldershot, 2003); Cindy
McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late-Eighteenth-Century England*
(Oxford, 2004); V. A. C. Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century
London* (London, 2006).

[14] Eirwen C. Nicholson, 'English Political Prints and Pictorial Political Argument
c. 1640–1832: A Study in Historiography and Methodology', unpublished PhD thesis
(University of Edinburgh, 1994), 482–93. Engraved portraits have been excluded
from this study for reasons of space, though it is certainly arguable that they ought to
be considered as political prints.

[15] Eirwen C. Nicholson, 'Consumers and Spectators: The Public of the Political Print in
Eighteenth-Century England', *History* 81 (1996) 5–21. A case for a wider distribution
outside of London is made in Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, ch. 8.

anything, they can tell us how engravers and printsellers attempted to fashion visual interpretations of politics and something of the concerns of those among the political classes who formed the principal audience of the prints.

If they were primarily a metropolitan luxury, however, the manner in which they should be approached does open them up a little more. The most sophisticated accounts abandon a linear notion of an uncomplicated progression from prints that were 'emblematic' and thus arcane, to those which were 'expressionistic' and so approach more closely our modern notion of what constitutes a 'cartoon'.[16] Political prints were and remained an artistic hybrid. To take only the best known example, Gillray's satires could be as full of emblematic devices as any seventeenth-century print.[17] The very hybridity and range of references made within political prints is an additional caution against generalisations of the type that equate the visual with the popular.

As such, it is important to explore the nature of this hybridity to understand the prints themselves. First and foremost, political prints were self-referential – there was a good deal of copying, pirating and modifying from earlier and contemporaneous prints. Beyond this, however, as the groundbreaking work of Mark Hallett has demonstrated, prints had referents in diverse genres, both 'elite' and 'popular', from high academic art, book illustration, and theatre to images of fairs and festivals and popular crowd rituals. They should be investigated as an 'eclectic, multi-referential form of pictorial and textual dialogue' and so can be read alongside numerous other sources.[18] This means that prints can give some insight beyond the concerns of metropolitan elites and might even provide privileged access to the 'unspoken attitudes, fears or understandings of those silent majorities about whom contemporary books, pamphlets or newspapers tell us little'.[19]

II

An iconography of Scottishness and representations of Scots are difficult to locate before 1745. There was little graphic material to match the virulent political critique of Scots forwarded by, among others, Jonathan Swift, which would help to furnish the polemical repertoire of later writers such as John Wilkes and William Cobbett.[20] The reasons for this might be obvious. Most importantly, the production of political prints

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[16] Donald, *Age of Caricature*, ch. 2; Nicholson, 'English Political Prints', ch. 4.

[17] Mark Hallett, 'James Gillray and the Language of Graphic Satire', in Richard Godfrey (ed.) *James Gillray: The Art of Caricature* (London, 2001), 22–39; Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, ch. 9.

[18] Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London, 1999), 2.

[19] Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, 12.

[20] Christopher Fox, 'Swift's Scotophobia', *Bullán: A Journal of Irish Studies* 6 (2002) 43–66.

took off only from mid-century. Additionally, Scottish MPs were initially welcomed to the new Imperial Parliament, where, after 1707, English MPs could very much treat sessions as business-as-usual.[21] There was little immediate sense of a distinctive bloc of Scottish MPs from which to devise hostile images. The Union itself stimulated very little in terms of a graphic response and political events which we might expect to have inspired some kind of attempt to represent Scots seem not to have done so.[22] The 1715 rebellion, however, did provide an opportunity, though not one comparable in scale to the stimulus to representations of Scots provided by 1745. Such rare examples as did exist tended to play on images of Scots current from the seventeenth century, in particular, that of the blue-bonneted Presbyterian.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century, Scots tended to be identified by one or both of two external means – either sartorially, or emblematically. Sartorially, it was not until 1745 that tartan was to become a very prominent means of identifying a Scottish figure. Before this the principal marker was the Scots 'blue bonnet'. This appeared, for example, in a seventeenth-century woodcut used to illustrate a number of ballads and political sheets.[23] In some instances, such as the frontispiece to *The Dissembling Scot*, the image of a bonneted Scotsman was tied very specifically to a notion of political behaviour, where religion was used as a cloak for rebellion and other crimes.[24] It played on the kind of hostility to Scots that was current across the English political spectrum at mid-century but could emanate from widely divergent positions. For example, one particular form of hostility – to the Scot as the seditious Presbyterian – received eloquent expression in the Royalist John Cleveland's 1643 production, *The Rebel Scot*.[25] This was far removed from another developing critique after 1660, which centred on supposed Scottish preferences for continental-style absolutism and was nourished by the perception that Lauderdale was using Scotland as a 'political laboratory' to exactly this end.[26]

If national costume was used as an emblem of political behaviour, tartan was used to demarcate political outsiders, in particular, Jacobite

[21] D. W. Hayton (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1690–1715*, 5 vols (Cambridge, 2002), i, 509–25.

[22] For a rare example of the Union figuring in a political print see *The Ass Age or the World in Hieroglyphick*, in F. G. Stephens and M. D. George, *Catalogue of Personal and Political Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* [hereafter *BMC*], 11 vols (London, 1870–1954), no. 1475. This engraved broadside depicts a Scot attesting 'We made 'em buy the V— n pretty dear'.

[23] *BMC*, nos 287–90.

[24] Samuel Chidley, *The Dissembling Scot set forth in his Coulours; or a Vindication of Lieu. Col. John Lilburn and Others* (London, 1652).

[25] This poem that was frequently reprinted over the next century and a half, for example, in [Edward Ward], *A Journey to Scotland giving the Character of that Country, the People and their Manners. By an English Gentleman. With a Letter from an Officer there, and a Poem on the same Subject* (London, 1699), 14–16.

[26] Allan I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007), 80.
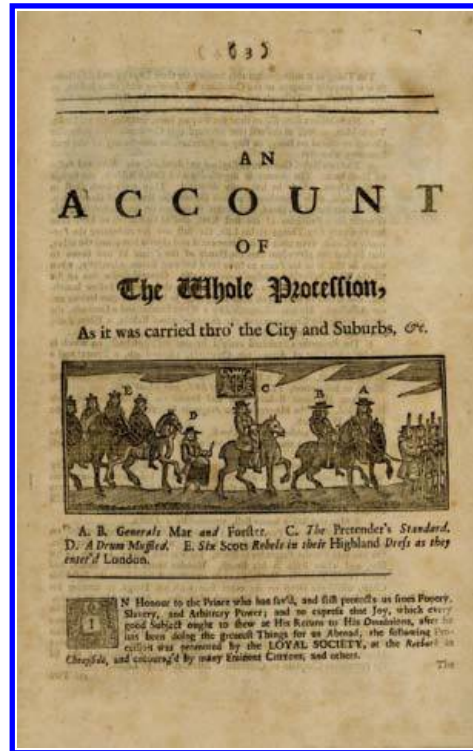
Figure 1: *An Account of the Whole Procession as it was Carried thro' the City and Suburbs* (London, 1717). Source: F. G. Stephens and M. D. George, *Catalogue of Personal and Political Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* [hereafter *BMC*], 11 vols (London, 1870–1954), no. 1607. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

rebels, rather less frequently than might be supposed. While it enjoyed considerable exposure in textual sources, among them the poetry of Allan Ramsay, and members of polite society may have seen it with their own eyes, tartan seems to have been used only occasionally in visual sources.[27] Its use in the woodcuts that illustrated a three-pence pamphlet of 1717 detailing a procession of pope, devil and pretender sponsored by a loyalist society is instructive, however, of how it would increasingly come to be used from the 1740s. Here the effigies of four Scots on a horse at the rear of a procession link their bonnets and plaid to a range of symbols expressive of the 'otherness' of Catholicism and arbitrary government.[28]

[27] Robin Nicholson, *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Making of a Myth: A Study in Portraiture* (London, 2002), 63; Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* (Edinburgh, 1995), 27–30; William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity* (Aberdeen, 1988), ch. 6.
[28] Wilson, *Sense of the People*, 91–3.

Costume was joined in frequency by the thistle, which often appeared alongside Scottish figures to identify their nationality. This continued into the eighteenth century and the thistle could be used as a representation of political characteristics. One of the best examples is found in the frontispiece to *A Collection of State Flowers*. This anti-Walpolean satirical poem portrayed Walpole as the patronage-distributing sunflower to which all lesser plants bowed. The text underlined another characteristic that would be increasingly attributed to the Scots in British politics – servility and the sycophantic pursuit of place and profit:

> At length the *Thistle* shows its *prickly Face*,
> And sues in *Forma Paup'* for some *small Place*,
> For tho' in *Britain* like a Weed it grows,
> The *Northern* Gent prefer it to the *Rose*.[29]

The point was even more forcefully made by graphic means on the frontispiece. Sixteen thistles, representing the sixteen Scottish representative peers, bow low in the shade of the sunflower with the tag: 'We speak for the ready.'

