

POST-'45 JACOBITE SUBCULTURE AS HIDDEN TRANSCRIPTS.

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METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

- Hidden transcripts as ways to convey political protest into public transcript while maintaining safety from the dangerous and arbitrary environment [Scott 1990]
- Post-'45 Jacobite resistance as an elaborate guerilla campaign presenting a serious threat to Hanoverian powers-that-be [Zimmermann 2004: 3-13]
- The question: how come that an impressive resistance campaign that was treated as a real threat would see openly Jacobite paraphernalia and imagery (almost) freely distributed and preserved in numbers?
- The answer: two major methods of disguise: disguising the message vs disguising the messenger [Scott 1990: 138-140]

DIRECT AND DISGUISED METHODS OF CREATING JACOBITE IDENTITY

- Jacobite movement as multiethnic and multidenominational -> call for a unifying aesthetic
- Deliberate “Highland Scottishness” as an attempt of providing such “all-Jacobite” aesthetic and an “official” visual code for pre-'45 Jacobitism and the Second Rebellion
- Public transcripts: visual code (Highland dress, white cockades, tartan dress)
- Hidden transcripts: coded everyday utensils, hidden images, marked locations (Jacobite coffee houses, clubs and taverns)

PUBLIC JACOBITE TRANSCRIPTS

- Highland dress with unified clan / regiment insignia (first suggested by John Erskine, the Earl of Mar, as a method of raising morale and discipline) [STA]
- Highland dress worn by non-Gaelic and non-Scottish Jacobite volunteers [diary of one Elisabeth Byrom, Lewis-Stempel 2008: 280]
- White cockades (reminiscent of St. Andrew's crosses, according to Mrs. Byrom)
- Banned by the Dress Act (1746) except when worn by women [c. with Scott 1990: 150 on women's riots] or, *de facto*, by high-ranking collaborators

Portrait of Sir James Macdonald (1741–1766) and Sir Alexander Macdonald (1744/1745– 1795)

Attributed to William Mosman (c.1700–1771) and painted circa 1749, while the Dress Act (as well as the Jacobite guerilla campaign) was in full effect. The boys' father, Sir Alexander Macdonald, took the Hanoverian side in the conflict.



VERBAL SUBSTITUTES

- Jacobite toasts (“To the little gentleman in the black velvet coat”, etc.)
- Liturgical euphemisms: *Adeste Fideles* (including *Rex Angelorum* as wordplay on *Rex Anglorum*)
- Quotes from *The Aeneid*

ATTENDING MARKED LOCATIONS

- Jacobite gatherings allowed for constructing a *comunitas* with ideological kinship overcoming financial and social borders [Pittock 2013: 105; Monod 1993: 105]
- Places and private gatherings well-known to powerholders and even openly advertised vs closed establishments (often directly descending from underground network of inns serving as refuge to Catholics during the Reformation in England)

SECRET SYMBOLS OF SUPPORT AND COMMEMORATION

- Semantics of Jacobite imagery: the White Rose of York, oak leaves / branches / wreaths and acorns, butterflies and moths, bees, six pointed star, thistle [BNJ 1922: 247-283].
- *Amen glasses* and inscriptions on those: *Radiat, Redeat, Rede, Revirescit, Fiat, Hic Vir Hic Est*, etc.
- Secret society rings and inscriptions (“A Fair Meeting on the Green”)
- Commemorative rings (Four Peers Rings)