Before 1745, however, there was very little graphic material that represented Scots and there was certainly no iconography that uncomplicatedly demarcated Scottishness as associated with a range of political and behavioural traits. This is demonstrated in the graphic experience of the one Scottish politician who did inspire a number of representations before 1745, Archibald Campbell, 2nd duke of Argyll.[30] On balance, the representations of Argyll were positive. This is perhaps unsurprising, given that those doing the representing were often supporters of the patriot opposition to Walpole and so viewed in a positive light the actions of Argyll, who, from 1740 and the resignation of all of his government appointments, played a prominent role in this opposition.[31] Frequently little was done to identify Argyll's nationality. Even when his Scottishness was identified, it could be done in a positive manner as well as to suggest political jobbing and servility.[32]

Between 1707 and 1745 the overwhelming picture is of this ambiguity. If there was some development of an iconography of Scottishness, it was not used frequently nor was it used consistently. Tartan could accompany a crude cut illustrating an incident in the anti-Jacobite rituals of a London crowd, or a sophisticated print which dwelt on the unassailably Whiggish and patriot qualities of the duke of Argyll. There was only infrequent use of any means to identify

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[29] *BMC*, no. 2025; *A Collection of State Flowers* (London, 1734), 11.
[30] John Stuart Shaw, *The Political History of Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Basingstoke, 1999), chs 2–3.
[31] Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole* (Oxford, 1994); Vincent Carretta, *The Snarling Muse: Verbal and Visual Political Satire from Pope to Churchill* (Philadelphia, 1983), ch. 2.
[32] *BMC*, nos 2420, 2450, 2478, 2491.

Scottish politicians *qua* Scots. The impression is altogether that Scotland and its politicians did not force themselves into the consciousness of English printmakers or their markets to an extent that would stimulate a significant graphic response. Just as was the case with native Americans and with the American colonies more generally, it would take a period of extraordinary exposure to Scots and an expansion of print culture to generate an iconography with which Scots could consistently be identified.[33]

III

Exposure came with the Jacobite rebellion of 1745–6. From that event to the American Revolution, English and, to an extent, imperial audiences were exposed to representations of Scots in volume. As the work of Bob Harris has demonstrated, the rising was an eighteenth-century 'news event', which stimulated notable developments in both the metropolitan and provincial press.[34] More importantly, the rebellion stimulated the production of an unprecedented number of prints representing the Scots and so helped, by repetition, to fix an iconography of Scottishness. This centred on Scottish political behaviour, especially linking it to the undesirable (from a Hanoverian-Whig point of view, constellation of values associated with both Frenchness and Jacobitism – arbitrary government and tyranny, popery and superstition) meagre diet and wooden shoes.[35] It relied for its force on representations which owed their origins to a range of sources and offered printmakers a variety of apparently less political qualities relating to personal hygiene, diet, sexual potency and the like with which to pillory Scots.

In the very crudest terms the graphic response to the '45 had two strands – Jacobite and loyalist. These two played off one another and between them helped to establish a more enduring iconography of Scottishness. The prominence of Jacobitism in eighteenth-century material culture has been well attested and catalogued.[36] Paul Monod, in particular, has made an eloquent case for seeing the profusion of images after 1745 as a political strategy of Charles Edward Stuart, who was

[33] Troy O. Bickham, *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005); Lester C. Olson, *Emblems of American Community in the Revolutionary Era* (Washington, DC, 1991).

[34] Bob Harris, 'England's Provincial Newspapers and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745–1746', *History* 80 (1995) 5–21.

[35] Michael Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner* (Cambridge, 1986), 31–9.

[36] A good survey of the range of Jacobite culture is Murray G. H. Pittock, 'The Culture of Jacobitism', in Jeremy Black (ed.), *Culture and Society in Britain, 1660–1800* (Manchester, 1997), 124–45. See also Hugh Cheape, 'The Culture and Material Culture of Jacobitism', in Michael Lynch (ed.), *Jacobitism and the '45* (London, 1995), 32–48; *The Drambuie Collection: The Art Collection of the Drambuie Liqueur Collection* (Edinburgh, 1995); L. M. Bickerton, *Eighteenth-Century English Drinking Glasses: An Illustrated Guide* (Woodbridge, 1986), chs 14–15; Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (Aldershot, 1996).

prepared to be more 'populist' in tone than his father or grandfather.[37] One of the features of this graphic response was the 'Scotticisation' of the Pretender, a phenomenon in literary sources from at least the 1720s.[38] The distribution of these images was, according to Monod, an attempt both to contest a developing iconography of Frederick, Prince of Wales and, by depicting Charles Edward Stuart as a Highlander, to associate him with a discourse of patriotism, which could set his manly virtue against the corrupt effeminacy of Hanoverian rule.[39] There were sophisticated political ideas behind adopting the garb of a noble savage and underlining affinities with the 'Highland Laddie' of Jacobite song.

   That this was a conscious process of 'Scotticisation' is apparent from the fact that it could be done in an *ad hoc* manner. An engraving of the 1726 portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart by Antonio David, for example, was given an added Scots bonnet in later states.[40] The variety of ways in which that nebulous concept 'highland dress' was rendered also demonstrates that this was really the first concerted effort to represent Scottishness. Part of this is explained, of course, by the fact that much Jacobite art emanated from abroad and so one of the famous images, the so-called 'Harlequin' portrait of the Pretender, represents the uncertain efforts of a continental artist to depict a Scot.[41] What is notable is that representations of the Pretender in Scottish costume, after the 'Harlequin' and Sir Robert Strange portraits, are prominent in those prints that have survived in the largest numbers and which were 'probably among the most familiar images of their age'.[42]

   If Jacobite material culture has received significant attention, however, the fact that graphic artists friendly to the Hanoverians were going through a similar process of attempting to represent Scottishness has been all but ignored. The process occurred under the pressure of events and the demands of the market that crisis and controversy over Jacobitism created. While we ought to avoid metaphors comparing eighteenth-century prints with 'news flashes', they could represent a speedy though not immediate response to events.[43] Tim Clayton has shown, for example, that the first print to offer a visual interpretation of events at Culloden, news of which had reached London on 23 April, was advertised on 25 April.[44] Consequently, in many cases loyalists were forced by the pace of events to come up with these images quickly. In Edinburgh the engraver Richard Cooper modelled a print of Charles

[37] Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788* (Cambridge, 1989), ch. 3.
[38] Donaldson, *Jacobite Song*, ch. 6.
[39] Monod, *Jacobitism*, 80–92.
[40] Cheape, 'Culture and Material Culture of Jacobitism', 37–8.
[41] Nicholson, *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, 76–8; Sharp, *Engraved Record*, 42, 116.
[42] Sharp, *Engraved Record*, 40–3; Robin Nicholson, 'The Tartan Portraits of Prince Charles Edward Stuart: Identity and Iconography', *British Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 21 (1998) 145–60. For the disputed provenance of the 'Highlander' portrait see Nicholson, *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, 102–6.
[43] Nicholson, 'English Political Prints', 376–9.
[44] Clayton, *English Print*, 149.

on a figure from a print depicting four of the highlanders punished during the mutiny of the 43rd Foot in 1743, an event which had also pushed representations of Scots into print culture.[45] In some cases, this need for speed could mean the adaptation of frankly unsuitable images. In a print to accompany a broadside printed by J. Mechell on Fleet Street, the cloak and legs of a representation of a barbaric oriental, complete with exotic armour and scimitar, were given added hatching to give a crude tartan effect and a group of Highlanders with bonnets and targes were etched in the background. The print thus provided a kind of visual version of the rhetorical strategy of levelling charges of 'Turkish despotism' at Jacobites.[46]

These loyalist political prints picked out similar icons with which to associate Jacobitism with Scotland and Scottishness, but, of course, placed a different interpretation on them. In a mezzotint from January 1745, for example, bagpipes were mobilised not as a symbol of pristine and noble savagery, but to be placed in the hands of a mischievous satyr, who grins insipidly out of the picture and promises to lead the country into civil discord.[47] What the rush jobs, however, also point to is the extent to which in loyalist prints, as much as Jacobite ones, an exceptionally pared down iconography of Scottishness was enough to identify the subject. Representations of Scottishness were being rendered familiar due to the impetus of rebellion and the response to it.

This was continued long after the rebellion was over, for example, in prolonged graphic wrangling over the respective virtues of the Pretender and William duke of Cumberland.[48] A crucial development was the insinuation of representations and artefacts that could be associated with 'Scotch politics' into English political culture. The adoption of tartan, especially tartan waistcoats, by English opposition groups was one of the principal targets of Henry Fielding's Jacobite persona 'John Trott-Plaid' in his pro-Pelhamite *Jacobite's Journal*. The journal was aptly illustrated with a frontispiece design, probably by William Hogarth, which showed a friar leading an ass ridden by a man with a bonnet, glass and tartan waistcoat and a sword-wielding, tartan-clad woman.[49] The rival Whig and Tory Lichfield races, instituted after the rising, provided the opportunity to depict Tory gentlemen hunting with tartan-clad hounds, while the volatile politics of the metropolis also ensured that the Independent Electors of Westminster could be vilified by being represented through a Jacobite iconography.[50]

[45] Nicholson, *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, 65; *A Short History of the Highland Regiment* (London, 1743).

[46] British Museum Supplementary Satires, 1745 folder, *The POPE'S SCOURGE, or an exact Portraiture of a POPISH PRETENDER*.

[47] British Museum Supplementary Satires, 1745 folder, *The Young Pied Piper*.

[48] See *BMC*, nos 2790, 2832–4, 3037–42.

[49] W. B. Coley (ed.), *The Jacobite's Journal and Related Writings* (Oxford, 1974), 89; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 2 vols (New Haven and London, 1965), i, 276.

[50] *BMC*, nos 2856, 2859, 2864, 2865; Monod, *Jacobitism*, 239–41.

The rebellion of 1745–6 and the period immediately following it saw artists going through a process of coming to terms with Scotland and devising ways of representing Scottishness. Both Jacobite and loyalist political prints tended to use and re-use the same symbols to do so. This was a kind of slow grasping towards ways of representing Scottishness rather than the mobilisation of a pre-existing set of images. This *ad hoc* process was reflected in the prints for a long time as well, where tartan and highland dress, even making allowances for the difficulties imposed by the medium, could be very unconvincingly rendered. Neither side achieved a monopoly on the use of an iconography of Scottishness. Both imbued the same symbols with different meanings. The net result of this pictorial contest was, however, that Jacobitism, along with the range of political, religious and ideological traits associated with it, could henceforth be linked to an iconography of Scottishness.

IV

It was an iconography of Scottishness developed in response to the Jacobite rebellion, which would be used in the representation of Scots and 'Scotch politics' thereafter. The use of such icons continued to develop, however, under the impetus of peculiar and particular political, social and cultural changes. Two of these were particularly important. First, the increased hostility to a number of different 'out groups' – Jews, foreign Protestants and Scots among them – that developed between the 1740s and the 1760s, which recent accounts have characterised as an age framed by discourses of national and imperial crisis and revival, was of significance.[51] Secondly, the increased exposure of image-makers to Scots is important. Scots emigrated to and prospered in England to an increasing degree, especially in two areas that have a very direct bearing on the subject: politics and publishing.[52]

The reaction against Bute generated the most sustained flow of graphic material representing Scottish politicians. Accounts of this episode have tended to assign the anti-Scottishness either to political causes, where Bute's Scottishness, often evoked with the tropes of anti-Jacobitism, provided a ready shorthand for the threat to the constitution, or to the broader social and cultural angst caused by unprecedented levels of immigration by Scots and their visibility across a range of endeavours. This account seeks to nuance these explanations by both narrowing *and* broadening them. It seeks to ask: first, who were the people who devised, executed and circulated images of Scottishness during these years; secondly, what were the sources for this virulent attack on Scottish politicians; and thirdly, what does this demonstrate about the nature of Englishness and Britishness in this period?

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[51] Harris, *Politics and the Nation*, 1–21; Wilson, *Sense of the People*, ch. 3.
[52] For an excellent recent survey of Scots in England see Paul Langford, 'South Britons' Reception of North Britons, 1707–1820', in T. C. Smout (ed.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603 to 1900*, Proceedings of the British Academy 127 (Oxford, 2005), 143–69.

The first question is simple enough to answer in outline, though not in detail. The architects of anti-Scottishness were to be found among groups which occupied marginal positions in English culture. This was to an extent true of Wilkes himself, a dissenter operating on the fringes of aristocratic power politics and desirous of a greater role.[53] It was perhaps more true of his partner and co-author of the *North Briton*, Charles Churchill. A penurious priest, who, in the late 1750s, was trying to recover from bankruptcy by penning poems rejected by booksellers on the basis of their quality or libellous content, Churchill's first phenomenal success came in 1761 with the *Rosciad*. The cold reception of his poem in the *Critical Review* began a paper feud with Tobias Smollett and Arthur Murphy which continued until Churchill's premature death in 1764.[54] The fact that many of the targets in the *North Briton* and in Churchill's poetry were literary rather than political figures demonstrates that much of his anti-Scottishness was inspired by the patronage and cachet enjoyed by Scottish men of letters: Ramsay, Macpherson, Hume, Smollett and Mallet all featured prominently, rather than the politics of Bute *per se*.

Information is hard to come by, but the engravers, printsellers and publishers who executed and circulated anti-Bute printed material were drawn from similarly marginal groups within their own trades. As Gatrell has demonstrated, most engravers who dealt with political rather than artistic subjects were, in any case, individuals on the margins of the artistic and cultural community of London.[55] In particular, as John Brewer has pointed out, Wilkes' supporters tended to be drawn from practised polemicists, men outside of the most powerful and profitable groups in the trade, such as the Chapter Coffee House 'Chapter'.[56] This lucrative end of publishing, printing and bookselling was well furnished with émigré Scots, most prominently the government supporter William Strahan, who stood at the centre of an elaborate network of printers, publishers and booksellers, many of them Scots, which was precociously successful in accumulating copyrights, winning royal patents and launching the most commercially successful writers.[57] A similar level of success was apparent in the visual arts, from the portraitist and painter to the king, Allan Ramsay (whose short *Essay on the Naturalization of Foreigners* provocatively went into a second

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[53] P. D. G. Thomas, *John Wilkes: A Friend to Liberty* (Oxford, 1996), chs 1–2.

[54] Raymond J. Smith, *Charles Churchill* (Boston, 1977); Douglas Grant (ed.), *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill* (Oxford, 1956), xi–xxii.

[55] Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, ch. 3.

[56] John Brewer, 'Commercialization and Politics', in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982), 253–5.

[57] J. A. Cochrane, *Dr Johnson's Printer: The Life of William Strahan* (London, 1964), chs 4, 9–12; Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America* (Chicago, 2006), chs 4–5.

edition in 1762), to the phenomenally successful ex-Jacobite engraver Robert Strange.[58]

There are thus compelling reasons to see the anti-Scottish aspects of Wilkesite campaigns not as the regrettable bedfellows of a political movement that was about ideas of liberty, but as integral to a movement which was in part a cultural revolt by marginalised Grub Street literati and engravers who, in targeting Scots, attacked the success and, crucially, the patronage enjoyed by 'foreign' rivals. This aspect to the movement comes through strongly, for example, in the prints aimed at Robert Mylne, such as *Just Arrived from Italy*.[59] Mylne, a Scottish architect, won the contest to design the new Blackfriars' Bridge over the Thames and was pilloried both for his Scottishness and for his Italian artistic education at exactly the point that the long debate on an English school of art was reaching its height.[60]

Another demonstration of the nature of the movement as one of cultural conflict is found in the fact that many of the sources used by prints were the literary and journalistic productions of Scots. Most notably Macpherson's Ossian epics provided a ready means of satirising Scots, but Smollett's journalism, Hume's history and Ramsay's poetry were also prominent.[61] In determining the sources for images of the Scots, however, there were numerous others. One obvious source was the large range of previous prints, both pro- and anti-Jacobite, which had depicted Scots. In many prints, as Robin Nicholson has pointed out, the supposed anti-libertarian principles of Bute were evoked by the deployment of a 'visual shorthand' of garter and plaid, which linked Bute to earlier depictions of the Pretender.[62] This shorthand demonstrates the synergies between political prints and popular politics, where Wilkesite mobs also used a pared down symbolism, burning effigies adorned with garter and plaid.[63] So too, however, could images be recycled to make Bute appear as another Walpole (even to the extent of using old plates).[64] The Walpolean example provided numerous useful pointers to the kinds of sources

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[58] For Ramsay see Alastair Smart, *Allan Ramsay: Painter, Essayist and Man of the Enlightenment* (New Haven and London, 1992); James Dennistoun, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange* (London, 1855); Clayton, *English Print*, 115–16. Ramsay's *Essay* had originally appeared in 1754, in which context it argued against the opponents of the naturalisation of Jews and foreign Protestants.

[59] *BMC*, no. 3733.

[60] For a recent treatment of this debate see Holger Hoock, *The King's Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture 1760–1840* (Oxford, 2003), chs 1–2. For a stimulating examination of Wilkes's engagement with these issues see Jonathan G. W. Conlin, 'High Art and Low Politics: A New Perspective on John Wilkes', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 64 (2001) 356–81.

[61] Carretta, *Snarling Muse*, ch. 8.

[62] Nicholson, *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, 95–6.

[63] Brewer, 'Misfortunes', 7; Donald, *Age of Caricature*, 55–8.