JACOBITE
AMEN GLASSES



JACOBITE
GLASSES
WITH
FLORAL
MOTIFS

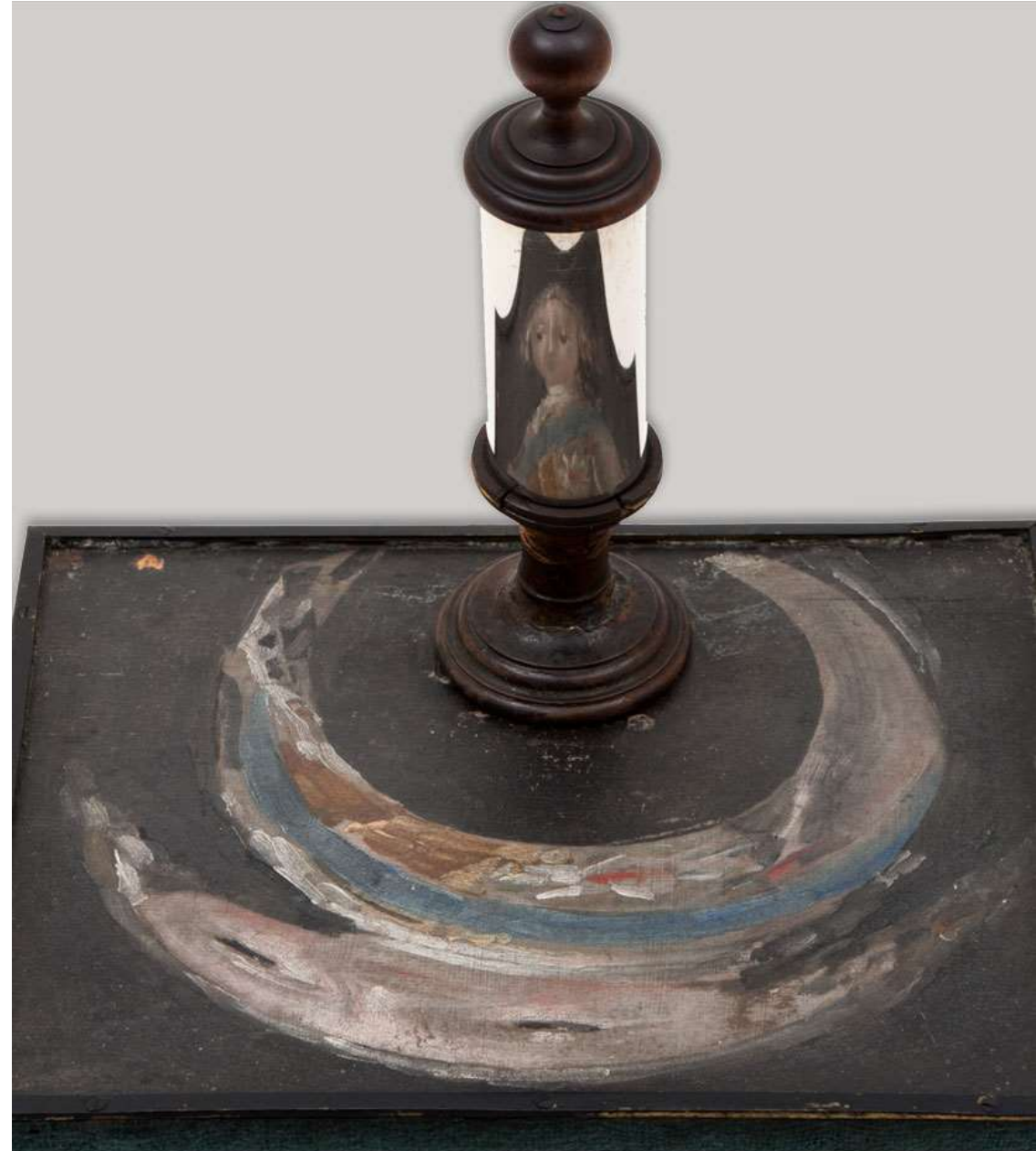


JACOBITE RINGS (THE FOUR PEERS
RINGS VS A TOBOSO ORDER RING, PRE-
1739)

CODED GESTURES OF SUPPORT AND COMMEMORATION

- “A glass o’er the water”
- Secret portraits

A POST-
CULLODEN
“SECRET
PORTRAIT”
DEVICE FROM
WEST
HIGHLANDS
MUSEUM,
SCOTLAND



JACOBITE HIDDEN TRANSCRIPTS

Disguising the message

- Coded everyday items
- Coded toasts
- Verbal substitutes
- Attending a public place of known “Jacobite” reputation

Disguising the messenger

- Political prints and proclamations
- Attending a closed Jacobite establishment actively aiding Jacobite refugees and agents
- Marked items of clothing and jewellery associated with actual Jacobite secret societies

CONCLUSIONS

- Jacobite material artifacts aimed at disguising the message are highly prevalent in the artifacts that have survived until the present day and are in our disposal for analysis; therefore, the majority of post-'45 Jacobite material culture was aimed at enabling a known individual to escape actions taken against them by rendering their act impossible to be pinpointed as illegal
- Explicit acts of resistance (espionage, guerilla war, smuggling of money and weapons, etc.) produced a much lesser-known and less-preserved body of artifacts and practices aimed at disguising the messenger (since the individual's actions would be impossible to perceive as legal)
- Thus, an anthropological analysis of Jacobite material culture suggests that the popularity of Jacobite artifacts after 1746 is characteristic of the so called "Jacobites by name", unlikely to be perceived by the state as a credible threat indeed; yet, the seriousness of the so-called Jacobite threat is reflected in scarcity of the other type of surviving artifacts – those aimed at concealing hardline rebels

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