[64] This is most notably evident in *BMC*, no. 4000, for which an earlier plate depicting Walpole as a colossus (*BMC*, no. 2458) was reused with an altered inscription to level criticism at Bute.

from which a 'favourite' or 'overmighty minister' might be attacked. Some of these became more relevant and pertinent in the context of the 1760s. For example, the historical parallels between the favourite and Earl Mortimer had been mobilised in opposition to Walpole. The central features of the Mortimer episode – a favourite unmanning the king by sleeping with his mother, ineffectual against Scottish incursions and in the pocket of the French – were a gift to satirists who sought to attack Bute.[65]

Recent and not so recent history were powerful sources for anti-Scottish prints, but they were not the only ones. Among the principal features on which image-makers dwelt were: poverty and famine; sycophancy and political servility; disease; and sexual potency. In all cases the prints could mirror and use those textual sources that emphasised similar themes. All of these charges, for example, can be found in vicious satirical travellers' accounts, most notably the seventeenth-century *Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland*, which Wilkes included in the *North Briton*.[66] Many of these texts went into new editions to coincide with periods of Anglo-Scottish tension and there was clearly a market for them throughout the eighteenth century.[67] Phenomena such as the 'itch' or the notorious smell of Edinburgh featured prominently in a number of these accounts and may well have provided a model for printmakers.[68] Also, prints which depicted the Scots as a kind of insect plague were matched in pamphlets that complained of 'swarms' of Scottish and Dutch medics. Letters in the press lamented that Scots 'have pour'd upon us, like swarms of locusts'; travellers' accounts recounted how the Scots had brought the plagues of Egypt back from their travels; and prints dating from England's own plague of locusts in 1748 depicted various members of the court party as locusts.[69]

One of the most chilling and memorable depictions of Scots was the frontispiece to the fourth and fifth editions of Charles Churchill's virulently anti-Scottish poem *The Prophecy of Famine: A Scots Pastoral*, which showed a ghoulish emaciated Scot at the mouth of a cave.[70]

[65] *BMC*, nos 3897, 4443; *The Fall of Mortimer: An Historical Play* (London, 1763); Blair Worden, 'Favourites on the English Stage', in J. H. Elliott and L. W. B. Brockliss (eds), *The World of the Favourite* (New Haven and London, 1999), 173–4.

[66] [Sir Anthony Weldon], *A Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland* (London, 1649); *North Briton*, 28 Aug. 1762, 73–80.

[67] There is a good description of these works in Martin Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita: The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in Early Modern Travellers' Accounts c. 1600 to 1800* (Münster, 2007), ch. 3.

[68] See, for example, *A Modern Account of Scotland; Being an Exact Description of the Country, and a True Character of the People and their Manners* (London, 1714).

[69] A. Z., *An Address to the College of Physicians, and to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; Occasion'd by the late Swarms of Scotch and Leyden Physicians* (London, 1747); *Gentleman's Magazine* 16 (1746) 633–4; *Modern Account of Scotland*, 2; *BMC* 3018.

[70] See Douglas Grant (ed.), *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill* (Oxford, 1956), 193–210.
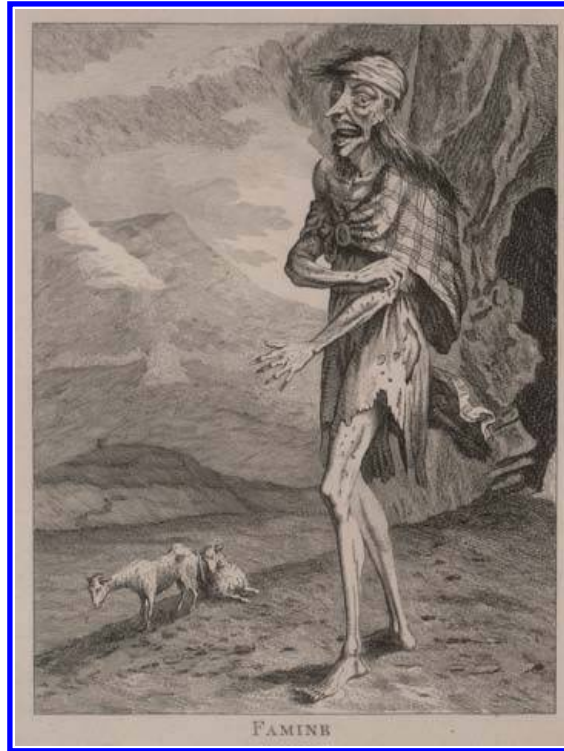
Figure 2: *The Prophecy of Famine: A Scots Pastoral* (London, 1763). Source: C. Churchill, *The Prophecy of Famine: A Scots Pastoral* (London, 1763), frontispiece. Image courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

The print was used and re-used, in the first instance as a cut to illustrate anti-Bute propaganda, but by the end of the century to depict Irish poverty.[71] The barren landscape and the cave, however, were common features of other sources. Travellers, both fictional and real, frequently pointed to the lack of trees in Scotland, at times to make a philosophical point about this demonstrating 'negligence and laziness' and thus a low level of civilisation.[72] The image of a ghoulish Scottish savage standing in front of a cave, however, also appeared in woodcuts and in texts dealing with the Scot who might have been the best known in popular culture. This was Sawney Bean, the cannibal, whose story would have reached an exceptionally wide audience through its inclusion in popular compendia of criminality.[73]

[71] For example, see *BMC*, no. 3869; National Museum of Ireland, Department of Prints and Drawings, Personal and Political Satires, 1799 folder, *Who's the Dupe?*.

[72] Ian McGowan (ed.), *Samuel Johnson and James Boswell Journey to the Hebrides* (Edinburgh, 1996), 122*; Gentleman's Magazine* 63 (1793) 221–2.

[73] Alexander Smith, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Famous Johnathan Wild, together with the History and Lives of Modern Rogues* (London, 1726), 138–44. See, especially, the

If these were the specific sources of anti-Scottish material, interpreting the anti-Bute agitation in this broader context allows us to place it more convincingly in a mid-century crisis of Englishness. In an influential book, Gerald Newman in 1987 argued for seeing this period in exactly such terms and posited the development of an English 'bourgeois nationalism'. The crux of his argument was that the period from the 1740s witnessed the growth of an English nationalism premised, principally, on opposition to French culture, politics and values.[74] If Newman's thesis largely ignored the problem of a Scottish dimension to this crisis of the mid-eighteenth century (and has been rightly criticised for a commodious use of 'English' to include figures such as Watt and Smollett), Colley's, which covered some similar ground, is not without its problems. As mentioned above, her account did not engage with a sustained investigation of anti-Scottishness and treated it as something separate from hostility directed at genuine 'others', principally the French.[75] In foregrounding the issue of hostility to Scots, however, the contingent, uneven and non-linear nature of the growth of Britishness can be explored. Anti-Scottishness still had a significant role to play in English political culture across the long eighteenth century and the growth of Britishness was contested and complicated by the existence of a politicised English xenophobia recently examined by Adam Rounce.[76] Indeed, in a number of ways the Scots were every bit as much of an 'other' as the French, and this raises intriguing questions about just what kind of oppositions furnished a nascent British identity.

The production by political printmakers of images which were hostile to the Scots not only saw the use of icons that were specifically or overwhelmingly Scottish but also those that represented non-Scottish others, in particular, the French and Jews. Print historiography has rightly identified Hogarth as the originator of much of the patriotic and xenophobic iconography of the second half of the eighteenth century. We need only look to the 'poor Highlander . . . brozing [sic] on scanty French fair [sic]' that Hogarth introduced into the foreground of one of his most resoundingly patriotic paintings and prints, *The Gate of Calais; or, O The Roast Beef of Old England* (1748–9) for a figure every bit as marginal as the drooling and emaciated Frenchmen and

[73] (*Continued*) frontispiece to the British Library copy of *Sawney Beane, Golden Farmer, Dick Walton &c. Johnson's Lives and Accounts of Notorious Highwaymen, Murderers, Street-Robbers, Pirates, Female Pickpockets, Swindlers and Buccaneers* (London, n.d.); Ronald Holmes, *The Legend of Sawney Bean* (London, 1975).

[74] Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History 1740–1830* (New York, 1987).

[75] For a more nuanced interpretation, see Wilson, *Sense of the People*, 165–205.

[76] Adam Rounce, '"Stuarts without End": Wilkes, Churchill and Anti-Scottishness', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 29 (2005) 20–43.

the grotesque fishwives.[77] Such associations and gastronomic patriotism were sustained in other works, both textual and graphic, inspired by the print, most notably Theodosius Forrest's cantata, which was the type of patriotic song current during the Seven Years War and Bute's premiership.[78] An extract must serve as illustration:

> How hard, Oh! *Sawney,* is they lot,
> Who was so blithe of late,
> To see such meat as can't be got,
> When hunger is so great.
> Oh the beef, the bonny, bonny beef,
> When roasted nice and brown;
> I wish I had a slice of thee,
> How sweet it would gang down.[79]

It is certainly true that, once he was pensioned by the government, Hogarth was capable of apparently pro-Scottish propaganda, but even then it remained ambiguous and double-edged.[80]

The association of Scots with the French was, of course, of long lineage, but the iconography of this connection by the eighteenth century was overwhelmingly associated with Jacobitism.[81] As we might expect, images of 'Frenchness' and 'Scottishness' were mixed in a number of prints. In loyalist prints such as *The Lurchers*[82] or *The Chevaliers Market, or Highland Fair* Scots and French were conflated and accompanied by a mixed array of symbols: gibbets, wooden shoes, poor and emaciated Frenchmen and Scots, Pope, Devil and Pretender, frogs, thistles and relics all featured frequently.

This mingling of images was, of course, pressed into service again against Bute and 'Scotch politics', in particular, when the reaction to his conclusion of the peace to end the Seven Years War saw him accused of collusion with the French.[83] Indeed, after Bute left for a trip to France in 1768, an engraving of his *Flight to Calais* for the *Political Register*, as well as levelling accusations of Jacobitism and collusion with the French, lifted the figure of the fat friar directly from Hogarth's earlier print.[84]

Perhaps less predictably, the Scots and Scottish politicians were frequently criticised with imagery developed initially through hostility

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[77] *BMC*, no. 3050; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth*, 3 vols (New Brunswick and London, 1991–3), i, 352–6; Paulson, *Graphic Works*, i, 202–4; Gordon Pentland, 'Hogarth's Scots', *Review of Scottish Culture* 20 (2008) 27–42. For an examination of the ways in which Hogarth's images, including *The Gate of Calais*, were 'canonised' see David A. Brewer, 'Making Hogarth Heritage', *Representations* 72 (2000) 21–63.

[78] Young D'Urfey [Theodosius Forrest], *Ways to Kill Care: A Collection of Songs, Chiefly Comic* (London, 1761), 1–7.

[79] *Ibid.,* 5.

[80] Paulson, *Hogarth*, iii, 362–412.

[81] Wilson, *Sense of the People*, 168–70.

[82] *BMC*, no. 2685.

[83] See, for example *The Blessings of P****, and a Scotch Excise: or the Humbug Resignation. A Farce, in Two Acts* (London, 1763).

[84] *BMC*, no. 4211.

Figure 3: *The Chevaliers Market, or Highland Fair* (London, 1745). Source: *BMC*, no. 2660. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

to Jews. This, of course, had a long pedigree and a politicised mid-century flourishing.[85] Resonances between representations of Scots and Jews might have been premised on images and ideas that had developed during and after the seventeenth century which described the Scots and their brand of Calvinism in a Judaic vocabulary. There had also been a degree of self-identification among the Scots themselves as Jews.[86] Such associations also received succour from widely disseminated antiquarian and folkloric claims, such as the idea that on their expulsion from England in 1290 many Jews had fled to Scotland, or that the Celtic language was an evolution of Hebrew

[85] Gordon Pentland, '"Like Jews they Spread, And as Infection Fly": Scots and Jews in English Political Culture, *c*.1750–*c*.1830', in B. Sellin, A. Thiec and P. Carboni (eds), *Écosse: l'identité nationale en question* (Centre de Recherche sur les Identités Nationales et l'Interculturalité, Nantes, 2009), 89–97. See also Thomas W. Perry, *Public Opinion, Propaganda, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study of the Jew Bill of 1753* (Cambridge, MA, 1962); Frank Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660–1830* (Baltimore, 1995); James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York, 1996).

[86] Arthur H. Williamson, 'A Pil For Pork-Eaters': Ethnic Identity, Apocalyptic Promises, And The Strange Creation Of The Judeo-Scots', in Raymond B. Waddington and Arthur H. Williamson (eds), *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After* (New York, 1994), 237–258; Howard D. Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue: The Rise of British Literature from Dryden to Ossian* (Cambridge, 1993), 477–91.

because of Celtic descent from Gomer.[87] They had also formed a theme in earlier virulent anti-Scottish material, which might have provided models for printmakers. The royalist poet, John Cleveland, had included such images in his oft-quoted and frequently reproduced 1643 poem 'The Rebel Scot':

> Had *Cain* been a *Scot*, God would have chang'd his Doom,
> Not forc'd him to wander, but confin'd him home.
> Like *Jews* they spread, and as Infection fly,
> As if the Devil had ubiquity.[88]

Such associations were continued in Churchill's poetry, where the Scots appear as 'the chosen race' and 'like the Sons of Israel'.[89] One of the more memorable sallies against Bute was the mock-epic *Gisbal*, which was a kind of pastiche of Judaic old testament history and the Ossianic epic poetry of Macpherson.[90] The poem was sold by John Pridden, who was one of the more prolific purveyors of anti-Scottish material, and in itself it inspired a number of political prints, songs and broadsides.[91] Even more broadly, representations of the Scots frequently played on the trope of the wandering Jew or identified the Scots crossing the Jordan into the promised land of Canaan (England) – a theme throughout *Gisbal*.[92] Such associations could be taken to the point of positing the kind of conspiracy, in this case between Scots and Jews, which Rubinstein has identified as an aspect of the 'dark side of populism'.[93] In a pamphlet of 1764 which attacked the plans of the city of London to pave its streets with 'Scotch pebbles' and introduce new laws on street signs – the kind of populist issue which nourished the Wilkesite movement – the author warned: 'Little do you suspect, Gentlemen, that the Jews, long the buyers of old clothes, but of late the purchasers of old signs, are only the agents of Scotch factors'.[94]

In exploring in more detail the sinews of the anti-Bute explosion of the 1760s a number of things become clear. If it is certainly true that political fears of secret influence and a developing critique of the 'King's Friends' were articulated and stoked by a visual assault, it in turn derived its materials from a very broad range of sources. In this regard, we must resist the temptation to privilege the political origins of the anti-Bute

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[87] Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, 39–41; Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue*, 482–91; John Toland, *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland* (London 1714), 37–8; R. B. (ed.), *Two Journeys to Jerusalem* (London, 1719), 47.

[88] *Modern Account of Scotland*, 31.

[89] Grant (ed.), *Poetic Works*, 201, 207.

[90] *Gisbal, an Hyperborean Tale: Translated from the Fragments of Ossian, the Son of Fingal* (London, 1762).

[91] See, for example, *BMC*, nos 3848–50, 3958, 4003, 4024.

[92] *BMC*, no. 3849.

[93] W. D. Rubinstein, 'British Radicalism and the "Dark Side" of Populism', in W. D. Rubinstein (ed.) *Elites and the Wealthy in Modern British History* (Brighton, 1987), 339–73.

[94] Zachary Zeal, *A Seasonable Alarm to the City of London* (London, 1764), 20.

movement over its nature as part of a wider cultural revolt emanating
from marginalised members of – amongst others – the artistic, literary
and business communities. More importantly, in pamphlets like *Gisbal*
and the frequent references to Judaic history and culture we can
reinsert the Bute episode into the mainstream cultural politics of
the mid-eighteenth century. Far from being a unique and discrete
episode, anti-Scottish xenophobia mirrored closely and borrowed from
representations of a number of 'out-groups' in mid-eighteenth-century
England. The complexities associated with such ethnic conflict are only
beginning to be unravelled.[95]

V

Historians have concentrated on the Bute episode at the expense of
looking at English representations of Scots in the long term, although
Paul Langford's account is a partial recent corrective.[96] This is, of
course, because their concerns have either lain elsewhere or their
consideration of national identities has been concerned with mapping
the growth of national consensus rather than the ebb and flow of
internal discord. Following the theme of anti-Scottishness through the
print media of English political culture, however, is both justifiable
and potentially useful. In the first instance, the incredible longevity
of anti-Bute iconography suggests that anti-Scottishness played a more
prominent role in English political culture than is usually implied.
Into the 1780s the graphic conventions concerning 'Scottish influence'
retained a prominent if diminished place in political prints. More
than twenty years after Bute's short premiership, he could still appear
in graphic form.[97] Secondly, and more importantly, such images did
not disappear even after Bute's death, but could be adapted and
transferred as another Scottish politician, Henry Dundas, came to play
a prominent and controversial role in British and imperial politics.[98]
Dundas, indeed, was one of the most caricatured politicians of the
eighteenth century and was almost invariably represented through his
Scottishness.[99]
    Nearly every prominent printmaker in what has been hailed as
the 'golden age' of graphic satire devised hostile images of Scottish
politicians. What is marked, however, is that they appear particularly
frequently in the *oeuvres* of those who levelled the most virulent abuse
at the established order and echoed, if they did not consistently
espouse, a radical position. Gatrell has recently and quite correctly

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[95] Michael Ragussis, 'Jews and Other 'Outlandish Englishmen': Ethnic Performance and
the Invention of British Identity under the Georges', *Critical Inquiry* 26 (2000) 773–97.

[96] Langford, 'South Britons' Reception', 156–8.

[97] See, for example, *BMC*, no. 6587, a print from 1784.

[98] For Dundas see Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism* (Edinburgh, 1992).

[99] Nicholas K. Robinson puts Dundas fifth during the period 1778–97, after Fox, Pitt,
George III and Burke, in his *Edmund Burke: A Life in Caricature* (New Haven and
London, 1996), 194.

cautioned against seeing graphic satire as any kind of straightforward cultural manifestation of radicalism. This was true in terms both of the assumptions and social *milieu* of printmakers and, crucially, the market for their products: 'it was in loyalism that printshop profits lay'.[100] Even so, in the work of artists such as William Dent (who pilloried Pitt's ministry after 1784), James Gillray (who, even when being paid by the ministry, often levelled sustained criticism at contemporary politics), and most obviously in Richard Newton (who was attached to William Holland's more obviously radical enterprises), we have printmakers who at least inherited in part a radical critique of Georgian politics, which included among its formative influences the sustained attack on 'Scottish influence' of the 1760s and beyond.[101]

In many instances, they repackaged and reinforced images of Scottish politicians that had been current earlier. One of the most enduring, that of beggarly and servile Scottish MPs hungry for places and pensions, was executed by a number of different hands.[102] If these more general images were ubiquitous, as in the 1760s, they were accompanied by numerous attacks on individuals. In some cases, graphic assaults could flare up and then die away quite quickly. When William Adam, a Scottish supporter of Lord North's ministry, fought a duel with Fox in 1779, a couple of prints had a kilted Adam attempting the assassination of Fox.[103] Such prints sought to play on events of the 1760s and, in particular, the assassination attempts by Scots on Wilkes and, perhaps, the military's shooting of William Allen, the 'Wilkesite martyr'.[104] Nor did printmakers necessarily need a suitably obnoxious Scottish politician to mobilise the emblems of 'Scotch politics'. When Charles James Fox took the seat of the Orkney burghs during the 1784 election, in case his bid for Westminster should fail, he was pilloried in a number of cartoons as a Scot. Most interestingly, one print parodied the earlier famous *Sawney in the Bog-House* print. Initially an illustration of Scottish barbarity during the '45, *Sawney* was amended and recast by Gillray during the 'no popery' agitation of 1779–80, before being levelled at Fox's politics in 1784.[105]

It was one particular Scottish politician, however, who exercised the imagination of printmakers into the nineteenth century – Henry Dundas. His rise to prominence from the 1780s, which was partly premised on his willingness to serve a number of different ministries and his achievement of a number of crucial government offices, ensured

[100] Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, 145.
[101] David Alexander, *Richard Newton and English Caricature in the 1790s* (Manchester, 1998); Donald, *Age of Caricature*, chs 1, 5; Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, 260–70.
[102] *BMC*, nos 6381, 6390, 10746; Alexander, *Richard Newton*, 132, 154.
[103] *BMC*, nos 5575, 5625.
[104] *BMC*, nos 4071, 4196, 4198, 4228; George Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty: A Social Study of 1763 to 1774* (Oxford, 1962), ch. 3.
[105] *BMC*, nos 2678, 5539, 6626. For an interesting short discussion of the original print *Sawney in the Bog-House* see Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550–1850* (London, 1999), 11.

Figure 4: *Wha Wants Me?* (London, 1792). Source: *BMC*, no. 8103. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

that the idea of a distinctly 'Scottish influence' never really subsided after the death of Bute. In Dundas's case, the fact that he notoriously spoke with a broad Scottish accent and owed preferment in part to his abilities to return Scottish MPs in the government interest actually made him at least apparently a more reasonable target for anti-Scottish prints than the anglicised Bute.[106]

If old themes were recycled, some new prints provided enduring images with which to attack Dundas. One, in particular, demonstrates a number of links between the culture of graphic satire and practical politics, and the complexities of individual prints. On 2 June 1792 Hannah Humphrey, by that point the near exclusive publisher of Gillray, issued the print *Wha Wants Me?*. It showed Dundas, in a Scots bonnet and legal wig throwing a cloak around a diminutive Pitt, who is sitting on a pail marked 'extracts from the treasury'.

The immediate political inspiration for the print had come from a speech by the Foxite John Courtenay in the House of Commons during the debate on the King's proclamation against seditious writings.

[106] Fry, *Dundas Despotism*, 84–5.

He hoped that Dundas's 'accommodating disposition' would inspire him to vote with the opposition for Earl Grey's amendment: 'For that gentleman resembled an officer who paraded the streets of Edinburgh at night with a large cloak, vociferating at the corner of every alley, "Wha Wants Me." '[107]

On the most obvious level the print was a comment on the political pliability of Dundas, who would offer his services to any ministry. It also, however, played on the earlier association of both Bute and Walpole with cloaks, curtains and screens and, thus, secrecy.[108] This was, of course, a very old association in seventeenth-century emblem books and in their eighteenth-century counterparts, such as George Richardson's *Iconology*, where the figure emblematic of 'secrecy' was a man in a similar posture to Dundas wrapping a cloak around himself.[109] The print also tapped into another graphic and, indeed, textual tradition about the uncleanliness of Scotland and of Edinburgh. Numerous travellers, most famously Samuel Johnson, had commented on the lavatorial habits and pitfalls of Edinburgh, while the scatological concerns of eighteenth-century prints are well known.[110] Gillray may well have taken for his model an earlier print, published in 1781, *The Flowers of Edinburgh*, which showed a man throwing his cloak around another seated on a pail and shouting at a woman above who throws a bucket of human waste over them from the window. It was an association that was to persist in representations not only of Edinburgh but also of Scottish politicians.[111]

If the print had a number of complex antecedents, and continued the play on tropes to be found in travel literature and elsewhere, it also enjoyed a complicated role within the political culture of the time. Whether in part inspired by the print or by the Courtenay speech, the phrase 'Wha Wants Me' was to dog Dundas for a considerable time, and in the 1790s was the key lyric in a radical song, which abominated him as a placeman.[112] So too did Gillray's print inspire imitations, one by Isaac Cruikshank, for example, used the catchphrase to vilify an image of Thomas Paine bristling with weapons and Jacobinical threats.[113] More pertinently, it provides an instance of how metropolitan prints could irrigate developing provincial print cultures and markets. Very quickly after its appearance, a copy of it was made by the Edinburgh engraver and radical John Kay. He replaced Pitt with the figure of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and retitled the print *Patent for Knighthood*. The

[107] *Cobbett's Parliamentary History* 39, col. 1493.

[108] See, for example, *BMC*, nos 2539, 3824.

[109] George Richardson, *Iconology; or, a Collection of Emblematical Figures; Containing Four Hundred and Twenty-Four Remarkable Subjects, Moral and Instructive*, 2 vols (London, 1779), ii, 51, fig. 277.

[110] Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita*, 125; Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, ch. 6.

[111] See, for example, *BMC*, nos 8097, 10183, 12757.

[112] *Twopence worth of Hogbristles, for the Use of the Rabble, to Sweep away the Cobwebs of Despotism and Ignorance. Selected by A. Grunter* (Edinburgh, 1794), 9–11; *Historical Register, or, Edinburgh Monthly Intelligencer* 1 (May 1792) 487.
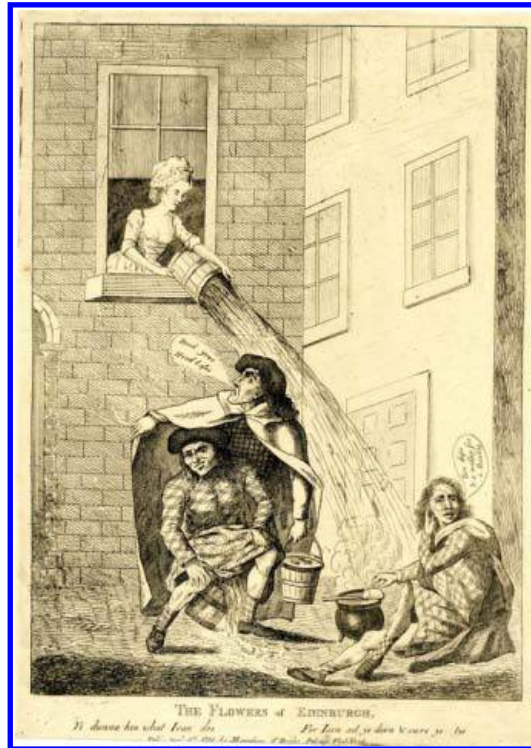
[113] *BMC*, no. 8146.

Figure 5: *The Flowers of Edinburgh* (London, 1781). Source: *BMC*, no. 5941.
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Lord Provost had been commended by Dundas for his actions during
the riots of 1792 (riots during which effigies of Dundas were burned)
and was made a baronet in July of that year.[114]

If prints of the 1760s had often portrayed the Scots as somehow
alien and often 'judaic', it was a *topos* that continued to resonate in
popular culture and politics. Charles Macklin, whose fame was derived
from playing those Shakespearian outsiders, Shylock and Macbeth,
mercilessly pilloried both Scots and Jews in his comedies.[115] In the
characters of Pertinax MacSycophant and Sir Archy MacSarcasm he
offered enduring stereotypes of grasping, avaricious and servile Scots,
which bore no small relation to his Jewish types, and one of his
memoirists remarked: 'Macklin's Sir Pertinax MacSycophant was only

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[114] *BMC*, no. 8118; Hilary Evans, *John Kay of Edinburgh: Barber, Miniaturist and Social
Commentator, 1742–1826* (Aberdeen, 1973), 44; Kenneth J. Logue, *Popular Disturbances
in Scotland 1780–1815* (Edinburgh, 1979), 133–47.

[115] This is particularly evident in *Love-a-la-Mode*, performed in 1760 and frequently
revived and reprinted, and *The True Born Scotchman*, first performed in Dublin in
1764, and finally appearing after prohibition in England as *The Man of the World*
in 1781. Langford, 'South Britons' Reception', 145–8; Ragussis, 'Jews and Other
"Outlandish Englishmen"', 777–86.

equalled by his Jew'.[116] Narratives of dangerously successful Scots similar to those aimed at rich Jews appeared in a number of sources. In the *London Magazine*, for example, a letter actuated by a crisis in credit with its origins in Scotland, complained of 'a poor lad, without shoes, in a ragged plaid and rusty bonnet' attaining a 'slavish' job at a banking house, who eventually 'builds a palace, and takes an Earl's daughter without a baubee'.[117] The crisis, in fact, saw the Bank of England refuse to discount bills for Jews with continental connections and most Scots.[118] Such narratives were reflected in Newton's *Progress of a Scotsman* print, which in fifteen scenes showed the rise of a breechless Scottish pedlar to become a peer. Though not explicitly aimed at Dundas, the idea of rapid and unprincipled rise to power and the use of Gillray's *Wha Wants Me* as the model for one of his scenes, certainly implied a connection.[119]

Similarly, one of Gillray's most famous sallies against Dundas, *The Board of Controul. Or the Blessings of a Scotch Dictator*, should be seen as part of a pair with his *A Noble Lord, on an approaching Peace, too busy to attend to the Expenditure of a Million of the Public Money*. They were published eight days apart from one another in 1787, and savaged apparently deleterious influences on the state. In one, these were depicted as a French post-boy and a dark group of Jewish creditors. In *The Board of Controul* the danger was from a group of scrawny and grotesque Scots seeking preferment in India: government functions had been taken from their proper hands to be exercised by a tyrannous Scot besieged by legions of his needy countrymen.[120]

The most sustained graphic attack on Dundas took place when, in 1805, the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry became a political *cause célèbre* and its principal charges were used to form articles of impeachment against Melville.[121] Between the appearance of the Tenth Report in February 1805 and the eventual acquittal of Melville in June 1806, the British Museum catalogue lists some thirty-six prints concerning Melville, most of them hostile, but some ambiguous and a few, especially on his acquittal, positive in intent.[122] Of those hostile prints some, of course, reused and embellished earlier attacks, with Melville as a hell-bound favourite and a sticky-fingered Scottish placeman. The hostility to Melville continued to play on those themes that had been developed from 1745 and before. A satirical poem, *The Melviad*, for example, mobilised a tried-and-tested range of ideas and images: the itch, the cry 'Wha Wants Me', the Scottish

[116] William Cooke, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, (London, 1806), 297.
[117] *London Magazine* 41 (1772) 291.
[118] Jacob Price, 'The Bank of England's Discount Activity and the Merchants of London, 1694–1773', in Ian Blanchard, Anthony Goodman and Jennifer Newman (eds), *Industry and Finance in Early Modern History: Essays Presented to George Hammersley* (Stuttgart, 1992), 99–104.
[119] *BMC*, no. 8550.
[120] *BMC*, nos 7150, 7152.
[121] Fry, *Dundas Despotism*, 263–76.
[122] *BMC*, between nos 10337–10584.

Figure 6: *The Board of Controul. Or the Blessings of a Scotch Dictator* (London, 1787). Source: *BMC,* no. 7150. © The Trustees of the British Museum.
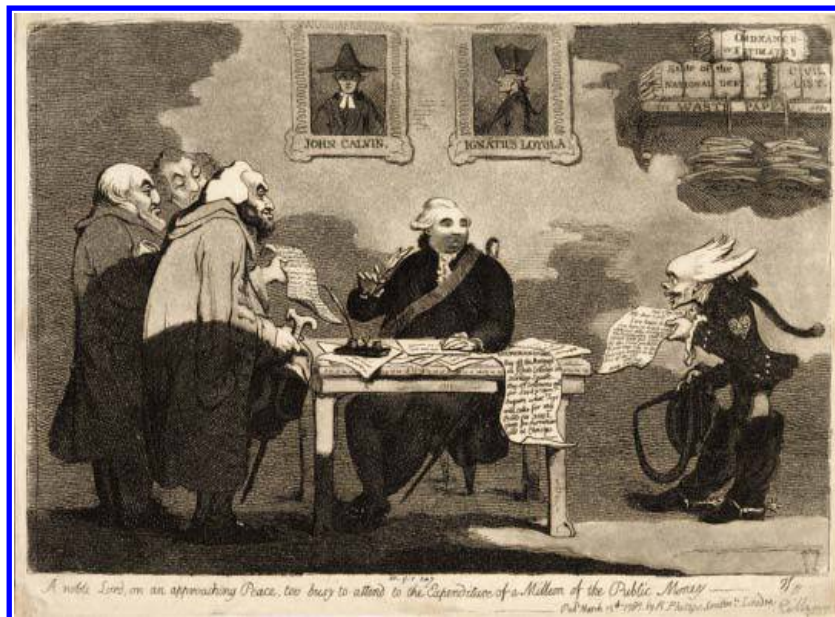

Figure 7: *A Noble Lord, on an approaching Peace, too busy to attend to the Expenditure of a Million of the Public Money* (London, 1787). Source: *BMC,* no. 7152. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

facility for servile 'booing' and an intention to sink his 'northern fangs' into the resources of John Bull were all used.[123] The fact that it was the brewing magnate, Whitbread, who supervised and prosecuted the parliamentary campaign against Melville allowed the printmakers to add another contrast to their prints. As well as being chastised by John Bull (in various guises) Melville's Scottishness could be contrasted with Whitbread, who in one print puffed his beer's ability to 'cheer up the drooping spirits of Englishmen … None of your northern stuff that's sold over the way at the thistle'.[124]

The episode of Melville's impeachment is instructive in at least two ways. First, while it did not compare in magnitude with the duke of York affair of 1809, or indeed with the Queen Caroline affair in 1820, the popular and political response to it foreshadowed these.[125] It was an early manifestation of a radicalism revitalised and organised around a parliamentary and populist assault on 'corruption', albeit one which has received scant attention from historians.[126] Animus against Melville in political prints combined with a petitioning movement against him and a parliamentary assault. This played not only on the issue of corruption but also on that of nationality. Whig politicians through the 1790s and after pinpointed Scotland as a more despotic country than England and, just before Melville's foibles provided him with a more promising target, Whitbread had attacked the role of the Lord Advocate in Scotland as 'a species of gross injustice and oppression'.[127] Secondly, just as the duke of York affair would demonstrate the capacious nature of 'patriotism' and provide a vehicle for the elucidation of a popular oppositional patriotism during the Napoleonic Wars, the Melville affair demonstrated that this patriotism was not uncomplicatedly British. Certainly, we should not underestimate Colley's argument that the revolutionary and subsequent Napoleonic conflicts were crucial in the development of a loyalist patriotism in support of British institutions. Hot on the heels of invasion scares, which provided some of the most dynamic drivers of this consensual patriotism, the campaign against Melville was no less forward in taking up the mantle of patriotism and in doing so recycled themes from the violent anti-Scottishness of the 1760s.

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[123] I-Spy-I, *The Melviad; or the Birth, Parentage, Education and Achievements of a Grete Mon* (London, 1805).

[124] *BMC*, no. 10400.

[125] Harling, 'The Duke of York Affair', 936–84; Thomas W. Laquer, 'The Queen Caroline Affair: Politics as Art in the Reign of George IV', *Journal of Modern History* 54 (1982) 417–66; Clark, *Scandal*, 177–207. For populism and British radicalism see Craig Calhoun, *The Question of Class Struggle: Social Foundations of Popular Radicalism during the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago, 1982).

[126] J. Ann Hone, *For the Cause of Truth: Radicalism in London, 1796–1821* (Oxford, 1982), ch. 4; Peter Spence, *The Birth of Romantic Radicalism: War, Popular Politics and English Radical Reformism, 1800–1815* (Aldershot, 1996), ch. 2.

[127] T. C. Hansard (ed.), *The Parliamentary Debates from the Year 1803 to the Present Time* (London, 1812–), 2nd ser., vol. 2, col. 790.

VI

After the episode of Melville's impeachment, hostile representations of Scottish politicians were certainly less frequent and less marked. His son, who took over his managerial role but never achieved anywhere near his prominence in British politics, occasionally inspired printmakers to recycle accusations of peculation which had been levelled at his father.[128] In *John Bull Reading the Extraordinary Red Book*, for example, the second viscount was depicted as the typically gaunt, bonnet-wearing and snuff-taking Scot claiming £18,000 for doing worse than nothing.[129] Oppositional ideas about Scottishness could continue to play a role in politics, as they did in 1822 when the sustained and cruel campaign of satire against George IV continued by ridiculing his visit to Scotland. Numerous prints and, by this point, illustrated books and poems, including the enterprising publisher John Fairburn's *Kilts and Philibegs!!*, once again recycled hostile representations of the Scots for use against the King.[130]

In a number of ways a politicised anti-Scottishness, which used and developed earlier ideas and prejudices, remained important until at least 1832 and in prints aimed at Wellington the devil could still wear plaid as he had in the days of Bute.[131] William Cobbett's animus against Scots was notorious. He made much of attacking Scottish 'feelosophy' and paper money and he very frequently conflated Scots with Jews as a danger to the state.[132] To Cobbett, the existence of a conspiracy among representatives of these groups, alongside Quakers, was as 'plain [...] as the blunt-ended hook nose upon a Jew's sallow and dirty-skinned face, or as the jutting cheek-bones of a Scotchman'.[133] So too, Thomas Love Peacock not only pilloried Scottish political economy, but in his *Crotchet Castle*, the fictional host was the London-born son of a Scottish émigré, Ebenezer Mac Crotchet, who had come to London with his meagre capital tied in a handkerchief on a stick, married a rich Jew's daughter and left his son concerned 'to obliterate alike the Hebrew and Caledonian vestiges in his name'.[134] If the *Extraordinary Red Book* had provided ammunition against Melville's son, on the very eve of reform in 1831 John Wade's *Extraordinary Black Book* demonstrated that it was no less the heir to a radical politics, which in important ways was perhaps more English than British. In its grand catalogue of corruption,

[128] Fry, *Dundas Despotism*, chs 9–10.

[129] *BMC*, no. 12781.

[130] *BMC*, nos 14382–14398; *Kilts and Philibegs!! The Northern Excursion of Geordie Emperor of Gotham: and Sir Willi Curt-His the Court Buffoon, &c. &c. A Serio-tragico-comico-ludicro-aquatico Burlesque Gallimaufry, Interspersed with Humorous Glees* (London, 1822).

[131] *BMC*, no. 15510.

[132] Daniel Green (ed.), *Cobbett's Tour in Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1984), 134–43; Rubinstein, 'British Radicalism', 349–59.

[133] *Political Register*, 20 Aug. 1825, p. 483.

[134] Raymond Wright (ed.), *Thomas Love Peacock: Nightmare Abbey and Crotchet Castle* (London, 1969), 127–8.

the *Black Book* made the point explicitly in its section on the colonies, which included both old and newer hostilities to the Scots and a kind of little Englander hostility to an ever-expanding empire.

> Scotland has benefited by the Union: her soil has been fertilized [sic] by our capital, and her greedy sons have enriched themselves by sinecures and pensions, the produce of English taxes; but what has England gained from the connexion? The generous and intellectual character of her Saxon race has not been improved by amalgamation with Scotch metaphysics, thrift, and servility.[135]

The continued elaboration of this critique in sources as popular and widely distributed as Cobbett's journalism and the *Black Book* suggests that the politicised anti-Scottishness of the eighteenth century still had considerable purchase in English political culture.

There is no doubting, however, that by the 1820s, such criticisms were less viciously and less frequently aired. A number of convincing reasons for this change have been suggested. Romanticism and changing ideas about Scotland were transforming it from a barren wilderness to a primitive playground in the minds of English men and women.[136] The writings of Scott and the activities of George IV and, more importantly, Queen Victoria provided a sanitised and increasingly marketable image of Scotland – one which could not easily furnish the kind of hostile representations of the 1760s. In any case, the acceleration of Irish immigration to England provided a much more threatening 'other' and ensured it would more often be Irish subjects who would become icons of savagery and barbarity in the work of Victorian graphic artists.[137] The growth of Britishness under the stimuli of war and global empire and the subscription to its values by Scots had softened national differences and their expression. This could occur to the extent that Scottish Whigs and radicals tended to accept some of the basic premises of politicised anti-Scottishness and push for access to the British constitution to obliterate the more obnoxious vestiges of Scottish political institutions and attitudes.[138] Indeed, in important ways Scots had begun to behave like Englishmen and, according to Langford, by 1820 were well on the way to being regarded as 'provincial' rather than 'alien'.[139]

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[135] [John Wade], *The Extraordinary Black Book* (London, 1831), 336.

[136] Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770–1914* (Aldershot, 2005).

[137] L. Perry Curtis Jr, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington, DC, 1997); Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798–1882* (Madison, WI, 2004).

[138] Colin Kidd, 'North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms', *Historical Journal* 39 (1996) 361–82; Gordon Pentland, 'The Debate on Scottish Parliamentary Reform, 1830–1832', *SHR* 85 (2006) 100–30. See, for example, the letter from 'Scoto-Britannicus' on the Melville affair in *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, 6 Apr. 1805, p. 519.

[139] Langford, 'South Britons' Reception', 167–9.

If increasing integration was one reason for the softening, though not the obliteration of, anti-Scottishness there were certainly others as well. One can be seen through political prints themselves. Gatrell has made the case for the 'taming' of graphic satire by placing it in a more general history of manners. It was the growth of a culture of respectability and sensibility, which accelerated in the 1820s, which removed the old scurrilous and scatological themes from satire.[140] Given that it was profoundly 'unrespectable' charges which had been levelled against Scottish politicians throughout the eighteenth century, this type of print and, indeed, this way of talking and writing about nationality may also have fallen victim to the changing mores of its audience.

Gatrell also makes the case for the last real stand of this satire being a defensive action against this very move to respectability and an attack on 'cant'. It is in this reaction to 'cant' that we can identify those newer charges levelled against Scots and their politicians, focused on characteristics such as 'thrift' and 'metaphysics'. Cobbett, of course, levelled a great deal of his venomous journalism at Scotch metaphysics, but he was not alone, and there is some visual record of how what were to become new national (rather than provincial) stereotypes were being arrived at partly through the use of older materials.[141] In particular, if Scottish political economists provided one prominent target, Presbyterian preachers such as Edward Irving and their parliamentary supporters such as Sir Andrew Agnew could also be seen as representative of the new threat. Indeed, one verse satire, illustrated by the caricaturist Seymour, had Agnew as every bit the gaunt and fierce-faced Scot, this time not a starving barbarian, but a tyrannous sabbatarian, nailing a hungry Englishman to a St Andrew's Cross by an act of parliament.[142]

There was no smooth and uncomplicated progression whereby images of Scots moved from depicting famine-stricken, uncivilised barbarians to loyal Britons with more than a splash of provincial colour. The use of an iconography of Scottishness needs always to be placed in its political and cultural context. There were powerful forces leading to integration after 1745 and especially from the 1790s, and increasing numbers of Scots, including politicians, enthusiastically bought into the opportunities and advantages of espousing Britishness. Nevertheless, images of Scots could reuse motifs of savagery, barbarism and despotism developed especially in the 1740s even at points where these integrative forces were supposed to be at their strongest. So too, changing manners and a drive to 'respectability' may have stripped such

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[140] Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, chs 14–18.
[141] William D. Grampp, 'Scots, Jews, and Subversives Among the Dismal Scientists', *Journal of Economic History* 36 (1976) 543–71.
[142] *Sycophant Saints and Sabbath Sinners. A Satire* (London, 1833). There is perhaps an echo in this of prints such as *BMC*, no. 3964, which has Britannia bound to a St Andrew's cross by a knife-wielding Bute. There are also echoes in nineteenth-century satires of a critique of Scottish Presbyterianism stretching back to the seventeenth century.

images of executors as well as audience in favour of new ones, but it did not signal the end of them.

If more attention should be paid to the contingent and non-linear development of Britishness an equally neglected theme has been the Englishness of English political culture. English image-makers could periodically contribute to the idea of a distinct English culture and politics, which was not only not French, or not Catholic, or not Irish, but also not Scottish. This may not have presented much of a challenge to a more inclusive 'English-Britishness'. Its contingent nature might, however, help us to understand not only some of the complexities of late eighteenth century politics, but perhaps other 'moments of Englishness'. The next time, for example, that there was to be any significant degree of anti-Scottish sentiment was from the end of the nineteenth century, with the United Kingdom racked by the 'Irish Question', relative economic and military decline and, ultimately, the prolonged debate on national efficiency.[143] It was also during this period that publications such as *The Unspeakable Scot* appeared and a resurgent sense of Englishness could devise images aimed at 'Scotch politics'.[144] The Tory comic weekly *Judy*, for example, could couple images of Gladstone as a maniac in bonnet and plaid with shillelagh-wielding Irish-Americans and contrast them, not with John Bull, but with Hodge in his smock, carrying his small beer and his parcel of good old English 'county votes'.[145] Anti-Scottishness, albeit more muted and more respectable than that of the 1760s, had become politically usable once again.

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[143] Kumar, *Making*, ch. 7; Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (eds), *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880–1920* (London, 1986).
[144] T. W. H. Crosland, *The Unspeakable Scot* (London, 1902).
[145] *Judy, or the London Serio-Comic Journal*, 21 Jul. 1886.